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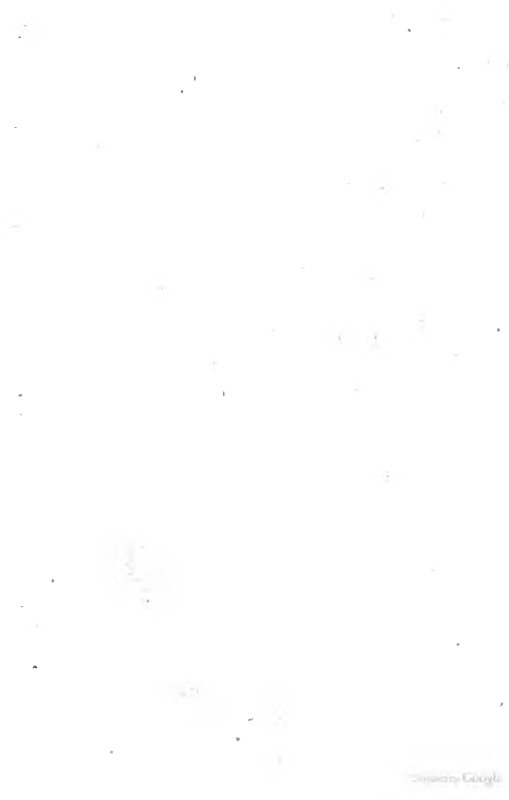
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THE
WESTMINSTER
AND
FOREIGN QUARTERLY
REVIEW.



OCTOBER, 1846—JANUARY, 1847.

"*Legitimæ inquisitionis vera norma est, ut nihil veniat in practicam, cujus non sit etiam doctrina aliqua et theoria.*"—BACON, *De Augm. Scientiæ*.

"Those who have not thoroughly examined to the bottom all their own tenets, must confess they are unfit to prescribe to others; and are unreasonable in imposing that as truth on other men's belief which they themselves have not searched into, nor weighed the arguments of probability on which they should receive or reject it."—LOCKE, *Essay on Human Understanding*.



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THE FOREIGN QUARTERLY AND WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

ART. I.—*A Treatise on the Principles and Practical Influence of Taxation and the Funding System.* By J. R. M'Culloch, Esq. London: Longman and Co. 1845.

THE abolition of protective duties, it may be assumed, will lead to a general revision of the present system of taxation. Indeed, a repeal of the corn laws necessarily involves an inquiry into the whole of our public imposts, for their alleged inequality as affecting the land, and the reasonableness, therefore, of compensatory duties to the landowner, has been the favourite argument of all who have resisted the application of free-trade principles to the importation of grain.

We need scarcely say that, with regard to the land, we do not agree either in the fact or the deduction. Indeed, it may be shrewdly suspected that even those who make the statement that the land is unduly taxed have but little faith in it, seeing that they always shrink from any proposal to examine the matter, and to determine where the chief burden of taxation really falls.

But even supposing the landowners to be right in their assertions, it would be most foolish on the part of the country to consent to such a scheme of compensation, since every shilling which the landlords could get by the plan would cost the country at least double the amount. It would be far better, therefore, if the allegation were true, to relieve the landlords of some of their taxes, than first to drain them and then send the money back again by so leaky a channel.

Strange, however, as it may appear, this unthrifty and Hibernian plan of proceeding, contrary to the very elements of political economy, has an advocate in the author of the work before us, who actually proposes (page 191) that a permanent tax of five or six shillings a quarter on imported wheat, and on

other grain in proportion, should be kept up in consideration of what he conceives to be peculiar and undue burthens on the land, with reference especially to the tithes and the malt tax; and who goes through a process of reasoning which is really lamentable in a person of Mr M'Culloch's reputation, to show that the practical influence of a duty of 6s. a quarter would be inappreciable (page 92), and that "the repeal of, or suspension of, the duty when prices are high, would be most impolitic," as "it would be sacrificing revenue, not for the benefit of our own people, but for that of the growers and dealers in Poland and other exporting countries."

Whether, however, Mr M'Culloch, and those who agree with him, be right or wrong in thinking that the land is overburthened, there can be no doubt that justice requires that the present scheme of taxation, which is full of anomalies, and which has been the result of endless changes and compromises, should be thoroughly examined and be reconstructed on sound principles. Indeed, when the principles of free-trade shall have come into full operation, the trammels produced by the present system of taxation will be the chief remaining shackles on industry.

We propose, then, briefly to consider the general principles on which taxes ought to be levied, and the best way of applying these principles.

It would seem almost superfluous to precede such an inquiry by a declaration that we hold taxation under all circumstances to be an evil, and one which it is highly desirable, consistently with the attainment of good government, to reduce to the smallest possible amount; but as a different view is, in many parts of his work, taken by our author, and no doubt entertained by others, it may not be lost time to consider for a moment the way in which taxation operates.

In the first place, there must be necessarily, even with the best modes of levying taxes, a considerable waste in collection.

Again, it seems obvious that, however imposed, whether on capital or on consumption, taxes must diminish the reward of industry, and consequently lessen the motives to exertion. Indeed, our author himself admits that, when carried beyond a certain imaginary boundary, existing perhaps in Mr M'Culloch's mind, but which we are utterly unable to fix, this effect is produced; and he deplores the evils to which heavy taxation has given rise. At page 384 he says—

"A reduced rate of profit and inadequate wages seem to be the necessary consequence of a high rate of taxation."

And again, at page 385:—

"However great the produce of industry, a high rate of taxation necessarily abstracts a large portion of that produce; and though

the condition of those engaged in industrious undertakings in a highly taxed country may not be worse than when it was less heavily taxed, and may even be very materially improved, every one sees that it would be still better were taxation reduced."

Mr M'Culloch afterwards thus describes the effects of heavy taxation in Holland :—

"Notwithstanding the laudable economy of her rulers, the great expense the republic incurred in her struggle to emancipate herself from the blind and brutal despotism of old Spain, and in her contests with Cromwell, Charles II, and Louis XIV, led to the contraction of an immense public debt, the interest and other charges on which, with the current expenses of the government, obliged her to lay heavy taxes on the most indispensable necessities. Among others, high duties were laid on foreign corn when imported, on flour and meal when ground at the mill, and on bread when it came from the oven. Taxation affected every source of production and every channel of expenditure; and so oppressive did it become, that it was supposed to double the price of bread consumed in the towns; and it was a common saying in Amsterdam, that every dish of fish brought to table was paid for once to the fisherman and six times to the state! For a while, however, or during their increase and some considerable time thereafter, these enormous taxes appear to have had little or no influence in retarding the progress of the republic; her commerce, fisheries, and manufactures having continued to increase down to the invasion of her territories by Louis XIV in 1672. But from this epoch, or perhaps a little previously, their pernicious operation began gradually to become more and more obvious; and subsequently to the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, it became a subject of frequent discussion, and engaged the serious attention of her principal merchants and statesmen. Wages having been raised so as to enable the labourer to subsist, the weight of taxation fell principally on the capitalists. Profits being in consequence below their level in the surrounding countries, the United Provinces gradually lost their ascendancy; their fisheries and manufactures were undermined, and their capitalists chose in the end rather to transfer their stocks to the foreigner than to employ them at home."—Pp. 386, 387.

Mr M'Culloch thinks that, carried to a certain point, taxation tends to stimulate industry and economy, and that it thus often compensates, and more than compensates, for the injury it causes; and he points to the progress in England of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and the increase in the national wealth during the time of the American and French wars in confirmation of this opinion; adding—

"Without the American war and the late French war there would have been less industry and less frugality, because there would have been less occasion for them. And we incline to think that those who inquire dispassionately into the matter will probably see reason

to conclude that the increase of industry and frugality occasioned by these contests more than sufficed to defray their enormous expense, and that the capital of the country is probably about as great at this moment as it would have been had they not occurred."—Pp. 10, 11.

From this view, however, and from the notion that the supply of the moral qualities of industry and frugality, like that of tea and tobacco, regularly increases with the demand, we entirely dissent. We believe that the progress which the country made at that time (and which, though great, was not so great in reality as in appearance, owing to the vast debt incurred) was made, not in consequence, but in spite of the heavy taxation caused by the war; and this, judging by what Mr McCulloch says in another part of his book, would appear to be his own opinion; for, in treating of the funding system, he says:—

"Still, however, if we consider it apart from the urgent circumstances which make it be contracted, the disadvantages connected with the accumulation of a large public debt appear very much to outweigh its advantages. The heavy taxes which the payment of the interest involves lay a country under the most serious difficulties by reducing the rate of profit, crippling the public energies, and stimulating the transfer of capital and skill to other countries, where taxes are less oppressive."—P. 401.

We believe that people will work much more actively and efficiently when excited by hope, than when goaded on by fear; and that the greater the share which a man is allowed to receive of the fruits of his labour, the more industrious will he be. The freeman is a far more productive labourer than the slave, whatever the length of the driver's lash.

Few people are more industrious than the Swiss and the inhabitants of the free States in America, and yet in both countries taxation is very light.

Among other evils arising from taxation, more especially heavy taxation, we must not forget the injury to public morals, caused by the temptations to deception and fraud, in order to evade it; the number of artificial crimes created; and the complexity which it gives to the laws.

Having thus glanced at some of the reasons why taxation should be kept as low as possible, we come to consider the principles on which the taxes really necessary for efficient government should be levied.

Government ought, in our opinion, to be paid for, as nearly as practicable, like anything else which people require, and which they voluntarily purchase, either separately or in association; that is, it should be paid for in proportion to each person's share of the benefit.

In some branches of government, particularly in that of war, whether offensive or defensive, it is of course impossible to do more than roughly approximate to this principle; but it is satisfactory to reflect that this, the most expensive of all departments, is one which, with the extension of civilization and a knowledge of the true interests of countries, must gradually diminish.

In other branches of government, especially the very important one of the administration of justice, it appears to us to be practicable to carry out this principle to a very considerable extent, and much farther than has hitherto been attempted, although in a very different way; for we wholly protest against the practice of society depending, as, to a considerable extent, it does at present in England, on the willingness and ability of the injured party to prosecute an offender; since, besides the uncertainty attaching to such a mode of administering law, if the party concerned act on a vindictive feeling, he does himself moral injury, and the proceeding tends to degrade that which ought to be pure in its spirit and free from all personal rancour; and, if he be superior to such motives and act from a sincere regard to the public interests, he takes upon himself a burden which ought fairly to devolve upon others, and adds to that injury which has befallen him probably in consequence of the neglect of society to provide proper protection for his person or property.

Instead of this we would throw the whole cost of the prosecution (including a portion of the expense of the police), in the first instance, on society at large, that is, on the government representing society, but reserve a power to compel the offender, or, in the case of young delinquents, his parents, to repay such portion of the cost as, under all the circumstances, may appear just; and we have no doubt that when productive labour has been introduced into our prisons to the extent which is practicable, and by the abolition of the corn laws and other taxes on food, the expense of maintenance is reduced to its proper limits, this will be found quite feasible; indeed at the present time some of the American prisons are more than self-supporting.

In the case of civil actions we are of opinion that the party in fault should be compelled to defray not only the reasonable expenses of the other party, but also the estimated cost of the suit to the country. We see no reason why the honest and peaceable portion of the community should be called upon to pay any part of the cost of litigation occasioned by the over-reaching or quarrelsome.

By such a system of proceeding, and by cutting off all unnecessary expenses, we believe that the administration of justice—the main function of government—might eventually be carried on with but little expense to the country at large.

As respects those expenses of government which cannot be thus apportioned on the persons who cause them, Adam Smith's principle of taxation, viz., "that the subjects of every state ought to contribute towards the support of government as nearly as possible in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the state," might, we think, be nearly correct if protection to property and revenue were the only benefit derivable from government; but the great economist appears to have overlooked protection to person.

It is true that, even under the best governments, many expenses are incurred which do not add to the protection either of person or property; but probably it will now be scarcely disputed that such protection is the great business of government, and that, as a general rule (at least till governments are found more to excel in wisdom and practical skill than has hitherto been the case), the less they interfere in anything which does not relate to the protection of the persons and property of their subjects the better. And there must be a strong tendency to arrive at this state of things if taxation be adjusted with reference to it; especially if, as we hold to be just, every person who is called upon to contribute to the taxes have a share in the power of appointing those who form the government.

Hence every person ought, in our opinion, to be taxed first for his person and next for his property; the latter tax rising and falling, as far as practicable, according to the amount of his property.

Supposing, however, that the soundness of this principle were generally admitted, much practical difficulty would still remain as to the comparative amount of taxation which ought to fall on the person and on the property; and as to the best mode of levying the taxes, so as to abstract as little as possible from the subject in proportion to the sum which reaches the Exchequer, and so as to interfere to the least possible extent in industry, commerce, and freedom of action.

While, however, there would be a difficulty in determining the fair proportion of taxation for protection to the person, its collection might be simple; for as the larger the family, the more members there are to be protected, we think there would be as near an approximation to strict justice as is perhaps practicable in any impost, if every member were taxed alike without distinction of age or sex; while by such an arrangement many temptations to deception and fraud would be prevented.

Unless unduly high, such a tax would press far less heavily than the present taxes on the necessities and comforts of life; all of which, as will presently be seen, we should propose to abolish. Nevertheless, it might be expedient, for a time at least, to make the payment of the personal tax optional, trusting

to the general and strong desire to possess the elective franchise for its general payment. In making the payment not compulsory, there would be the incidental but important advantage of restricting, to a considerable extent, the noble privilege of election to those who appreciate its value, and who, by their power to pay even the small sum required, give earnest of possessing those moral qualities of industry and self-denial which are among the surest guarantees for its safe exercise.

We trust also to the gradual spread of a true spirit of independence among all classes of our countrymen (wholly unconnected as that spirit is with rudeness or turbulence), for exciting in them a determination to refuse charity in every form; and it must be remembered that to have the benefits of government without paying a share of the expenses, is to receive one kind of charity. The honourable title of an independent labourer can only be fully claimed by him who manfully supports himself, and who at the close of life leaves his country at least as rich as it would have been had he not been born.

We are aware that it may be objected that to allow the payment of the personal tax to be optional, would afford no sufficient security against the elective franchise being possessed by a man who had really given no proof of industry and frugality, inasmuch as a candidate or his partisans might pay the tax for him, on the understanding that he would vote with their party.

But to this we would reply, in the first place, that we should propose to restrict the franchise to those who had paid the tax regularly for a certain number of years; secondly, that merely to pay the tax for him would offer no inducement to a bad man to prostitute his vote, while to bribe in addition would be to expose the tempter to the loss of his object, and subject him to heavy penalties besides; thirdly, that with the large number of voters under the system proposed bribery would be very expensive and dangerous; and, lastly, that with the present growing intelligence and spirit of public virtue, the time cannot be distant when the very fact of an attempt being made to gain votes by bad means will be felt by the great body of electors to be the strongest proof of the unworthiness of the candidate to become their representative.

We have now to consider in what form it would be best to impose the tax upon property; whether, first, on consumption, like most of the present taxes; or, secondly, on income; or, thirdly, on accumulated property; and, if the latter, whether on all or only certain kinds of accumulated property; or, fourthly, whether on two or more of these subjects of taxation.

The chief reason given for taxes on consumption is that they

can be paid according to the power and convenience of the contributors. But this reason will scarcely hold as regards taxes on the necessities of life (which are among the most productive of all), and frequently, as we shall see, fails as respects other taxes; while the reasons against taxes on consumption appear to us to be very strong.

The first objection to imposts on consumption is, that the sum paid by each person does not at all correctly indicate the amount of protection enjoyed by him, more especially, as in the present view, it is only protection to property which has to be considered. The weight of such taxes which falls on a large and poor family, with but little property, is out of all proportion greater than that which is paid by a small and rich family. Indeed, by becoming absentees, the latter, as is well known, often evade these taxes in their direct form altogether, although indirectly they, as well as others, must suffer by the diminution caused by these taxes in the profits of capital.

Another objection to such taxes is, that the operation of them is to a considerable extent hidden. We are aware that this is often regarded as an advantage, but to us it seems a great evil.

In the first place, we object altogether to disguise and mystery in carrying on public business, especially pecuniary affairs. No power is so likely to be abused, and none has in fact been so much abused, as that of taking people's money without their cognizance. Secondly, we think that proneness to war, which seems the besetting sin of all nations, requires a strong counter-acting power. There ought to be no misunderstanding as to the cost of this direful calamity; and what argument against war and the preparation for war can be more potent than a heavy, direct, and undisguised demand upon every man's pocket, a demand far exceeding that for all other government purposes put together? In an especial manner, this argument is wanted to be set in strong opposition among the people generally, to the greedy expectations of profitable contracts, military promotion, prize money, pccrages, and pensions, on the part of those who, from their influence and their situation near the seat of government, may be able to realize such expectations in their own behalf, if they can succeed in hallooing the people on to war.

Had it not been for the two-fold power of concealing for a time the effect of heavy taxations, and of delaying the payment of a large portion of it, how much more cautious the country would have shown itself of hurrying into war, and what a vast quantity of bloodshed, waste, and misery might have been avoided!

Again, the indirect taxes from their multiplicity and complexity, and the precautions necessary to prevent evasion, are expensive

in collection. The coast-guard, Mr M'Culloch states, costs half a million a year; and Sir Robert Peel has lately mentioned in parliament, that the abolition of the single duty on glass has produced a saving in salaries of 52,000*l.* a year. And it must be remembered, that the evil does not consist merely in the waste of money, but is very injurious to the true interests of the country, by the opportunities given for the exercise of patronage and corruption.

Independently, too, of the cost of collection, taxes on consumption do much more injury by stinting people in the necessaries of life, and debarring them from many of the comforts, than they benefit the Exchequer. If, for example, by a heavy tax, a poor family is prevented from using sugar, all the members of the family are deprived of the enjoyment of a nutritious and pleasant article of food, without the public Exchequer reaping one penny of benefit. How widely this principle acts is shewn by the great increase in the consumption of an article upon the abolition, or even vigorous reduction, of the tax upon it.

Speaking of the late tax on leather, Mr M'Culloch says—

“Could anything be more impolitic than to lay a duty on an article so indispensable to the labouring class, and to the prosecution of most branches of industry, and to subject a most important and valuable manufacture, furnishing the raw material of many others, to a vexatious system of revenue laws, for the sake of a revenue of 400,000*l.*, or even 600,000*l.* a year? Happily, however, these are now matters of history. The leather trade, relieved from every sort of trammel and restraint, has been vastly extended since 1830, and the customs duties on foreign hides being now merely nominal, their importation has rapidly increased, and the public have not merely profited by the abolition of the duty, but by the many improvements it has allowed to be made in the tanning and dressing of leather.”—P. 263.

So great has already been the increase in the demand for glass since the abolition of the tax, that one of the principal manufacturers, who formerly paid a considerable fraction of the whole duty, and who actually opposed the abolition of the tax, in the belief that its withdrawal would not lead to any increase of consumption, has lately stated, that, since the act passed, he has been compelled so rapidly to increase his buildings, that his number of furnaces will soon be doubled.

In referring to the tax on salt, Mr M'Culloch observes:—

“It certainly took directly and indirectly from four to five times the sum from the pockets of the public, which it brought into the coffers of the treasury.”—P. 260.

And he adds—

“But independently of its exorbitance, and the stimulus it gave to

smuggling, the great expense of its collection, and the innumerable ways in which it interfered with industrious undertakings, and with the subsistence of the poor, made it in the last degree objectionable. Hence, though various taxes, which produced a greater amount of revenue, have been repealed since 1815, the abolition of the salt tax is believed to have been followed with the greatest benefit."—P. 261.

In the case of letters, the late large reduction in the charge of postage may be regarded as almost an abolition of the tax; the present postage being but little if any more than the charge which would be made for the conveyance of letters by an indifferent party, if the business were thrown open to general competition, without any reference to taxation. And how great has been the increase in the number of letters in the few years since the reduction took place! An increase, which, in the London district at least, has been most marked, be it observed, in the poorest neighbourhoods; showing to how large an extent the labouring classes had heretofore been prevented, by an excessive charge on postage, from communicating with each other on matters relating to their well-being, and from keeping up those ties of affection which are so important for morality and general happiness.

So vast has been the general increase in the number of letters that it has been ascertained that, exclusive of franked letters, there are now as many received in the London district alone as there were, before the reduction of the charge, in the whole of Great Britain and Ireland.

It is strange that Mr M'Culloch, who, if we are not mistaken, was one of the first to petition for a uniform and low rate of postage, in support of Mr Rowland Hill's plan, now bitterly attacks the system, and denounces as quackery that very penny postage which the petition he signed may have assisted in obtaining.

It is not a little curious, too, that the increase in the present charge which Mr M'Culloch recommends, namely, from a 1*d.* to 2*d.* for a letter weighing $\frac{1}{2}$ an oz., 4*d.* for one weighing 1 oz., and so on, would, as compared with the cost, give, as nearly as possible, the very rate of taxation which, if smuggling is to be prevented, he speaks of in the case of brandy, tobacco, and coffee, as absurdly high! "In taxation," says Mr M'Culloch, "as in everything else, unless the means be adequate to the desired ends, the result will be nothing. If you offer a premium of eight to one on smuggling, do you imagine you will abate the nuisance you have called into existence by reducing the premium to six to one, or four to one?"

Now, as nearly as can be ascertained, the present average

charge for the postage of a letter is at least double the necessary cost of receiving, conveying, and delivering it; but Mr M'Culloch, according to his proposed scale, would have made the charge to the cost as 4 to 1. But, to use his own words, by so doing, "does he imagine that he should have abated the nuisance which had been called into existence" of the illicit conveyance of letters? not to speak of the falling off in the attainment of the other great benefits of the change?

With a rapidly and regularly increasing amount of revenue, as the fruits of penny postage, Mr M'Culloch will find it difficult to prove "that the adoption of the penny postage was most unwise" even as a financial measure; nor will the public readily believe that the vast increase of convenience which they now enjoy, affecting almost every transaction in life, would have been precisely the same "under any reasonably well-contrived system" of varying rates of 6d., 4d., 2d., and 1d., and "that the present increase of the Post-office revenue, while this system is maintained, redounds nothing to its credit."—P. 311.

All doubt, however, on the question of the superior policy, even in a financial point of view, of a penny over a twopenny rate of postage, seems to be removed by the fact that, already, notwithstanding the shortness of the period since the general change, the postage from the district letters, in London, is more productive at a penny per letter than it was before the alteration at twopence and threepence.

Some of the indirect taxes, particularly that on paper, obstruct the spread of knowledge. This latter tax, notwithstanding Mr M'Culloch can see no good reason for its repeal, appears to us to be highly objectionable; enhancing, as it does, the price of books, newspapers, and literature of all kinds, and causing much of the literature, especially that for the poor, to be printed in so small a type as to be difficult to read, and to be hurtful to the eye-sight.

Other taxes, like those on soap and windows (the latter, like most of the assessed taxes, being essentially an indirect tax), act as a check to habits of cleanliness; thereby fostering disease; an effect doubly attributable to the tax on windows, as this tax is not only an obstacle to cleanliness, but serves to shut out both light and fresh air.*

Other of these taxes, such as those on insurance and receipts,

* If the revenue cannot at present spare the amount of this tax, it would be an obvious sanitary improvement, which might be immediately adopted, to fix a limit to the present assessment; giving permission to the occupiers of existing houses to open new windows without surcharge, and substituting a house-tax for a window-tax in the case of new houses, until the whole system can be changed.

are taxes on forethought and prudence; the latter, also, often acting as a premium on knavery.

Almost all the indirect taxes, especially the excise duties, impose fetters to a greater or less extent on production, commerce, and personal liberty; and, unless balanced with a degree of precision which is quite unattainable, must often serve to force cultivation and capital out of their natural and best fields into others that are less productive. These evils, Mr M'Culloch often depicts with much force of argument and illustration, though, as already stated, he thinks them attributable generally to the taxes being excessively high. It appears to us, however, that these, and all the other evils which we have mentioned, belong necessarily to the system of indirect taxation; and that, while they might in many cases be lessened, they could only be eradicated by its entire abolition.

Were not our merchants accustomed, by long habit, to have their cargoes overhauled by government officers, and all travellers entering the country, or returning to it, to have their persons and luggage examined like those of suspected criminals, such a practice would probably be regarded as annoying and degrading to an extent which hardly any circumstances could justify. But even these vexations are small, compared with those to which all are exposed, whose business subjects them to the surveillance of excise officers, armed as these officers are (and almost necessarily so, if the objects of the present law are to be attained) with large powers.

We lately heard a gentleman of known public worth, and of undoubted integrity and honour, who had been many years a distiller, declare that the harassing interference and tyranny of the excise was beyond belief, and worse than that of any political despotism to be found in Europe; and that, if, instead of being confined to a few trades, it was extended to many, he was sure it would excite a rebellion. He said that no amount of care or good faith was a shield from persecution, and that the greatest of all offences, and one which was sure to mark a man for a series of attacks, which in the end would obtain their object, was to succeed in defeating the excise in a court of justice.

It appears, by a recent debate in the House of Commons, that a gentleman's house was lately broken open in the middle of the night, on suspicion of his having a private still, and this on the trumpety evidence of an anonymous letter.

Taxes on advertisements, stamps on newspapers,* and bills of

* The penny stamp should be removed from newspapers, and placed upon a wrapper or envelope, franking those required to be sent through the post,

exchange, and the restrictions imposed on drawing bankers' cheques, act also as trammels on industry and commerce; the two latter serving also as an obstacle to security, and offering temptations to fraud.

The following remarks, by Mr M'Culloch, on the evil of taxing horses employed in husbandry, obviously apply, with equal force, to a tax on horses employed in any other branch of industry, and on those used by professional men; yet, who can draw the line between horses thus employed and those kept only for amusement? Many are used partly for one purpose, and partly for the other; so that we cannot at all agree in the latter portion of the following extract:—

"The tax on horses formerly extended to those employed in husbandry, which were charged with duties varying from 3s. to 17s. 6d. each. Happily, however, the latter were exempted from the tax in 1822 and 1823. The duty on them was objectionable, inasmuch as it not only tended directly to raise the price of corn by taxing the instruments of production, but to do the same thing, indirectly, by obstructing the progress of agriculture. At present, there seems to be nothing to find fault with in the duty on horses. Probably, indeed, the rates on some of the classes might be advantageously increased."—P. 206.

It may be observed, in passing, that this frequent claim for exemption from different taxes is itself a strong argument against these taxes, and affords evidence of the unsoundness of the system on which they are based.

In the following remarks, on some of the evils arising from the present stamp duties, we entirely concur, though we suspect that they are less capable of remedy, and more inherent to the system, than Mr M'Culloch seems to think:—

"The construction of the acts imposing the duties is, in many cases, extremely difficult; and to obviate the mistakes thence arising, it is in most instances permitted to have improperly stamped instruments restamped, on payment of a moderate penalty. But this indulgence goes but a very short way to remedy the evils to which

The present system, while a check upon the diffusion of political and commercial information, is unequal in its operation; practically discouraging the existence of a local press. Hence the fact that there are no daily newspapers published in any part of the United Kingdom, *out of London*; and even in the metropolis, their circulation is extremely limited as compared with the population. The *Times* and *Chronicle* are too dear for the middle class; the annual subscription for each being 6l. 10s. 5d. The *Daily News* is the first attempt made in this country to establish a daily newspaper really within the means of the reading public. Its circulation, we hear, exceeds 20,000, but its success must still be considered doubtful, the penny stamp being a fixed burden of 40 per cent, upon the selling price.

the obscurity of the law gives rise. There is not (as there should be) any officer at the Stamp-office, or elsewhere, competent to determine what are, or what are not, the proper stamps to employ. This important information—so important to the ends of justice, and to the avoidance of litigation—can be learned only when instruments are produced as matters of evidence in courts of justice. But if a mistake has been committed, it is then too late to rectify it; and if the court decide, which it sometimes does, after long argument and consideration, that the instrument is improperly stamped, it is rejected. Many instruments, which have been stamped under the advice of experienced lawyers have, when offered in evidence, met this fate; because of the insufficiency of the stamp, the whole expense of the litigation, in the course of which the evidence is tendered, being thus thrown on parties who never meditated or imagined they were committing a fraud on the revenue.”—P. 276.

Almost every change in the indirect taxes, and such changes have hitherto been very frequent, must tend, when the tax is lowered, to cause undue excitement for a time, and a high rate of profit in the branch of industry to which it relates; while every increase in such a tax must serve to depress the trade on which it bears, and to bring difficulties, and sometimes ruin on those engaged in it; thus, in some degree, giving a lottery character to trade.

It appears from Mr M'Culloch, that, in consequence of the duty on ladies' chip hats having been suddenly and largely increased about eighty years ago, the article went out of use; and that a tax which was expected to yield a considerable revenue, and on which a million and a half had actually been borrowed, produced nothing.

Many persons must remember the severe suffering in the Highlands soon after the close of the war, in consequence of the demand for kelp, which had been created by a high duty having been put on barilla, suddenly disappearing on that duty being reduced.

How likely changes in the indirect taxes are to produce these effects, and yet how impossible it would be to prevent such changes, is evidently apparent even to the great espouser of these taxes, Mr M'Culloch; as will be seen by the following extracts:—

“And hence, whenever the duties on commodities are raised beyond a certain limit, a limit, however, which it is impossible to define, and which necessarily varies according to the nature of the taxed commodities and the varying tastes and circumstances of society, their effect is to depress consumption to such an extent as to render them less productive than if they were lower.”—Pp. 316, 317.

“Instead of making duties vary inversely as the price of commodities, that is, instead of raising them when the cost of producing

the articles on which they are laid is diminished, and reducing them when it is increased, they should be made to vary directly as this cost, rising when it rises and falling when it falls."—P. 323.

Another evil of indirect taxes is their interference with the various tastes and the private choice of people. A person who likes tea better than beer may, nevertheless, be driven to drink beer because a tax is put on tea. In many cases too, that which may usually be regarded as a luxury may by illness or other circumstances become an absolute necessary; but the law being unable to provide for such cases, the hand of the tax gatherer in effect snatches the soothing beverage or refreshing food from the lips of the patient.

In every light it seems important to leave the greatest possible amount of property in the hands of the subject, with free will to exchange it and dispose of it as he thinks best.

Even if indirect taxes (or taxes on consumption) were good in themselves, there would be great difficulty in levying them on a fair principle. The only equitable plan, supposing that a just selection could be made of articles to be taxed, would appear to be that of *ad valorem* duties; for it is plainly quite unfair to put the same tax on a pound of low-priced tea or a gallon of cheap wine, as on a pound of tea of rich quality, or on a gallon of claret or champagne; yet there are such facilities to fraud by disguising the qualities of tea, wine, and many other articles, that the *ad valorem* principle is in many cases found impracticable. On this subject Mr M'Culloch says:—

"It has often been proposed to impose *ad valorem* duties on wine, and, were it practicable, it would be a very desirable arrangement. There is the greatest difference in the qualities and values of different wines, and it is against all principle to subject inferior wines to the same rate of duty that is laid on the finest champagne and burgundy.* But, however desirable, the difficulties in the way of assessing *ad valorem* duties on wine, with any degree of fairness, are such that it is not very likely they should ever be overcome. It is often no easy matter to discriminate between entirely different kinds

* The Secretary of the Free-trade Association recently formed at Bordeaux writes to us as follows:—

"In the last Number of the 'Westminster Review' I remark the following passage:— 'It would be a good thing to buy champagne in London at half-a-crown the bottle, whether or not we dispose of our scissors, &c. You are not perhaps aware of the fact that very good claret, perfectly suited to the English taste, might be sold in London, with a good profit to the importer, at 8*l*. per hhd. Say, 10*l*. and add a moderate duty of 2*l*., making the cost 12*l*. This, for a hogshead making 300 bottles, is at the rate of only 9*d*. per bottle, exclusive of the expenses of bottling. Common sorts of clarets might be sold for less than half the above price.'—Ed.

of wine, and it is still more difficult to discriminate between different varieties of the same wine. Were the attempt made, a great deal would have to be left (where nothing ever should be left) to the discretion of the officers, and there is good reason to think that the frauds thence arising would more than countervail any advantage to be derived from the adoption of the principle."—P. 173.

Again:—

"While, however, nothing is easier than to enact that those who carry on certain businesses or professions shall pay a licensee duty, few things are more difficult than to assess it on a fair principle."—P. 250.

"Generally, however, it (the advertisement duty) acts unequally, and sometimes oppressively. Can anything be more anomalous or unjust than to impose the same duty on the notice of the publication of a sixpenny pamphlet, or of a servant wanting a place, as on that of the sale of a valuable estate?"—P. 284.

"Taking the price of Hyson and other superior teas consumed by the rich, at from 3s. to 4s. per lb., the duty on them does not exceed from 50 to 66 per cent. *ad valorem*; that is, it does not amount to more than $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ part of the duty laid on the teas consumed by the poor! Surely, however, this is neither an age nor a country in which an anomaly of this sort can be safely maintained. The public necessities require that the tea, sugar, and other necessities of the poor should be taxed; but the obvious principles of justice, also, require that the duties on them should be, if not lower, at all events no higher than those laid on the necessities or luxuries of the rich. The existing tea duties contradict this plain principle."—Pp. 388, 339.

One serious objection to the indirect taxes is the number of artificial offences they create, and the injury to public morals and to the fair trader, caused by the temptations which they offer to deception and fraud.

Mr M'Culloch says:—

"The belief is, that from a third part to a half of the champagne and sherry (or rather of the trash called by these names) sold in London is the produce of the home presses!—P. 328.

And again:—

"Round the coasts of Kent and Sussex the fishermen and country-people are more than half smugglers; and ferocious contests not unfrequently take place between them and the coast-guard. And while on the one hand the revenue is defrauded by the clandestine introduction of foreign spirits, it is, on the other, equally defrauded by the sale of counterfeits passed off as genuine cognac and schiedam."—P. 355.

Great difficulty is experienced in convincing smugglers that they have committed any real crime; and certainly when it is

considered that the act for which a smuggler is punished would, if the law did not declare it otherwise, be not only innocent but useful and beneficial, it is not surprising that this difficulty exists; especially when it is remembered that smugglers must be well aware that many people of much higher standing than their own, and whom they may be supposed to look up to for example, do not scruple, in travelling out of the country and returning to it, to convey contraband goods, that is, to become, like themselves, smugglers. Indeed, if many of the revenue laws were examined, those relating to the customs, the excise, the stamps, the post-office, and others, it would be found, we fear, that at present, few people, even among those who stand highest in education and morality, are not law-breakers, and are not therefore really as culpable, to say the least, as ordinary smugglers.

When the indirect taxes fall on the necessities of life, they must often have the effect, unless they be light and very carefully adjusted, of turning those who would be independent labourers into paupers.

We consider every tax, however imposed, whether on consumption, on income, or on accumulated capital, as having this tendency to a greater or less extent; but that it is peculiarly so when the tax falls on the necessities of life. We agree in the remarks by Sir Robert Peel, in a late debate on the corn laws (March 27th 1846), on the oppressive operation of these taxes; and quite concur with him in thinking that, so long as a large portion of the revenue is raised by indirect taxation, the burden must be unequal; but we dissent from him in considering it inevitable that a large portion of the revenue, or indeed any portion, should be thus raised.

Sir Robert Peel gave the following case, showing the pressure of the indirect taxes on a labouring family:—

“In order that I may be perfectly accurate, I have here an account of the consumption of a labourer receiving ten shillings per week in the summer and nine shillings a week in the winter. It is an actual return of the consumption of this man and his family. He had a wife and one child. It appears that he bought four gallons of bread, a pound and a half of cheese, some bacon, some salt beef, some butter, some tea, some sugar, some candles, some soap. Now, with the exception of candles, the duty on which we removed recently, every one of those articles is subject to taxation. By the present tariff we have removed the duty on bacon and on salt beef, and we have diminished the duties on outter and cheese. I ask you, can you repent of having made those alterations? The man of whom I am speaking died; he left a widow, and the child survived. The widow earned 4s. 6d. a week, and the guardians

allowed 1s. 9d. a week for the child. Now, this was her weekly expenditure:—She paid for rent, 1s. 6d. a week; candles and soap, 4½d.; butter, 2½d.; tea, 1½d.; sugar 2d.; leaving 1s. 3d. for firing, shoes, &c., which it will be admitted it must be very difficult to buy out of such a sum. Even here we see the pressure of taxation on this woman. Soap is taxed, butter is taxed, tea is taxed, sugar is taxed."

Sir Robert Peel continues:—

"Adam Smith says—'The first maxim with respect to taxation is, that every man contributes to the taxation of the State in proportion to the revenue which he enjoys under the protection of the State.' What can we say now? That we are able to act on that principle? I doubt it. I doubt whether, in that case, taxation as we have it does not fall heavier on the poor than it does upon us—the richer men. And it is because they have not the same means of avoiding it; they cannot leave the country, as we can. They cannot resort to a country where the rate of taxation is less. They are fixed to the soil, to the labour from which they can alone derive subsistence; and, therefore, I say, the burden of such a taxation does fall more heavily upon them than upon us."

Mr M'Culloch's opinions as to the effect of taxes on the necessities of life appear to be unsettled; inclining sometimes to the belief that they act very injuriously, and at others to the idea that they are not more objectionable than other taxes, and that they cause a corresponding increase in wages.

Thus, at page 215, Mr M'Culloch says, "a reduction in the duty on sugar would be a signal boon to the population." But, at page 157, he remarks that "it has been shown, in treating of taxes on wages, that taxes on the necessities consumed by the labourers most commonly bring about, in the end, a corresponding rise of wages, and either fall on their employers, or *are defrayed by an increase of industry and economy.*" Though he observes in continuation: "No doubt however there are cases in which such taxes occasion a nearly corresponding decrease in the comforts of the labourers; and, speaking generally, they should be resorted to with extreme caution, and should always be confined within their narrowest limits."

It would appear, however, by what follows, that little or nothing would be gained, in Mr M'Culloch's opinion, by transferring these taxes to property or income; for he adds, "But whatever may be the incidence of taxes laid directly on wages, or on necessities, there is not, we apprehend, much ground for supposing that the condition of the labourer would be sensibly improved by repealing such taxes, and replacing them by an equivalent tax on property or income."

The word *or*, in one of the preceding extracts, placed before

the words we have printed in italics, is important; for on it depends the question, according to Mr M'Culloch's own showing, whether the heavy taxes on the necessities of life are to be paid chiefly by the rich or by the poor; since, if the consumers, the great bulk of whom belong to the working classes, are to defray the tax "by an increase of industry and economy," it is declaring, in other words, that it is they who are to pay the tax.

It appears to us that there is a mixture of truth and error in the above passages. We believe that, in the first instance, nearly the whole weight of the taxes on the necessities of life falls on the poorer classes, but that, ultimately, a portion of the burden is removed to the capitalists. If the whole of these taxes do fall eventually on the capitalist, would it not be wiser for him to pay them in a direct form, and thus have the credit as well as the burthen of defraying them? For we entirely agree with Mr M'Culloch, that "It would be exceedingly difficult to convince the labourer [or any one else] that a tax on wages [or on necessities], however laid out, ever reverted to them."

The last objection which occurs to us, to taxes on the necessities of life, and on consumption generally, is that duties on foreign articles (and these must always form a large portion of such taxes) have, in a degree, the same bad effect as the late corn laws, in preventing the formation of those intimate ties between country and country, and of those common interests, which afford the greatest security against war; the want of which ties and interests has caused, and still causes, the greater part of that very taxation which these imposts are intended to defray.

Suppose, for example, that all duties were removed from the importation of French wine: the consequence would be that, while the people of this country would be enabled to drink a beverage far less exciting and maddening than that in which many now indulge, such a close connexion would be established between the two countries, and so powerful an interest would be created against any interruption to peace, that all probability of war would soon be removed.

Let us now consider the expediency of raising the public revenue by a tax on income.*

The chief reason which has been advanced in favour of such a

* It is important to note that the tax imposed by the late government, popularly called the "Income Tax," is based upon opposite and inequitable principles. It is, in fact, partly an income tax and partly a property tax, so levied as to favour wealth at the expense of industry in a striking disproportion, by assessing profits at the same rate as vested income. The injustice is obvious of placing upon the same footing of taxation a clerk's salary of 300*l.* per annum and the interest of 10,000*l.* in the 3 per cents.

tax, in preference to a property tax, is that it prevents a man from escaping taxation by an extravagant expenditure.

That a person might, if there were no tax either on consumption or income, avoid his fair share of taxation, there can be no doubt; but that he would escape taxation altogether we do not admit, inasmuch as a tax on property would, to a certain extent, reduce profits and incomes. Considering, moreover, that, in a country where the laws are just, and the public burdens moderate, every person living up to the full extent of his income must, as a general rule, be deficient either in industry, intelligence, prudence, or regard for the interests of others; we think that the incidental advantage of excluding such persons from the exercise of the elective franchise (for, as already stated, we would in all cases make this privilege depend on the direct payment of taxes) would more than counterbalance the public injury caused by the loss of their full contribution to the taxes.

Another objection to an income tax is that income does not form so fair an index as property of the amount of state protection which the party possessing it requires. Even under ordinary circumstances property is exposed to robbery, and needs for its protection an expensive system of police and criminal law; and the sufferings of men of property in France during the Revolution, and the late massacre of landed proprietors in part of Poland, show in a strong light the peculiar interest which the holders of property have that effective measures should be taken to prevent convulsion and anarchy.

Other objections to an income tax are, first, the annoying and vexatious examination which it makes necessary into a man's private concerns; and, secondly, the great difficulty, even with such an examination, of arriving at a true knowledge of the subject; and the temptations which are offered to deception and fraud.

Objectionable, however, as we regard an income tax, we do not look upon it as so objectionable as indirect taxes; and therefore, if we were compelled to adopt the one or the other, we should prefer an income tax.

But we have now to consider the other branch of taxation which remains for examination—accumulated property—which, with the personal tax, appears to us to be the best subject for taxation.

And first, should all kinds of accumulated property be taxed? If the amount and value could in all cases be readily ascertained, we should say yes; but as this cannot be done, let us inquire what kinds can be most easily taxed, and whether there would be any great practical injustice in exempting the others.

There are two species of property of great extent, of one of which there is at present a complete register, while the other is in part registered, and ought, for several reasons, to be wholly registered. We speak of funded property, and of fixed property, or what, in contradistinction to property of other kinds, lawyers improperly designate real property. And on these we should propose to place the whole tax on property, that is, all the taxation except the tax for the protection of the person.

The fairness of including funded property will be obvious, when it is considered that, by the proposed change, the parties holding such property would be relieved from much taxation to which they are at present liable, both in the expenditure of their dividends and (while the present income tax lasts) in the direct abstraction of a portion of the dividend. If, indeed, at the time the money was borrowed by the State, it had been possible, from the nature of the system of taxation, to except funded property from taxes, and the lenders had had full confidence in such a guarantee being always observed, it would have been indifferent to both parties whether the money should be so excepted from taxation or not; since, in the latter case, the sum paid to government for any given amount of stock would have been proportionately larger. But, as the money was advanced without any such understanding, it would now be an act of Quixotism on the part of the country to relieve the holders of funded property from the ordinary taxation, without imposing an equivalent tax on their dividends, or, what to all parties would be the same, making a proportionate deduction from the principal.

It may, indeed, be objected, that such of the fund-holders as are foreigners would not partake in the advantage of the withdrawal of the taxes on consumption, and that, therefore, they would be unfairly dealt with. But our answer is that, in the first place, as Englishmen are the great lenders in the world, and not borrowers, the number of foreigners holding property in our funds must be comparatively small; secondly, that under the altered circumstances contemplated, and the cheapening of the necessities of life, some of these foreign fund-holders would probably come to reside in this country, and thereby be in a position to share in the benefit conferred; and, thirdly, that no tax has ever been devised which does not bear, to some extent, unequally, and few that have not a far greater degree of inequality than would exist in this case.

There would be so much difficulty in determining the amount and fixing the value of moveable property, that we should propose to exempt it from taxation, in the same way as it is already exempted in assessing for the poor rates. Nor do we conceive

that, after the change had once been made, such exemption would lead to much practical injustice.

In the first instance, there would no doubt be some fall in the value of all kinds of fixed property; but we believe that many kinds would speedily recover themselves, and we doubt whether, ultimately, there would be much diminution in the value of any. Take, for instance, houses, coal-mines, and railways. It is clear that until tenants of houses, consumers of coal, and passengers on railways, were prepared to pay such charges as would yield an ordinary rate of profit, no more houses would be built, coal-mines opened, or railways constructed. But with the increasing demand of a population which is every day augmenting, with the greater cheapness with which such buildings and works could be constructed under the arrangements contemplated,—owing to the removal of the taxes on bricks and timber, and to the comparative cheapness of labour, in consequence of the abolition of all taxes on consumption,—and with the greater means which most people would have to live in a better house, consume more coal, or to travel more frequently on railways,—these, all acting together, would, we believe, soon create such a demand for houses, coals, and railways, as would exceed the present supply; and so soon as that was the case, the greater part of the new tax on the existing houses, coal-mines, and railways would be transferred to the consumers (using that term in its technical sense), and these would of course have to pay the whole of the tax as respects all new houses, coal-mines, and railways.

In every case, indeed, in which the land produced an article which could not readily be imported, as that used in supplying milk or vegetables, or in feeding cattle, and including, of course, all land required for building, the present value, or something not much below it, would, we think, soon be realized; nay, owing to the increase in industry and production which the removal of all the present trammels would create, we believe that it would, in many instances, be much increased.

Still, if there were no counteracting effects, besides those mentioned, there would, for a time at least, be a considerable diminution in the value of many kinds of fixed property, as compared with moveable property; and to meet this we should propose that, when the change takes place, a single, but heavy tax be laid on moveable property (excepting small amounts), and the proceeds applied to the reduction of the national debt. Indeed, we believe that it would be for the real interest of the proprietors of all kinds of property, whether fixed or moveable, for such a sum to be raised on property (the largest, proportionately, being on moveable property) as would go far towards liquidating

the whole debt, and so reduce future taxation within narrow bounds; for at present every man's property must be looked upon as mortgaged, to a certain extent, to the national creditors; and we believe that it would be sound economy and good policy for those who are able to do so, to pay off their share of the general mortgage, and for the others to raise the money by their own means instead of through the costly agency of the State, which, as shown by Mr M'Culloch (and we believe he under-estimates the loss), so managed the borrowing of the loans which form the present public debt, that we have become bound to repay at least fifty millions sterling more than was lent us.

This, however, is a matter which might stand over till it had been well considered by the parties chiefly interested in its adoption.

To be called upon to make a frequent return of the value of personal property, and to be subject to the inquisitorial kind of investigation necessary for ascertaining its truth, would be an intolerable annoyance, though, as an act of justice to others, and for the attainment of a great and permanent good, it might well be borne for once.

While, for the reasons we have stated, we would not, except in a single instance, compel the owners of moveable property to pay a tax for it, we would, at the same time, permit them voluntarily to subject it to taxation, and thereby obtain a larger share of the elective franchise than they would otherwise enjoy,—it being part of the proposed plan to make this privilege dependant on the payment of taxes, and, though not in a direct ratio, co-extensive with it. In the same way that, while the proprietor of a single share in a joint-stock company has one vote, the holder of five shares may have two votes, and the holder of twelve shares, three votes,—or the person who pays largely to the poor rates has more votes (though not in the ratio of his contribution) in the election of the guardians than the man who pays but little,—so we think it just that he who contributes largely to the general taxes should have a greater voice in the selection of those who will have the control and disposal of those taxes than he who pays but little towards them.

Indeed, this principle is at present acted upon, in some degree, though in a way which is rude and unequal; for a proprietor of several small estates in different counties has a vote for each; though, if the estates be united and in one county, notwithstanding his contribution to the taxes is the same as if they were separated, he has only one vote for the whole.

The chief objections made to a property tax by Mr M'Culloch and others are, first, that it is difficult to ascertain the real value

of the property to be assessed; secondly, that it diminishes the labour fund, and tends to drive capital out of the country; thirdly, that, so far as such charge becomes a rent charge on land, it is an obstacle to agricultural improvements; and, fourthly, that it checks accumulation and encourages consumption.

The difficulties in determining the value of the property to be assessed are, of course, much diminished by limiting the tax to property which is fixed.

With this restriction, instead of any peculiar difficulty existing in the assessment, we believe that the tax might be more easily and correctly levied than almost any other tax that can be named;* for, as already seen, taxes on consumption, though simple in appearance, are generally in reality very unequal and unjust.

In levying a tax on fixed property of any kind, the question would simply be at what rent such property is let, or might reasonably be expected to be let, from year to year, on the understanding that the tenant agrees to uphold the property in its existing state.

Such a tax must (in common, we believe, with all taxes) diminish the labour fund, but not, in our opinion, to so great an extent as this fund is at present diminished, in effect, by the taxes which absorb what would otherwise become capital or labour fund, and by the many checks to industry which they create.

We admit that a property tax has a tendency to drive capital out of the country, but this tendency may, and, we believe, would be much more than counterbalanced by the increase of profits, caused by the cheapening of labour consequent on the removal of taxes on consumption. That heavy taxes on consumption, as well as on property, tend to drive away capital, and skilled labour also, may be seen from Mr McCulloch's account of the state of Holland, which we have already given.

It is objected that a tax on fixed property, so far as it acts as a rent-charge on land, tends to prevent improvements in agriculture, by deterring landed proprietors from laying out capital upon it. We admit that this is the case, but we hold that the same effect is produced by taxing building-materials and

* Practically, no difficulty is found in ascertaining the exact amount of rents and dividends chargeable under the property-tax schedules of what is called the "Income Tax." The returns are obtained with great facility, because made by occupying tenants and others, upon whom the burden of the tax does not ultimately fall; and, for the same reason, the money is paid with a promptitude and cheerfulness, which collectors do not find in the case of other taxes, or of local rates, where the landlord is not liable

the food of the labourers. The distinction, too, which Mr M'Culloch draws, in common with some other economists, in favour of agriculture, as being the most important branch of national industry, and, as is implied, entitled to peculiar privileges, we look upon as quite invalid. We feel sure that, in this, as in every other country, the branches of industry which are most important to its interests, are such as can best withstand universal competition; and that, if there be any employment that cannot live without favour and protection (which, however, we do not for a moment suppose to be the case, in this country, with agriculture), it is desirable that such employment should seek a refuge elsewhere.

The fourth objection is that taxes on property check accumulation, and encourage consumption.

They certainly must have this effect. We have already stated that we regard every tax as an evil, and we do not claim any exception in behalf of a property tax. All that we maintain is, that this tax is attended with a less amount of evil than almost every other kind of tax; and even as regards accumulation, believing, as we do, that, under the proposed system of taxation, people would have it in their *power* to accumulate more than they do at present, we feel confident, owing to the general desire to possess property, that there would, in fact, be more accumulation under this system than there is now.

By the admission of Mr M'Culloch, who is so much enamoured of indirect taxation in the abstract, but who points out innumerable evils attending it in its present form, it appears that the continuance of the system depends in a great measure on the love of the people for beer and spirits, and for that noisome weed tobacco; yet, surely, the true interests of the country cannot be bound up in the prevalence of such tastes as these! He says, "It is abundantly obvious that, if the prevailing taste of our people should undergo any material change, and the consumption of beer, spirits, and tobacco be gradually abandoned, it might be difficult to supply the deficiency it would occasion in the revenue, without resorting to direct taxation."—P. 381.

While, in this article, we have found so much to dissent from in Mr M'Culloch's work, we must not withhold our testimony to the great industry and research which it displays, to the large number of interesting facts it contains, and to the irrefragable proofs it affords of the folly and mischievousness of, at least, high taxes on consumption. We cannot, however, but wonder that, with such facts, he should have arrived at some of his conclusions;

conclusions which appear to us to be irreconcilable with many of his own data. We think he may have been partly misled by taking too exclusive a view of particular interests, and of what would benefit a particular country, without sufficient regard to those larger interests and assemblies of countries, which cannot be lost sight of, without injury to the favourite whose sole advantage is desired. Thus, Mr McCulloch thinks that, if it could be shown that a supply of British coal is of great consequence to neighbouring states, and that, in permitting its exportation, we put our rivals in the same situation with ourselves,

"Sound policy would either dictate that the exportation of coal should be wholly put a stop to, or that it should be charged, on being shipped, with a high duty."—P. 199.

And he adds—

"On the whole, however, it seems sufficiently clear that English coal, though not by any means indispensable, is of considerable advantage to the foreigner; and such being the case, there can be no doubt that we have done wisely in laying the moderate duty on its exportation, imposed by the Tariff Act of 1842."—P. 199.

Again, he says, at page 391—

"Our free institutions and all that we most value are in truth wholly supported by our bayonets and ships of war."

And elsewhere, he suggests the advantage, were it not that the policy would be probably copied by others, and thus rendered nugatory, of trying to force other people to pay our taxes, by placing duties on exports.—P. 196.

Instead of subscribing to such doctrines, we believe that, in taxation as in everything else, true wisdom will be found in consulting as far as practicable the general good of mankind, rather than the exclusive benefit of a few; and that the greater the number whose interests are cared for, the more secure will each person be in the attainment of his own. To taxation, as almost equally true with free trade, we would apply part of the noble passage which concludes Mr Burton's lately published *Life of David Hume*:—

"In no long time, a hundred years will have elapsed from the day when Hume told the world what the legislature of this country is now declaring, that national exclusiveness in trade was as foolish as it was wicked; that no nation could profit by stopping the natural flood of commerce between itself and the rest of the world; that commercial restrictions deprive the nations of the earth of that free communication and exchange, which the author of the world has intended, by giving them soils, climates, and geniuses so different

from each other, and that, like the healthy circulation of the blood in living bodies, free trade is the vital principle by which the nations of the earth are to become united in one harmonious whole."

We will conclude with a brief summary of our views and recommendations:—

1. That our present system of taxation is, to a great extent, the offspring of unconnected and ill-digested legislation, proceeding on no sound or general principle; and that it is unequal in its pressure, and replete with inconsistencies and anomalies.

2. That, under these circumstances, the taxes are liable to frequent changes, entailing shocks to trade, and involving many persons in difficulty and ruin.

3. That it is expensive in collection, and debars large classes of people from many comforts and enjoyments, without any benefit to the Exchequer.

4. That some of the taxes check the spread of knowledge and education, and tend to prevent the formation of habits of cleanliness and prudence.

5. That many of them impose vexatious and harassing trammels on industry, commerce, and personal freedom, almost amounting, in some branches of the excise, to a galling tyranny, unworthy the endurance of a free people.

6. That many of the taxes present temptations to deception and fraud, highly dangerous to public morals, and productive of much of the crime which it is the main duty of the government, and which it ought to be the chief purpose of taxation, to prevent.

7. That many of the taxes serve to prevent those numerous and friendly ties between country and country which are the best securities against war; the danger of which has been and continues to be the cause of the chief part of the very taxation itself.

8. That it is expedient to reconstruct the present system of taxation.

9. That the principle on which taxes ought to be paid is that every person shall contribute, as far as practicable, in proportion to the amount of protection which he receives for his person and property.

10. That protection for the person being general, every one ought to pay for it; although it would not be expedient, for a time at least, to make the payment compulsory.

11. That protection for property ought to be paid only by the holders of property; and that it is expedient, and would not be productive of permanent injustice, that the tax should fall exclusively on fixed property.

12. That to prevent the injustice which would otherwise arise at the time of the change of system, a single but heavy tax should be laid on moveable property, including money, manufactured articles, and every species of possession, except that which is fixed to the land; the proceeds to be applied to the reduction of the national debt.

13. That representation should be coexistent and coextensive with taxation; every one contributing to the taxes having at least one vote in the choice of a representative, and those who contribute largely having more than one vote.

Although we think that, if the plan here sketched should find public favour and be adopted, it would be best to introduce it at once in its complete form, nevertheless the plan might be tried gradually, by establishing a personal tax and a tax on fixed property, and then abolishing some of the most objectionable of the present taxes, and reducing the others to an amount that would leave but little temptation to commit fraud. The country might then pause for a time to see the effect of such a change before carrying the plan farther.

Under just laws, with perfect freedom of trade and with a simple and equitable system of taxation (its pressure constantly diminishing with every increase in wealth and population and with the avoidance of war), it is difficult to foretel to what degree of contentment and happiness this country may rise; and that not with a jealous fear of the progress of other countries, but with a hearty sympathy in their advance, and with an increasing exchange of reciprocal benefits. Placed as she is in a position which offers a ready intercourse with the whole world, blessed with a fertile soil, abundance of mineral wealth, a climate favourable to exertion, and, above all, peopled with a race remarkable for industry, hardihood, and intelligence, whose energies are no longer occupied in war and destruction, but employed in the noble arts of peace, we believe that the time is not distant when she will possess the necessaries of life in such abundance as will remove all apprehension of dearth or even privation; while many of the comforts which are now confined to comparatively few will be extended to all.

F.

- ART. II.—1. *Thoughts on Animalcules; or, a Glimpse at the Invisible World revealed by the Microscope.* By Gideon A. Mantell, LL.D. London: John Murray. 1846. Pp. 144.
2. *Microscopic Manipulation, containing the Theory and Plain Instructions for the Use of the Microscope. Illustrated by Wood-cuts.* T. and R. Willatts, 98 Cheapside. 1846. Pp. 59.
3. *A History of Infusoria—Living and Fossil, arranged according to "Die Infusionsthierchen" of C. G. Ehrenberg.* By Andrew Pritchard, M.R.I. London: Whittaker & Co. 1845. Pp. 489.
4. *Traité Pratique du Microscope, et de son Emploi dans l'Etude des Corps Organisés, par le Docteur L. Mandl.* Paris; and Baillière, Regent Street, London.

THE fallibility of human judgment is never more clearly shown than in many of the predictions unhesitatingly made and authoritatively enforced, in relation to any new scientific discovery, or its application to the onward progress of human knowledge, or to the wants and comforts of mankind. We do not allude to the mere ignorant assertions of ignorant and self-sufficient men, who appear to regret and endeavour to oppose every forward step in civilization; and who, despite the constant failure of their prophecies, still receive any scientific novelty with incredulity, or treat its discoverer with contempt and scorn: but we speak of the assertions made by men whose whole lives have been devoted to philosophical inquiry, and whose minds have therefore been matured by deep study and a constant observation of those phenomena concerning which they so unhesitatingly and so incautiously prophecy. Numberless examples of this fact present themselves to our recollection; but we will content ourselves with reference to two only. When it was first proposed to substitute gas for oil in the illumination of the streets of London, Sir Humphrey Davy asserted that it would be as practicable to cut a slice from the moon, and use it as an illuminating power. And yet but a few years rolled over before not only the metropolis, but every provincial town had its gas-works and its gas illumination,—the hopes of those who had suggested the improvement were fulfilled,—the prediction of the greatest philosopher of that day was but a groundless apprehension.*

* On this subject it may not be uninteresting to add that, during the winter months, 890 tons of coals are used, on the average, per day, by the Metropolitan Gas Companies, for the manufacture of gas; and that, on the 24th of December, seven million cubic feet of gas are consumed in London and the suburbs. We are indebted for this information to a paper read before the last Meeting of the Statistical Society by Mr Fletcher.

And again, when Transatlantic steam navigation was proposed, Dr Lardner affirmed, in the most unqualified manner, that it was impossible that any steam vessel could traverse the Atlantic. The prediction was scarcely made public ere the task was accomplished.*

We are naturally led to these remarks in referring to the history of one of the most beautiful and perfect instruments with which modern science has furnished the philosopher—the COMPOUND MICROSCOPE. For a long period this instrument was considered a mere philosophical toy, owing to the distance which the light had to traverse, and the consequent increase of the chromatic and spherical aberration; and so impossible did it appear to overcome this difficulty that, within thirty years of the present period, philosophers of no less eminence than M. Biot and Dr Wollaston predicted that the compound would never rival the simple microscope, and that the idea of rendering its object-glasses achromatic was hopeless. Nor can these opinions be wondered at, when we consider how long the achromatic telescope had existed without any attempt to apply its principles to the compound microscope. And if we recollect further the smallness of the pencil required by the microscope, and the enormous increase of difficulty attending every enlargement of the pencil; if we consider further that these difficulties had to be contended with and removed, by operations on portions of glass so small that they were themselves almost microscopic objects; we shall not be surprised that even a cautious philosopher and able manipulator like Dr Wollaston should prescribe limits to its improvement.

Such is the picture with which we are presented if we inquire into the use of the microscope thirty years since. Fortunately, however, for science generally, these apprehensions of Wollaston have proved false; undeterred by the assertion of authorities of

* Dr Lardner's prophecy was delivered before the British Association, and was published in the 'Athenæum,' vol. ix, p. 656. He computed that for each horse-power of steam one ton of coals would be required for every 1425 miles. "Taking this as a basis of the calculation," said he, "and allowing one-fourth of a ton of coals per horse-power as spare fuel, the tonnage necessary for the fuel and machinery, on a voyage from England to New York, would be 3.70 tons per horse-power, which, for a vessel with engines of 400 horse-power, would be 1480 tons." Now, as the ship referred to was only intended to be 1200 tons burthen, which was afterwards increased to 1340 tons, the voyage was demonstratively impracticable. And yet the *Great Western* completed her first voyage across the Atlantic in fifteen days. Upon after-examination it turned out that, although the computations of Dr Lardner were correct, his data were wrong. Instead of the 1480 tons, which it was predicted the *Great Western* would have to burn, she took out only 660 tons, of which only 450 tons were consumed.

such eminence, philosophers and opticians have conjointly devoted their energies to a task at first apparently so hopeless, the result of which has been that the improvements thus effected during the last fifteen years have sufficed to elevate the microscope from the useless condition we have described to that of being the most important instrument ever bestowed by art upon the investigator of nature. In almost every department of science are we indebted to it for the extension of our knowledge, and the verification of previous observation. To the chemist it is of utility in the examination of crystals, and the determination of their angles—to the pharmacist, in the detection of the adulteration of drugs. The physiologist may ascertain the intimate structure of organic tissues in their normal, the pathologist in their abnormal state; the physician may obtain conclusive and satisfactory evidence regarding the nature and seat of disease by the examination of the secretions or excretions of diseased organs, while, in medico-legal inquiries, the microscope again comes to our aid, in detecting the murderer, and rendering him back the poison, grafting for grain. To it, recently, has geology been greatly indebted; in the hands of an Owen and a Mantell the microscope becomes an instrument of magic power, by means of which, from the inspection of a portion only of a bone or tooth, the habits of the animal to which it belonged are decided; the colossal reptiles of the ancient earth are revived in all the reality of life and being, and the early formations of our globe decked with their former inhabitants and the vegetation which clothed them long ere man “moved, and breathed, and had his being.”

But perhaps in the departments of botany and zoology have the most extensive discoveries been effected by this instrument. A new world of microscopic life previously unknown and unsuspected has been disclosed, whose extent and wonders naturally excite in the human mind unbounded astonishment, and increase our reverence for the Great Creator, who, in the organization of these beings of a day, displays design as extensive, and adaptation as complete, as in the structure of man himself. An extract from the opening remarks of one of the works before us will convey some faint idea of this microscopic world :—

“Wherever we turn, within the precincts of our own homes, in meadow or moorland, hill or forest, by the lone sea-shore or amidst crumbling ruins—fresh objects of interest are constantly to be found; plants and animals unknown to our unaided vision, with minute organs perfectly adapted to their necessities; with appetites as keen, enjoyments as perfect, as our own. In the purest waters, as well as in thick, acid, and saline fluids, of the most indifferent climates,—in springs, rivers, lakes and seas,—often in the internal humidity of

living plants and animals, even in great numbers in the living human body—nay, probably, carried about in the aqueous vapours and dust of the whole atmosphere,—there is a world of minute, living, organized beings, imperceptible to the ordinary senses of man. In the daily course of life, this immense mysterious kingdom of diminutive living beings is unnoticed and disregarded; but it appears great and astonishing, beyond all expectation, to the retired observer who views it by the aid of the microscope. In every drop of standing water, he very frequently, though not always, sees by its aid rapidly-moving bodies, from 1-96 to less than 1-2000 of a line in diameter, which are often so crowded together, that the intervals between them are less than their diameter. If we assume the size of the drop of water to be one cubic line, and the intervals, though they are often smaller, to be equal to the diameter of the bodies, we may easily calculate, without exaggeration, that such a drop is inhabited by from one hundred thousand to one thousand millions of such animalcules; in fact we must come to the conclusion, that a single drop of water, under such circumstances, contains more inhabitants than there are individuals of the human race upon our planet. If, further, we reflect on the amount of life in a large quantity of water, in a ditch or pond, for example,—or if we calculate that, according to many observers of the sea, and especially of its phosphorescence, vast tracts of the ocean periodically exhibit a similar development of masses of microscopic organized bodies,—even if we assume much greater intervals—we have numbers and relations of creatures living on the earth, invisible to the naked eye, at the very thought of which the mind is lost in wonder and admiration. It is the microscope alone which has enabled close observers of nature to unveil such a world of her diminutive creation, just as it was the art of making good telescopes which first opened to their view the boundless variety, and all the wonders of the starry firmament.”—‘*Microscopic Manipulation*,’ Pp. 13, 14.

Who can wonder, then, that this world of microscopic life should, upon its first discovery, have been represented by fanciful writers as a world of spirits, peopled by forms not to be compared with those of the visible world; sometimes horrible, sometimes strangely distorted, neither properly animate, nor yet properly inanimate. Some have represented them as the wanton sport of the creative energy of nature (*lusus naturæ*); and even in 1820, an otherwise respectable writer described in detail the magic powers with which some of these forms were said to be endowed. It is not, however, merely the singularity and minuteness of their form that have excited the greatest interest, but the wonderful physiological properties ascribed to the Infusoria by different observers have attracted the attention of all the friends of science, and of the most learned and profound inquirers, from Leibnitz and Boerhaave down to the present time.

Before we proceed to speak of the revelations of the microscope, it will be interesting to take a retrospective glance at its history, which, like that of many other valuable inventions, is veiled in considerable obscurity by the lapse of time. It appears certain that the ancients were acquainted with the microscope, in one at least of the simple forms now known, from the following passage in Seneca;—"Literæ, quamvis minutæ et obscuræ, per vitream pilam aquæ plenam, majores clarioresque cernuntur." Amongst the moderns (for during the middle ages it appears to have been entirely lost) the honour of its discovery has been claimed by many individuals. By Huygens, the celebrated Dutch mathematician, its invention is attributed to one of his countrymen, Cornelius Drebell. But it is asserted by Borellus, that Jansen, the reputed contriver of the telescope, was its inventor, and that he presented some such instrument to Prince Maurice, and Albert, Archduke of Austria. This instrument was six feet in length, and consisted of a tube of gilt copper, supported by thin brass pillars in the shape of dolphins, on a base of ebony, which was adapted to hold the objects to be examined. Of the internal construction of this microscope we have no account, though there is reason to believe that it was nothing more than a telescope converted into a microscope. For ourselves, we are inclined to give to Jansen the merit of having invented the microscope from this very testimony of Borellus, who, in a work * published in 1655, has adduced a great deal of evidence connected with the invention of the telescope and microscope. He brings forward five different testimonies, and a letter from William Boreel, envoy from the States of Holland, which throw considerable light on the subject. Boreel was intimately acquainted with Zaccharius Jansen, and had frequently been in his father's shop. He had often heard that the Jansens were the inventors of the microscope, and having been in England in 1619, he saw in the hands of his friend Cornelius Drebell the very microscope which Zaccharius Jansen had presented to Prince Maurice, and Albert, Archduke of Austria. Cornelius Drebell, therefore, who has commonly been considered as the inventor of the microscope, appears to have derived this honour from the accidental circumstance of his having exhibited the microscope made by Jansen; and as he was a favourite at the court of James the Sixth, where he lived some time, this opinion may have proceeded not only from his own arrogance, but from the influence of royal favour. Viviani, an Italian mathematician, also expressly informs us, in his life of Galileo,

* *De Vero Telescopii Inventore.*

that this great man was led to the construction of the microscope from that of the telescope; and, in the year 1612, he actually sent a microscope to Sigismund, King of Poland. Dissatisfied, however, with the performance of this instrument, he appears from his letters to have been much occupied about 1624 in bringing it to perfection, but we have no information of the result of his labours. In the year 1618, Fontana, a Neapolitan, made a microscope of two double-convex lenses, and wrote an account of it in a work,* which, however, was not published till some years afterwards. As there is no reason to believe that the microscopes invented by Jansen consisted of two convex lenses, the honour of this improvement seems due to Fontana, who distinctly assumes the merit of it, and we may add that no other person has laid claim to it.

For a long period, curious as the fact may now appear, the single microscope was that generally in use, the compound instrument, as we have already remarked, being regarded as a mere philosophical toy. Soon after the year 1820, a series of experiments was begun in France by M. Selligne; and simultaneously by Fraunhofer, at Munich; by Amici, at Modena; by Chevalier, at Paris; and by the late Mr. Tulley, of London. In 1824, the last-named artist, at the instigation of Dr Goring, and without knowing what had been done on the continent, made an attempt to construct an achromatic object-glass for a compound microscope, and produced one of 9-10ths of an inch focal length, composed of three lenses, and transmitting a pencil of eighteen degrees. This was the first that was made in England. While these practical investigations were in progress, the subject of achromatism engaged the attention of some of the most profound mathematicians in England. Sir John Herschel, Professor Airy, Professor Barlow, Mr Coddington, and others, contributed largely to the theoretical examination of the subject; and though the results of their labours were not immediately applicable to the microscope, they essentially promoted its improvement. Between this period and the year 1829, Mr Joseph Jackson Lister had directed his attention more particularly to this subject, and he was led to the discovery of certain properties in achromatic combinations which had before been unobserved. A paper on the subject was sent by him to, and published by, the Royal Society.† To the practical optician the investigations and results of Mr Lister proved to be of the highest value—the progress of improvement was, in consequence, extremely rapid,

* ‘*Notes Terrestrum et Cælestium Observationes.*’—Neap. 1640.

† ‘*Philosophical Transactions*’ for 1830.

and since that period, owing to the energy and exertions of Messrs. Ross, Pritchard, Powell, Smith, and other well-known London opticians, every year has served to bring this instrument nearer to perfection. Nor must we forget to bear testimony to the exertions of the Microscopical Society, which was founded some few years since, with the express object of rendering the microscope more available as an aid to scientific research, by introducing improvements into its construction. Many of the papers which have been read before this Society are of the most interesting description; and it may safely be affirmed, that the exertions and researches of its members, amongst whom are some of the most celebrated men of the present day, in the various departments of zoology, botany, physiology, and geology, have tended to give a vast increase to our knowledge in this fascinating branch of physical science.

In an article like the present it would be useless to attempt to give any account of the construction of the microscope, of the optical principles on which such construction depends, or of its manipulation. We must content ourselves with referring the reader, who is desirous of acquainting himself with these matters, to the second work in the list which heads this paper, a concise treatise on the manipulation of the microscope, the mode of selecting and mounting objects, &c.

We turn now to the consideration of the wondrous revelations of this instrument; and we will first speak of that vast world of animal life with which, but for its aid, we should be wholly unacquainted. It would be utterly impossible for us, within the limits to which we are confined, to give a detailed account of all the animalcules which, under the name of Infusoria, have been examined, described, and figured by the naturalists who have devoted themselves to this branch of study. Our endeavours in the present article must necessarily be confined to the attempt to present to the general reader a view of the extraordinary edifice reared by means of the microscope in the field of physical science, and to show how the eye of man is here opened to penetrate the most profound, and formerly unsuspected, secrets of nature.

The vast numbers of animalcules with which the microscope has made us acquainted, were first detected in water in which vegetable matters, such as hay, grass, &c. had been allowed to macerate; and as they were almost invariably found in such infusions, it was considered by early investigators that they were peculiar to them; hence the general term INFUSORIA was given to them; and although it is now known that these vegetable infusions have no relation to the origin of such creatures, except

in so far as they provide a proper medium for the development of their ova, everywhere present; yet, for the sake of convenience, the general term "Infusoria" is still retained by naturalists. Perhaps the best general idea of the appearance of some of these animalcules to an observer, for the first time, will be given by the following extract from Dr Mantell's work:—

"From some water containing aquatic plants, collected from a pond on Clapham Common, I select a small twig, to which are attached a few delicate flakes, apparently of slime or jelly; some minute fibres standing erect here and there on the twig are also dimly visible to the naked eye. This twig, with a drop or two of water, we will put between two thin plates of glass, and place under the field of view of a microscope, having lenses that magnify the image of an object two hundred times in linear dimensions. Upon looking through the instrument we find the fluid swarming with animals of various shapes and magnitudes. Some are darting through the water with great rapidity, while others are pursuing and devouring creatures more infinitesimal than themselves. Many are attached to the twig by long delicate threads (the *Vorticellæ*); several have their bodies inclosed in a transparent tube, from one end of which the animal partly protrudes, and then recedes (the *Flocculariæ*); while numbers are covered by an elegant shell or case (the *Brachionus*). The minutest kinds (the *Monads*), many of which are so small that millions might be contained in a single drop of water, appear like mere animated globules, free, single, and of various colours, sporting about in every direction. Numerous species resemble pearly or opaline cups or vases, fringed round the margin with delicate fibres that are in constant oscillation (the *Vorticellæ*). Some of these are attached by spiral tendrils; others are united by a slender stem to one common trunk, appearing like a bunch of harebells (the *Carchesium*); others are of a globular form, and grouped together in a definite pattern on a tabular or spherical membranous case for a certain period of their existence, and ultimately become detached and locomotive (the *Gonium* and *Volvox*); while many are permanently clustered together, and die if separated from the parent mass. No organs of progressive motion, similar to those of beasts, birds, or fishes, are observable in these beings; yet they traverse the water with rapidity, without the aid of limbs or fins; and though many species are destitute of eyes, yet all possess an accurate perception of the presence of other bodies, and pursue and capture their prey with unerring purpose."—*'Thoughts on Animalcules,'* pp. 9, 10.

Much as has been done in this department of science, our knowledge of the infusory beings is still limited; but there is every reason to believe that they do not take their station among the links of the animal chain according to their dimensions, but

from their structure. The simplest and smallest is as much an animal as the prouder examples of nature's works; and it is equally the object of the Creator's care and contrivance. To Ehrenberg are we indebted for a classification of the Infusoria, which has been followed and adopted by all subsequent philosophers. He divides them into two classes. First, The POLYGASTRIA; and, secondly, The ROTATORIA.

The Polygastria, or Polygastrica, are, as the name would imply, a natural group of animals characterized by the digestive organ being composed of several little globular bladders connected to each other by a common tube; and these globular tubes receive and digest the matter on which the animalcule feeds when in a sufficiently comminuted or divided state. That this is their real organization we have evident proof; for, by an ingenious process, first adopted, we believe, by Gleichen von Russivarm, these little cavities occurring in the bodies of the polygastria can be more minutely examined. The process to which we allude was that of colouring the water in which the animalcules were contained by carmine or indigo. The tinged water was thus traced from cavity to cavity until its final ejection from the last of the series. The Polygastria present great diversity both of figure and dimensions. None of them exceed the twelfth of an inch in length, and some of the smaller species, even when full grown, are but the two-thousandth part of that measure; indeed, so minute must be many of the young of these Infusoria that they cannot be recognized by our microscopes. Again, others individually so small as to be almost invisible, form, when aggregated, green, red, yellow, blue, brown, and black coloured masses of great extent. Thus the clusters in some species in the families Vorticella and Bacillaria increase to such an extent that they attain a size of several inches, resembling Polypi. The greater number of Polygastria are found in fresh water, but there are also countless hosts contained in the salt water of the ocean, in astringent solutions, in fluids produced by animal secretions, in humid earth, peat-bogs, and morasses. They may also be artificially produced by macerating hay, grass, horses' hairs, black pepper, and a vast variety of other organic matters in water. It is highly probable that some kinds reside in the vapour of the atmosphere in which, from their light weight, they may be raised in countless multitudes, and blown about by the wind in invisible cloud-like masses. In none of the animals of the class Polygastrica can a vascular system be traced. In many species there is demonstration of the existence of eyes, and from the movements and habits of the animal there can be but little doubt that organs of touch and

sensation also exist, though no definite nervous system has been detected.

The whole of the movements of the Polygastria (and the same remark holds good, to a certain extent, of all the Infusoria) are performed by vibratile cilia, a series of delicate hair-like processes, which differ only in the several types in number, position, and relative magnitude. These delicate appendages, which have received the name of "cilia" from their supposed resemblance to the eye-lashes, are constantly in motion, rapidly vibrating in the water. In some species of the Infusoria they are distributed over the whole surface of the body; in others they are disposed in one or more circles round the mouth or aperture of the digestive organs; and in some are arranged in zones on one or more circular or semi-circular projections on the upper part of the body. In the last modification, the successive action of the rows of cilia produces the appearance of a rotatory motion like that of a wheel on its axis. And this resemblance is so striking as to have induced Ehrenberg to classify all the animals possessing this character in his second division, of which we shall hereafter have to speak, namely, the Rotatoria. The chief use of these cilia is to bring the food to the mouth by the currents produced by them in the water's aëration, and in those species requiring it, progression is performed by the agency of the same organs. In the rapid motion of these cilia we have proofs of a muscular system; for, reasoning from our present state of knowledge, we can in no way separate animal motion from muscular fibre. Ehrenberg, indeed, believed that he had discovered muscles, and even the distribution of their fibres, in some of the larger Polygastria, but great doubt still exists on the subject.

The Polygastria, when examined at night, are found to be as actively in motion as during the day; in fact, they never seem to require repose; or, in the words of Ehrenberg, they appear to be sleepless. Their geographical distribution is the most universal of the animal kingdom. It is known to extend over the whole of Europe, the north of Africa, the west and north of Asia; and species have also been observed in America. The largest and most generally distributed family of this class is the Bacillaria, its species equalling one-fourth of the whole. Fossil states of this curious family are known in Europe, Africa, the Isle of Bourbon, the Isle of Lucan, among the Philippines, and America. These remains enter into some of the new red sandstone formations; also into the layers of flints of the secondary formations, certain porphyrite structures, &c.

It is a remarkable fact that one-half of the families belonging to this class, Polygastria, are loricated, and the other half are

illoricated. Of the former, the most curious discovery of late is that by M. Fischer, of the siliceous or glass-like covering of many species, and although the creatures to which they belong may have been dead for thousands of years, yet these remains inform us of the local conditions of the soil at the time they existed. In the Polygastria Infusoria these shell-like coverings consist either of lime, silix, or iron; and these retain their form and structure for unlimited periods of time. From the inconceivable number of these loricated animalcules which swarm in every body of water, whether fresh or salt, and the immense rapidity with which the species increase by spontaneous fissuration, gemmation, and ova-position, extensive deposits or strata of their cases are constantly forming at the bottom of lakes, rivers, and seas. Hence have originated the layers of white calcareous earth, common in peat-bogs and morasses; the tripoli or polishing slate of Bilin, consisting wholly of the siliceous cases of animalcules; and the bog-iron, composed of the ferruginous shields of other forms of Polygastria. These shell-like coverings are often found in large masses, covering many miles of the earth's surface, and occur, when indurated and mixed with argillaceous and other earths, in the form of siliceous slate rocks. These remains of the primeval inhabitants of our globe are records in the pages of history, penned by Infinite Truth, unbiassed by ignorance or prejudice, and form some of the first-fruits of the effective application of achromatic glasses to our microscopes.

The propagation of the Polygastria is effected in three different ways; and, what is still more curious, all these modes of reproduction may go on in the same animalcule at the same time. The first of these modes is the formation of ova, or eggs, a very fertile mode of increase; the second consists in the growth of gemmules, or buds, upon the parent; and the last, and most extraordinary, is the spontaneous self-division of the body of the animalcule into two or more individuals. In the Monads this process may readily be observed. When it is about to take place, the granules within the integument or outer case seem to be divided by a transverse line; this gradually becomes more apparent; and, at length, the containing case itself contracts along the course of this line, and the Monad appears double. Both parts now have an impulse to separate, and an entire division soon takes place: the two become perfect individuals, and swim off in opposite directions. When we take into consideration all these methods of increase possessed by these extraordinary beings, we can no longer wonder at their otherwise incomprehensible increase of number in a very short

space of time. Ehrenberg himself remarks "on the astonishing great fertility or capacity of increase of microscopic animals, according to which an imperceptible corpuscle can become, in four days, *one hundred and seventy billions*, or as many single animalcules as are contained in two cubic feet of the stone from the polishing slate of Bilin." In some of the larger Polygastria a single specimen is ascertained to increase to eight, by simple transverse division of the body only, in one day; so that, if we take into this account the other modes of increase of these creatures, namely, by eggs, often in masses like the spawn of a fish, and again by buds growing from the sides of the body, it is clear, in a very few days, all attempt at the expression of their number must fail. We turn now to the next class, according to the arrangement of Ehrenberg, the ROTATORIA, the whole of which tribe of beings possess an organization far more complete than that of the Polygastria; so complete, indeed, that, in a correct arrangement of the animal kingdom, they would take up a station far above many others, the individuals of which are of much larger magnitude. As we have already said, the term by which the class is distinguished has been given on account of the appearance assumed by the zones, or rows of cilia arranged on circular or semi-circular eminences around the upper part of the body: when rapidly vibrating, their motion so closely resembles that produced by the rotation of a wheel, that every one who observes the phenomenon is struck by the similitude. In some species these cilia are in a single series; in others, in several rows of different forms; and in one genus (*Stephanoceros*) they assume the character of ciliated tentacula rather than that of simple vibrating processes. The Rotatoria mostly inhabit water, but immersion in that element does not appear to be essential to their existence. They often reside in damp or moist earth; and the Rotifer vulgaris, and some other species, are known to inhabit the cells of mosses and algæ. With regard to their geographical distribution, they do not appear to be confined to any particular part of Europe, and they have been found in the north of Africa, the north and west of Asia, and in some parts of America.

With regard to their structure and organization, the observations of microscopists have given us more decided information than concerning those of the Polygastria. We have in this class complete proof of the development of distinct muscles subservient to the functions of locomotion, nutrition, &c., and the transparency of the integument, or case, enables the observer to render, by aid of the microscope, their structure and situation distinctly visible. Many species possess a foot-like non-articulated process

situated at the ventral surface of the posterior part of the body. This pedicle has usually the faculty of being able to slide one part within another, and presents to the observer the same effect as the moving of the sliding tubes of an opera-glass or telescope. The extremity is often formed with a sucker at its termination, so that the animal, by exhausting the cavity of air, can fix its body during the rapid motions of the cilia; and without this power of attachment the upper part of the body would be drawn in by the action of these organs. The pedicle is likewise employed as an instrument of progression, the animal alternately contracting and elongating it, and fixing itself by it and the mouth. The digestive canal is a tube more or less straight, sometimes expanded in the middle. There is also a chewing apparatus, situate at the commencement of the œsophagus, surrounded by muscular masses and armed with teeth, which, by pressure, may be detached from the animal and examined separately under the microscope. The number and arrangement of the teeth in the different species are so distinct, that Ehrenberg asserts that the Rotifera might almost be arranged like quadrupeds, according to their teeth. In some genera the stomach is furnished with biliary glands, while in others gall-ducts have been observed. With regard to the vascular system in the Rotatorial Infusoria, much doubt still exists on the subject. In some of the animalcules, transverse vessels are observed, which have the appearance of articulations; in others, these vessels resemble a net-work; which is more or less distinct, below the edges of the month, and connected by free longitudinal ones to the interior ventral surface of the body. Respiration, or, more properly, the aëration of the fluids, is effected in the Rotifera by the constant introduction of fresh water through one or more apertures near the neck; and in some kinds there are internal oval bodies, composed of granules or corpuscles, which have a constantly tremulous motion, and are supposed to perform the office of *branchia*, or gills: this, at least, is the function ascribed to them by Ehrenberg, and he further considered that the tremulous motion was occasioned by the laminæ or leaflets that compose them. The Rotatoria are not considered to possess a true nervous system, although there are indications of nervous centres, or ganglia, in several genera. Many species have eyes, which vary in number; they are usually of a red colour; in some they are placed upon a ganglion, and are freely moveable beneath the transparent superficial envelope of the body.

The Rotatorial Infusoria are not endowed with the various faculties of propagation which we have already described as appertaining to the Polygastria. Reproduction in all cases is

effected by means of ova. Some kinds are oviparous, others viviparous. An elongated bag or sac, in which the eggs are formed, is distinctly visible; but few eggs are developed at the same time. The ova in many species equal in size one-third of the body of the animalcule; like the seeds of vegetables, they retain their vitality for an indefinite length of time, until accident throws them into a situation suitable for their development. But although the Rotatoria have not the same rapid means of reproduction as those with which the Polygastria are endowed, yet their vast increase by eggs only will astonish most persons who have not previously considered the subject. Ehrenberg states that he isolated a single specimen of *Hydatina senta*, and kept it in a separate vessel for eighteen days; that during this interval it laid four eggs per day, and that the young, at two days old, laid a like number; so that, when circumstances are favourable, one million individuals may be obtained from one specimen in ten days: on the eleventh day this brood will amount to four millions, and on the twelfth day to sixteen millions.

We have thus given a general view of the nature and habits of the Infusoria. We cannot attempt within our limits to detail the number of families, genera, and species, into which they have been divided by Ehrenberg, but must refer the reader to the valuable work of Mr Pritchard, named at the commencement of this article, which contains not only an abstract of the labours of Ehrenberg, his classifications, and a description of every species, but also accurately drawn representations of most of these animalcules, their mode of propagation, &c. Mr Pritchard has for many years been an indefatigable labourer in this field of scientific research; he has done much to draw attention to the value of the microscope, and to popularize its important revelations; and we are happy to have it in our power to bear our humble testimony to the great exertions of himself and his late colleague, Dr Goring. Dr Mandl's work, likewise quoted in our heading, is also a valuable compilation, but we are not aware that any translation of it has yet been made.

We will now proceed to direct our attention to certain points in relation to the Infusoria which are still matter of debate amongst naturalists. In the first place, then, the question naturally arises, "Do all these Infusoria belong to the animal or vegetable kingdom?"—a question somewhat difficult of solution. By many naturalists a great number of the forms reckoned among the Infusoria have been placed in the vegetable kingdom. Even in one of the volumes now before us, a whole family, that of the Bacillaria, placed by Ehrenberg amongst the Infusoria, is referred by Dr Mantell to the vegetable kingdom, and considered by him

as algæ, belonging to the order Desmidiaceæ, rather than as being in any way related to the Infusoria; nor can we wonder at this difference of opinion when we reflect how closely the lower forms of vegetables and animals resemble each other. Thus, the lowest form of the Monad consists of a single cell; so do some of the most simple forms of the vegetable world. A higher class of Infusoria consist of an aggregation of cells, and here again we have a resemblance amongst plants. The Polygastrica, as we have seen, propagate by self-division; so do the Confervæ. In some of the sea-weeds the sporule, or young plant, is formed within one of the cells of the parent; at the period of maturity the cell bursts, the sporule is released, and is then seen to be fringed with a number of cilia, by the motion of which the new being is enabled to traverse the water until it finds a spot fitted for its future growth, to which it then becomes adherent.* But the same phenomenon exactly is observed in relation to the germ of the sponge. It will be seen, therefore, how difficult it is to draw the line of demarcation between animals and vegetables,

* As this most remarkable phenomenon in reference to the propagation of some of the simplest forms of plants, and its resemblance to the reproduction of some animals low in the scale of organization, may be new to many of our readers, we quote a more lengthened description of it from a recently published and most interesting work by Mr Hassall, entitled 'A History of Fresh-water Algæ.' "At a certain stage," observes the author, "the granules become perfected, and they are now seen moving restlessly about the interior of the cell, frequently striking against its walls, as though anxious to escape from the confinement of their narrow cell, and to rove about, independent beings, through the waters, in search of an appropriate abiding-place. Having escaped from the cell, which they are enabled to do, not as Agardh supposed, by the multiplied knockings of their beaks against its sides, whereby its fibres become displaced, but either by rupturing its walls, through their increased development, as in *Lyngbya*, &c., or by some special provision, as in *Vesiculifera*, *Zygnema*, &c., they fall into the water, through which they speedily begin to move hither and thither; now progressing in a straight line, with the rostra in advance; now wheeling round and pursuing a different course; now letting their rostra drop, and oscillating upon them, like (to compare small things with great) balloons ere the strings are cut, or like tops, the centripetal force being nearly expended; now altogether stopping, and anon resuming their curious and eccentric motions. Truly wonderful is the velocity with which these microscopic objects progress, their relative speed far surpassing that of the fleetest race-horse. After a time, however, which frequently extends to some two or three hours, the motion becomes much retarded, and at length, after faint struggles, entirely ceases, and the zoospores then lie as though dead: not so, nevertheless; they have merely lost the power of locomotion; the vital principle is still active within them, and they are seen to expand, to become partitioned, and, if the species be of an attached kind, each zoospore will emit from its transparent extremity two or more radicles, whereby it becomes, finally and for ever, fixed. Strange transition, from the roving life of the animal to the fixed existence of the plant!"

and, indeed, taking all these facts into consideration, Dr Carnus, an able commentator on the discoveries of Ehrenberg, observes that, "It seems to follow that we are entitled to suppose between plants and animals an original organic kingdom—a kingdom such as we have attempted to represent as the kingdom of the protogonisms; nay, that this is the only way in which we can succeed in laying down a truly generic series of these singular organizations, beginning with the most simple, and losing itself in one direction in the vegetable, and in the other in the animal kingdom."

We come next to consider one of the most important results of the improvement of the microscope, namely, the ultimate structure of all organized bodies. We have already shown that the simplest form of Monad consists but of a single cell, that many others of the same family are but a collection of individual Monads, either attached to a common base or contained in a globular integument. The *Vibrio*, or trembling animalcule, again, for example, is a series of many individuals united together in a flexible chain, from imperfect spontaneous transverse division; and the same remark holds good with regard to the lowest forms of vegetable life. In the larger Fuci, or seaweeds, the whole fabric consists of cells, and the fresh-water *Confervæ* are merely jointed films composed of cells; common mould or mustiness is a cluster of plants formed of cells only, and in the yeast fungus and red snow the entire plant consists of one isolated cell; and when we carry our observations still further, we find that the most complicated organs both in the animal and the vegetable are made up but of an aggregation of simple cells. These elementary cells have now been detected in almost all the solids and fluids both of vegetable and animal bodies; in the sap and *succus proprius* of vegetables, and in the blood, chyle, milk, and other fluids of animals; in the fecula, albumen, parenchyma of the leaves, cells of the flowers, &c., of plants, and in the cellular membrane, muscle, brain, nerve, glands, &c., of animals. As far as our present powers of observation go, there is no apparent difference in the formation of these cells, although it cannot but be believed that they must be endowed with specific properties. Thus, for example, one set of cells secretes bile, another fat, another the nervous matter; but how these special products are formed by cells apparently of similar organization from the same nutrient fluids, we know not: many theories have been advanced. Thus, Dr Willis has suggested whether this difference may not result from the different modes in which the elementary globules are disposed, and he adds, "it is not improbable that the difference of function they exhibit may yet be found in harmony

with, and perhaps depending on, peculiarity of arrangements in their constituent molecules."* In the work of Dr Mantell before us, another theory is thus hinted at:—

"Whether the special endowment belonging to the system of cells of a particular organ depends on the intimate structure of the walls or tissue of such cells; and this structure is so attenuated and infinitesimal as to elude observation; or whether it results from the transmission of some peculiar modification of that mysterious vital force we term nervous influence, are questions to which, in the present state of our knowledge, no satisfactory reply can be given."—*'Thoughts on Animalcules,'* p. 98.

But although the researches of microscopists have taught us that cells are the extreme limit of animal organization; that the lowest and highest forms of animal life are but an aggregation of cells, each endowed with specific properties, capable only of performing particular functions; we must carefully guard against the idea that there is, therefore, any identity between these various cells of various animals:—any identity, in fact, between the primary cells of the simplest animals or vegetables, much less between those of more complicated organization. It is to such hasty generalization, to deductions thus made either from a misrepresentation or misconception of facts, that we owe so many of the absurd and fallacious theories of the present day. Perhaps one of the best examples of the errors into which such hasty generalization inevitably leads, is to be found in a work which has, from its ingenuity and eloquence, gained great popularity, we allude to the *'Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation.'* All animals and plants, as we have said, are to be regarded as definite aggregations of cells, endowed with specific properties in the different types, and *subjected to a never varying law of development.* And yet, overlooking this latter fact, the author has erected a theory of creation which may, perhaps, be best stated in his own words. We quote them as they occur in the fourth edition of the work:—

"The idea, then, which I form of the progress of organic life upon our earth, and the hypothesis is applicable to all similar theatres of vital being, is, that the simplest and most primitive type under a law to which that of like production is subordinate, gave birth to the type next above it; that this again produced the next higher, and so on to the very highest, the stages of advance being in all cases very small, namely, from one species only to another; so that the phenomenon has always been of a simple and modest character."

Or, in other words, the Monad was first created; it gave birth

* *'Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology,'* Vol. i, Art. 'Animal.'

to the next species in the link, and so on, until from the monkey sprang man. To the unphilosophical reader this doctrine may appear, at a first glance, to bear upon it the impress of truth; but allowing for a moment that such were the case, how is it, it may be asked, that these cells have lost such a remarkable endowment? How is it that the more ambitious monkeys do not still convert themselves into or give birth to men? And again, this progressive development, at all events in our present state of knowledge, is directly in contradiction to facts; the stages of advance could not, in all cases, be very small—the difference in the organization of reptiles and birds, and again, of birds and mammals, is great; and, as far as we know, there is no intermediate class of organized beings to diminish the wide gulf which separates them. Here, therefore, the development could not have been gradual—the stage of advance could not have been very small.

Dr Mantell was one of the very first philosophers who showed the fallacy of this plausible theory. In the work now before us, he has again adverted to it, and, in our opinion, has clearly exposed the error which pervades it. With an extract, therefore, from his remarks, we will close this part of our subject:—

“Although it is now a received physiological axiom, that cells are the elementary basis, the ultimate limit, of all animal and vegetable structures; and that the varied functions, in which organic life essentially consists, are performed by the agency of cells, which are not distinguishable from each other by any well-marked characters; there is not any ground for assuming any identity between the primary cells, even of the simplest species of animals or vegetables, much less between those of more complicated organization. The single cell which embodies vitality in the monad, or the yeast fungus, is governed by the same immutable organic laws which preside over the complicated machinery of man, and the other Vertebrata; and the single cell which is the *embryotic condition* of the mammal has no more relation to the single cell which is the permanent condition of the monad than has the perfect animal into which the mammalian cell becomes ultimately developed. The cell that forms the germ of each species of organism is endowed with special properties, which can result in nothing but the fabrication of that particular species. The serious error which pervades the theory advanced in the work entitled ‘The Vestiges of the Natural History of the Creation’ has arisen from its author having, in many instances, assumed *analogy* to be a proof of *identity*. There is an *analogy* between the human embryo and the monad of the volvox, in that each consists of simple cells; but there is no more *identity* between the human and the polygastric cells, than between the perfect man and the mature animalcule.”—‘Thoughts on Animalcules,’ p. 24.

But there is another point connected with this part of our subject, which we must not pass over in silence. We have already had occasion to observe that the physician had been indebted to the microscope for many improvements in the treatment of disease. All sciences, indeed, have a natural dependence one on another, and any great discovery in one must sooner or later produce a corresponding change in others. The discovery of the fact that cells were the ultimate limit to which all animal organization can be traced; that it is by the agency of cells that all the vital functions are produced; that by them the bile, the mucus, and all the other important fluids are secreted; naturally leads to the idea that in many, perhaps, in all instances, the origin of disease may depend upon some derangement of these microscopic elements of organization; and that the maintenance of health may depend entirely upon the integrity of a cell or a cluster of cells. On this point Dr Mantell justly remarks:—

“Hence, we can understand how mental emotions, by disturbing or weakening the vital influence transmitted by the nerves to the cells of any particular organ, may impair the structure and vitiate the secretions, and ultimately induce extensive local disease, long after the cause of the physical derangement has passed away, and is forgotten. Of the truth of this remark, pulmonary consumption, alas! affords every day the most unequivocal and melancholy proofs. But the Tree of Knowledge yields good as well as evil fruit; and if recent microscopical discoveries are calculated to alarm the timid, by showing what slight causes may lay the foundation of fatal diseases; on the other hand, they encourage the cheering hope that, by patience and perseverance, we may, at length, learn how to detect the first stage of disordered action, and correct the functional derangement ere the structure of the organ is seriously impaired.”

And it is only by such patient and continued observations, it is only by taking advantage of the light thus thrown upon their path by the discoveries in other branches of science, that physicians can hope to raise medicine from an empirical art, which even to this day it, in a great measure is to the rank of a true science.

The last question which we shall have occasion to discuss is that of primitive or equivocal generation. We have already seen to what an immense extent, and how rapidly, the Infusoria are produced. A little vegetable or animal matter, placed into distilled water, under favourable circumstances, will, in a few days, swarm with various forms of microscopic life. We have seen, too, that these Infusoria are constructed upon the same principle as other animals, reproducing in their own likeness; and thus each species continues its characteristics periodically, and enjoys

certain instincts and perceptions in common with the rest of the animal creation. Yet so prone to think wrongly is the human mind, that certain philosophers, of an age and a country which gave birth to the most extravagant materialism, viewed these animalculæ as examples of their cherished doctrines; and they were pronounced to constitute exceptions to the presumed universal axiom of Harvey—"omnia ab ovo." They were accordingly referred to the principle of equivocal generation to explain their origin, as if they sprang into life by the casual combination of circumstances, and the union of certain material properties; and thus animated beings, enjoying spontaneous motion and guided by animal instincts, were referred to senseless matter for their formation and birth, as the mud of the Nile was anciently supposed to produce living beings under the influence of the sun's rays. But this is a false philosophy. Whether a vegetable or animal being be the object of our contemplation, each alike is traceable to parents, sometimes divided into separate sexes and persons, and sometimes united in one person; and we also know that every new being arises from an egg. We can no longer believe that fermentive or putrefactive matter, warmed by the sun's rays, gives birth to living creatures. Infusoria are always to be found in vegetable infusions, because their ova or germs, everywhere present, find in such fluids a proper medium for their development. We have already spoken of the prolific nature of the Infusoria; we have shown how, in a few days, millions of these creatures may be produced by a single individual; and how their ova may be taken up by every passing breeze, be wafted from place to place, and be deposited everywhere. Here they remain without losing their vitality, "everywhere ready to burst into life, and go through their assigned phases of development, when placed under the conditions specially required by the type of organization to which they belong." The same remarks hold good with regard to the lowest forms of the vegetable creation. The sporules of some fungi are so minute, and occur in such immense numbers, that in a single individual (of *Reticularia*) more than ten millions have been counted; and they are so light and subtle that they are dispersed by the slightest agitation of the air, and even by evaporation. The germs of these minute and simple forms of vegetation must, therefore, always be present in the atmosphere.

There appear to us to be two grand objections to this theory of equivocal generation. In the first place we observe, that in vegetable infusion almost every species of animalcule which is generally found in our climate is indifferently developed. In precisely the same infusion we shall at times find swarms of

certain species, at other times none. In Dr. Mantell's work we find it stated that one species of Rotatoria—the *Stephanoceros*—was scarcely to be found during the last summer, not even in its favourite haunts. How can we reconcile these facts with the doctrine of equivocal generation? Surely, if these animals were formed from mere fermentative or putrefactive matter, warmed by the sun's rays, the same species should always be found in the same infusion. And again, it appears to us that, were this the case, the necessity for these animalcules possessing organs and means of reproduction is entirely done away with.

But we believe that we have even more conclusive evidence of the fallacy of this doctrine of equivocal generation in an experiment made by M. F. Schulze, of Berlin.* He considered that, according to the theory of equivocal generation, the access of air, light, and heat to *infundirten* substances included of itself all the conditions for the primary formations of animal or vegetable organisms, and he resolved therefore experimentally to ascertain the truth or error of this theory. The great difficulty to be overcome consisted in the necessity of being first assured that at the beginning of the experiment there was no animal germ capable of development in the infusion; and secondly, that the air admitted contained nothing of the kind. The experiment and its results we subjoin in the words of its deviser:—

“I filled a glass flask half full of distilled water, in which I mixed various animal and vegetable substances; I then closed it with a good cork, through which I passed two glass tubes, bent at right angles, the whole being air-tight. It was next placed in a sand bath, and heated until the water boiled violently, and thus all parts had reached a temperature of 212° Fahrenheit. While the watery vapour was escaping by the glass tubes, I fastened at each end an apparatus, which chemists employ for collecting carbonic acid; that to the left was filled with concentrated sulphuric acid, and the other with a solution of potash. By means of the boiling heat, every thing living and all germs in the flask or in the tubes were destroyed, and all access was cut off by the sulphuric acid on the one side, and by the potash on the other. I placed this easily moved apparatus before my window, where it was exposed to the action of light, and also, as I performed my experiments in the summer, to that of heat. At the same time I placed near it an open vessel with the same substances that had been introduced into the flask, and also after having subjected them to a boiling temperature. In order now to renew constantly the air within the flask, I sucked with my mouth several times a day the open end of the apparatus filled with solution of potash, by which process the air entered my mouth from the flask through

* Published in Jameson's Journal, vol. 23.

the caustic liquid, and the atmospheric air from without entered the flask through the sulphuric acid. The air was of course not altered in its composition by passing through the sulphuric acid into the flask, but if sufficient time was allowed for the passage, all the portions of living matter, or of matter capable of becoming animated, were taken up by the sulphuric acid and destroyed. From the 28th of May until the early part of August, I continued uninterruptedly the renewal of the air in the flask, without being able by the aid of the microscope to perceive any living animal or vegetable substance, although, during the whole of the time, I made my observations almost daily on the edge of the liquid; and when at last I separated the different parts of the apparatus, I could not find in the whole liquid the slightest trace of Infusoria, of *Conservæ*, or of mould. But all the three presented themselves in great abundance a few days after I had left the flask standing open. The vessel which I placed near the apparatus contained on the following day *Vibriones* and *Monades*, to which were soon added larger *Polygastric Infusoria* and afterwards *Rotatoria*."

To us this experiment appears a most satisfactory one; and we come to the conclusion that, where either living or dead organized matter swarms with colonies of animals, such matter does not produce them spontaneously, but beings resembling them have deposited their eggs, which, under favourable circumstances, spring into life and being.

But many of the philosophers who oppose the theory of equivocal generation in reference to the Infusoria, lean thereunto with reference to another class of animals—the Entozoa. The Entozoa are those parasitical animals which infest the bodies of other animals, many of which are restricted to particular organs of particular species of animals, and are themselves the theatre of existence of other parasites. The development of these animals, according to Dr. Mantell, "is inexplicable on the former view of the subject," namely, the propagation by minute ova, and "is indeed incomprehensible in the present state of our knowledge." And the following remarks of Dr. Holland are then quoted:—

"Here we approach to speculations, which, though founded on the most minute forms of existence, have yet a vastness in their obscurity, and in the results to which their solution would lead. Hence the questions arise, whether animal or vegetable life (for the inquiry equally regards both) is in any case produced except from the eggs or germs of prior individuals of the same species? Whether there may not be matter so constituted as to be capable, from some unknown law, of assuming an organic character, and of giving rise to particular species of living beings, whenever the conditions suitable to the development and continuance of such organisms are present?"

"And," Dr Mantell continues, "the theory of origination of living beings from inorganic elements, or, to use the expression of the author of the '*Vestiges*,' of *organic creation by law*, offers a solution to these difficult problems; but no certain evidence has yet been obtained to substantiate or even sanction this hypothesis. This is, in fact, the serious and only legitimate objection to a doctrine which would explain many obscure physiological phenomena, and bring the laws of vitality into harmony with those which preside over the inorganic kingdom of nature."

Now, in this opinion we must entirely differ from the learned author. We cannot see why, because our knowledge of the matter is as yet limited, a special method of generation should be assumed in direct opposition to that observed in all other classes of organized beings; and that more particularly, when "there is no evidence to substantiate or even sanction this hypothesis." We know that in all other animals and plants reproduction is effected by ova; * why then should we imagine that the Entozoa, animals far above some of the Infusoria in point of organization, can spring from inorganic elements? And if this doctrine be allowed in reference to the Entozoa, why should it not be equally correct with regard to all animals, even to man himself? Again, assuming that it is possible for inorganic matter under certain conditions to take upon itself an organic character, surely it is but necessary to study these conditions for man himself to become a creator, and realize the wild visions of a Frankenstein. The same kind of theory was, as we have already said, held in reference to the Infusoria; but the improvements in the microscope, by enabling us to watch these animals more closely, soon annihilated it. And may we not in the same manner believe that the further progress of science, that future researches and discoveries, will teach us that even the Entozoa follow the universal law, and are developed entirely from ova. Indeed, limited as we are aware that our information concerning them is, the few facts in our possession militate strongly, in our opinion at least, against this doctrine. The very restriction of certain kinds of Entozoa to particular organs of particular species of animals leads to the belief that, like those of the Infusoria, their ova are everywhere present, but remain undeveloped until they meet with a medium suitable to their wants. In some of these parasites we find a kind of instinctive choice of habitation. Thus, with regard to the *Ascaris lumbricoides*—the round worm—Professor Owen remarks, "that they are much more common in

* We, of course, here mean to include the sporules and seeds of plants under this general term.

children than in adults, and are extremely rare in aged persons. They are most obnoxious to individuals of lymphatic temperament, and such as use gross and indigestible food, or who inhabit low and damp localities." Nay, further, we have proof of the generation of some parasites from ova, and of the very mode by which they gain access to the interior of the animal in which they are found; this is the case, for example, with the *Estrus equi*, found in the intestinal cavity of the horse. The parent insect deposits its egg about the shoulder of the horse, where it can easily be reached by the tongue; the irritation causes the animal to lick the part, and by this means the bot is introduced into the only place which affords the viscid nutriment and due heat for its full development. And again, we have another example in the *Distomians*, an Entozoon which infests the intestines of the perch. The parent animal deposits its ova within the intestines—they are there hatched, and the young are expelled from the fish. It would seem that they were destined to pass a transitional state of their existence in a fluid medium permeated by light. The young animal, when thus ejected from the fish, is totally unlike its parent, presenting a greater resemblance to the Polygastric Infusoria, and being, like them, covered with vibratile cilia, which are in rapid and incessant motion, and create a vortex in the surrounding water. Unlike their parent, too, in this state they possess an organ of vision. Thus organized, the young of this parasite move to and fro in the water as if it were their natural element. But after a certain period, they again pass into the alimentary canal of the fish, where they undergo their metamorphosis, lose the organ which guided the movements of their young and free life, grow at the expense of the nutrient secretions with which they are now abundantly provided, and deposit their eggs, which in like manner are hatched, and go through the same process of development.* And, lastly, as an

* Another most remarkable instance of the introduction of parasitical animals into cavities adapted for their development has been described by Reaumur. There is a species of *Estrus* in Lapland, which lodges near the gullet of the rein-deer, and there the larvæ take up their abode in families consisting of one hundred or more individuals. At each side of the root of the tongue there is, according to Reaumur, a slit in the pharynx of the deer, which leads to two fleshy cavities, which he calls purses. "We do not know," he observes, "of what use they are to these large animals, but they are essential to the worms, which are developed within them. If they are not made for these, if they are useful to the deer, at all events, HE who constructed the cavities, and formed the insects, knew that they were necessary to the existence of these worms, and so taught them to lodge in their destined repositories; for all that is essential to their nourishment and growth is contained within these, and is not to be found elsewhere.

objection against this theory, we would repeat what we have already said with regard to the Infusoria, that all the Entozoa are endowed with organs of reproduction, a provision perfectly unnecessary, if they could take origin from inorganic element.

We may then, we believe, adopt the conclusion of a contemporary author, that "all nature, at whatever point we meet her, and during whatever age in the past history of the earth, tells us with an unhesitating voice that she has not enacted any law of spontaneous generation, and that she will not allow any power inferior to herself to mar her vestiges or blot out her fixed organic types."

But a few words more are necessary to complete our summary of the habits and peculiarities of the Infusoria. We have already seen that they have been observed in all the four quarters of the world—that vast bodies of water are tinged by these animalcules—and that even the phosphorescence of the sea is owing to their presence.* We have found, too, that accumulations of immense

The question naturally is, how the perfect insect contrives to deposit its young in a spot which none but an anatomist can detect, and to reach which requires the holdness and dexterity of a creature which is regardless of its own life. If we consider that nature has endowed the deer with the power of ejecting any substance annoying the nostrils, by sneezing, the power of enveloping anything irritating the palate in a viscid saliva, or of crushing it by means of grinder teeth, we must give due credit to a fly, which, in spite of these obstacles, manages to reach the cavities in question." And yet this *Cæstrus* boldly enters the nostrils and the cavities, and, proceeding to the extremity, comes at once on the fleshy purses at the root of the tongue; in these the female fly deposits her eggs, and leaves them in a matrix furnished with a supply for every want.

* The phosphorescence of the sea, owing to the presence of minute animalcules, is a subject of the greatest interest, and we shall therefore make no apology for quoting an account which will show the occasional extent of this phenomenon. Dr Pöppig, in his '*Voyage to Chili*,' says, "From the topmast the sea appeared, as far as the eye could reach, of a dark red colour, and this in a streak the breadth of which was estimated at six English miles. As we sailed slowly along, we found that the colour changed into brilliant purple, so that even the foam, which is seen at the stern of a ship under sail, was of a rose colour. The sight was very striking, because this purple streak was marked by a very distinct line from the blue waters of the sea, a circumstance which we the more easily observed, because our course lay directly through the midst of this streak, which extended from south-east to north-west. The water, taken up in a bucket, appeared indeed quite transparent, but a faint purple tinge was perceptible when a few drops were placed upon a piece of white china, and moved rapidly backwards and forwards in the sunshine. A moderate magnifying glass showed that these little red dots, which only with great attention could be discerned with the naked eye, consisted of Infusoria, which were of a spherical form, entirely destitute of all external organs of motion. . . . We sailed for four hours at a mean rate of six English miles an hour, through this streak, which was seven miles broad, before

masses of fossil Infusoria form mould and various species of rock ; on this subject Ehrenberg observes, that " We can make glass out of invisible Infusoria with lime or soda ; can manufacture floating bricks out of them, use them as flints, probably make iron out of them, polish silver with them as tripoli, as ochre ; manure with them as mud and mould, and, with mountain flour composed of them, allay the cravings of hunger." Many, and probably all, white chalk rocks are the produce of microscopic animalcules, which are for the most part quite invisible to the naked eye, possessing calcareous shells, of which more than one million are well preserved in each cubic inch ; that is, much more than ten millions in one pound of chalk. The extreme minuteness of these chalk animalcules is strikingly proved by the fact, that, even in the finest levigated whiting, multitudes of them are still present, and may be applied without suffering change to the most varied purposes ; thus, in the chalk coating given to painted chambers, paper, or even glazed visiting cards (when not coated with white lead alone), may be seen a pretty mosaic of well preserved moss-coral animalcules, invisible to the naked eye ; and thus our natural vision receives from such a surface the impression of the purest white, little dreaming that it contains the bodies of millions of beings which once enjoyed life—beings of varied and beautiful forms, more or less closely crowded together. Linnaeus said, "*All lime comes from worms*" (*omnis calx e vermibus*). Now, we are led to think, whether all flint and all iron—consequently, the three principal component parts of the earth—do not come from animalcules : *omnis silex, omne ferrum, e vermibus*, cannot at present, with propriety, be affirmed or denied, and must remain for more special investigations to decide.

The Infusoria, like the higher animals, perish from sudden transitions of temperature. They die in ice ; but when the water first congeals, each animalcule is surrounded by a moist space, caused by the caloric liberated by its own body. Heat instantaneously kills infusory animalcules—eggs and animals equally perish. Several species are nevertheless capable of supporting a temperature of from 45 deg. to 50 deg. Reaumur (nearly 140 deg. Fahrenheit). Heat is less hurtful when it takes place gradually ; light is favourable to their production, but it is not necessary, for they are even found in deep mines. Atmospheric air is essential to the existence of the Infusoria, especially the

we reached the end of it, and its superficies must therefore have been about one hundred and sixty-eight English square miles. If we add that these animals may have been equally distributed in the upper stratum of water, to the depth of six feet, we must confess that their numbers infinitely surpassed the conception of the human understanding."

Rotatoria. They are killed by substances which affect the chemical composition of the water; but the strongest poisons, if only in mechanical suspension in the fluid, exert no influence upon them. Fresh-water species instantly die if sea-water be suddenly added, though the latter swarm with marine species; but they survive if the mixture be gradual, and many kinds inhabit brackish waters. Many of the Infusoria are carnivorous, feeding on those species more infinitesimal than themselves; others are herbivorous, and are nourished by particles of decomposed vegetables too minute to be visible till accumulated in the internal organs of the animalcules. The duration of life in these animals varies from a few hours to several days or even weeks; some Rotifera have been traced to the seventy-third day of their existence. Their dissolution usually takes place suddenly, but in some of the larger species microscopists have observed violent throes and convulsive struggles as attending their death. The soft parts rapidly undergo decomposition, and it is a remarkable fact that, under such circumstances, but a very small proportion of solid matter remains; from aggregated myriads but a few particles of dust are left. One of the most remarkable points, perhaps, in the natural history of these animalcules, is the power they possess of remaining dormant for an almost unlimited period of time. Immense quantities of Infusoria in the form of mould, apparently dried up to dust, are long capable of reanimation; some of the Rotatoria will remain for years together motionless and apparently lifeless, if buried in earth or thoroughly dry sand, and yet may be so preserved that, on the application of moisture, they revive and swim about as actively as at first. Some Rotifers have been alternately dried and rendered dormant and then revived by the addition of water *twelve times* without any apparent diminution of their activity. Professor Owen mentions having witnessed the revival of an animalcule which had been preserved in dry sand four years.

With regard to the purposes which these invisible beings are destined to effect in the economy of nature, we will content ourselves with quoting the words of Dr Mantell, who, in the 'Thoughts on Animalcules' before us, has presented a vast deal of information on the most interesting genera and species of the Infusoria, and clothed it with that fascinating garb, that persuasive eloquence with which he has been ever wont to impart knowledge.

"We may, indeed," he says, "take cognizance of some of the obvious results of the operations of these living atoms; such, for example, as their influence in maintaining the purity of the atmosphere and of the water, by the conversion into their own structures of the particles liberated by the decomposition of the larger animals and vegetables

and in their turn becoming the food of other races, and thus affording the means of support to creatures of a higher organization than themselves. We see, too, that many species after death give rise to the formation of earthy deposits at the bottoms of lakes, rivers, and seas, which, in after ages, may become fertile tracts of country and the sites of large communities of mankind. But in this, as in all attempts to interpret the mysterious designs of Providence, we are but as 'beings darkly wise,' for it is probable that the most serious maladies which afflict humanity are produced by peculiar states of invisible animalcular life. From some periodical and exaggerated condition of development, particular species, too minute for the most powerful microscope to descry, may suddenly swarm in the air or in the waters, and penetrating the internal vessels and organs, exert an injurious influence of a specific character on the lining membranes and fluids of the human frame : and from this inscrutable agency may, possibly, originate the cholera, influenza, and other epidemic diseases."

In the course of this article we have alluded briefly to many other discoveries effected by the microscope, and we cannot bring it to a close without showing that its revelations are not confined to the worlds on worlds of microscopic beings existing everywhere around us. We need not again advert to the minute cells of which the organs of all animals are made up, but there are some other points connected with the organization of the higher animals with which the microscope has made us acquainted, to which we will proceed to draw the reader's attention. And, first, with regard to the blood. Examined by the naked eye the blood appears to be perfectly fluid and homogeneous; but if it be spread in a thin stratum upon the object-plate of a microscope, and viewed under a lens, having a magnifying power of between 200 and 300, it will be seen to consist of two distinct and heterogeneous parts, viz. a transparent yellowish watery fluid, and a number of solid corpuscles of extreme minuteness suspended in this fluid. To the fluid portion the name *serum* is given; the minute corpuscles are spoken of as the *globules* of the blood. These globules are membranous sacs, inclosing a solid flattened nucleus in the form of a disk in their interior. Their form and dimensions vary among animals of different species, but in the same animal they all bear the strongest resemblance to one another. In the Mammalia these corpuscles are smaller than in any other class of animals, and in form they are circular. In birds the globules of the blood are elliptical, and larger than in the Mammalia; in vertebrate animals with cold blood the globules are also elliptical, but their dimensions are much greater, and vary more extensively in different classes. In the Invertebrata the globules

of the blood are more or less regularly circular in shape, and are also of very considerable dimensions. Now, observation and experiment have proved how important is the action of these globules upon the living tissues. It appears to be especially owing to the presence of the globules, that the blood owes its power of arousing and keeping up vital motion in the animal economy. We observe, in fact, that, if an animal be bled till it falls into a state of syncope, and the further loss of blood be not prevented, all muscular motion quickly ceases, respiration is suspended, the heart pauses from its action, life is no longer manifested by any outward sign,* and death soon becomes inevitable; but, if in this state, the blood of another animal of the same species be injected into the veins of the one to all appearance dead, we see with amazement this inanimate body return to life, gaining accessions of vitality with each new quantity of blood that is introduced, by-and-by beginning to breathe freely, moving with ease, and finally walking as it was wont to do, and recovering completely. This operation, which is known in surgery under the title of transfusion, proves, better than all that can be said, the importance of the globules of the blood to the living tissues; for if, instead of blood, serum only, deprived of globules, be employed in the same manner, no other or further effect is produced than follows the injection of so much pure water, and death is no less an inevitable consequence. But results equally remarkable have been observed in reference to the size and form of these globules. Thus, if the blood introduced into the veins of a living animal differ merely in the size, not in the form of its globules, a disturbance or derangement of the whole economy, more or less remarkable, supervenes. The pulse is increased in frequency, the temperature falls rapidly, and death in fine generally happens in a few days. The effects produced by the injection of blood having circular globules, into the veins of an animal the globules of whose blood are elliptical (or *vice versâ*), are still more remarkable; death then usually takes place amidst nervous symptoms of extreme violence, and comparable in their rapidity to those that follow the introduction of the most energetic poisons.

Our knowledge of the circulation of the blood has also been greatly increased by the microscope: not only has a vascular system and circulation been detected in many of the lower animals, but we have also obtained satisfactory proof of the existence of minute vessels, termed *capillaries*, connecting the arterial and venous system in the higher classes of animals. The phenomena of the passage of the blood from the terminations of the arteries into the commencement of the veins through the

capillary vessels, are highly interesting and important in many points of view; for the immediate respiratory change which the venous blood undergoes in the pulmonary vessels, and all those alterations of composition which accompany nutrition, growth, secretion, and other organic processes connected with the systemic vessels, occur in the smallest ramifications of the pulmonic and systemic circulation, and the morbid state of inflammation, as well as the various pathological changes which occur as its consequences, are intimately connected with an altered condition of the capillary system.

In plants, too, the microscope has enabled us to detect a circulation of the nutritive fluids, which is twofold—the one a general circulation of the cells; and the second, termed *cyclosis*, which is a revolution of the fluid contained in each cellule, distinct from those surrounding it. This latter phenomenon, which is most remarkable, can be observed in all plants in which the circulating fluid contains particles of a different refractive power or intensity, and the cellules of sufficient size and transparency. Hence all lactescent plants, or those having a milky juice, with the other conditions, exhibit this phenomenon. The following aquatic plants are generally transparent enough to show the circulation in every part of them: *Nitella hyalina*, *Nitella translucens*, *Chara vulgaris*, and *Caulinia fragilis*.

Another curious phenomenon, entirely revealed to us by the microscope, cannot be passed over in silence. We allude to what is termed by physiologists, CILIARY MOTION. In a previous portion of this paper we described the cilia of the Infusory animalcules, which in most species served them as organs of locomotion; and it will be further remembered that Ehrenberg gave the name of Rotatoria to one class, from the peculiar arrangement of these small filaments. It was originally supposed that these minute organs were confined to the lower forms of animals; but further investigation has clearly shown that ciliary motion is a phenomenon which prevails most extensively in the animal kingdom, having been found in the highest as well as the lowest members of the zoological scale,—even in man, not only ciliary motion, but even the situation and form of the cilia have been discovered. The organs or parts of the body in which the ciliary motion has been ascertained to exist may be referred to four heads, viz. the skin or surface of the body, the respiratory, alimentary, and reproductive systems; but it is only in the respiratory system, in the nose and larynx, that cilia have been as yet detected in man. The function of these organs is to convey fluids or other matters along the surface on which the cilia are placed, to renew the water on the respiring surface of animals

with aquatic respiration, or, as in the Infusoria, to carry the animal through the fluid.*

But to enumerate the whole of the discoveries effected by the microscope would require volumes. For our knowledge of the minute structure of the various organs in plants and animals, and of the beauty and perfection of design exhibited throughout the whole of creation, we are entirely indebted to this instrument. In the present paper we have confined ourselves to a brief review of some of the most important of its revelations made within the period of a few years. Its continued use and the researches of naturalists into the infinitude of the organized creation have been the means of bringing to light great numbers of living beings, of whose existence, but a few years back, we had no reasonable proof. From the chilly regions of the glaciers, with their coloured snow, to the pools of Egypt, with their living forms; from the waters of the Cattegat to the sunny waves of Mexico; from the bergmehl of Finland to the brown mould of Newmarket; has the inquiring mind of the naturalist drawn evidence of the all-pervading principle of life. Forms, from whence the essence of vitality has long since departed, have given up their remnants from the chalk, and beings invisible to the naked eye of man have been summoned from their entombments in their flinty sarcophagi. The chaos of old systematists has passed away, and a structure of truth and beauty has been formed from its heterogeneous materials. And while contemplating the discoveries effected by the microscope and its elder sister, the telescope, we may indeed exclaim in the eloquent words of Dr Chambers:—

“While the telescope enables us to see a system in every star, the microscope unfolds to us a world in every atom. The one instructs us that this mighty globe, with the whole burthen of its people, and its countries, is but a grain of sand in the vast field of immensity; the other, that every atom may harbour the tribes and families of a busy population. The one shows us the insignificance of the world we inhabit; the other redeems it from all its insignificance, for it tells us that in the leaves of every forest, in the flowers of every garden, in the waters of every rivulet, there are worlds teeming with life, and numberless as are the stars of the firmament. The one suggests to us, that, above and beyond all that is visible to man, there may be regions of creation which sweep immeasurably

* A detailed account of cilia and ciliary motion is utterly impossible within the limits of a paper, general in its nature; but we would refer the reader, who may be interested in the matter, to the article ‘Cilia,’ in the ‘Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology,’ by Dr Sharpey, the most complete on this subject with which we are acquainted.

along, and carry the impress of the Almighty's hand to the remotest scenes of the universe;—the other, that, within and beneath all the minuteness which the aided eye of man is able to explore, there may be a world of invisible beings; and that, could we draw aside the mysterious veil which shrouds it from our senses, we might behold a theatre of as many wonders as astronomy can unfold; a universe within the compass of a point, so small as to elude all the powers of the microscope, but where the ALMIGHTY RULER of all things finds room for the exercise of HIS attributes, where HE can raise another mechanism of worlds, and fill and animate them all with evidences of HIS glory!"

G. T. F.

ART. III.—1. *The Companion to the Almanac; or, Year-book of General Information.* Knight and Co.

2. *A Glossary of Terms used in Gothic Architecture (with eleven hundred illustrative Wood-cuts).* Parker: Strand.

THE above works belong to a class of popular elementary publications, which, in respect to architecture, are more rare, although more needed, than upon any other corresponding science. The title of the Glossary speaks for itself, and we need here only say of it that a better upon any subject has not appeared:—the letterpress full, and clear in explanation, and the almost innumerable wood-cuts, designed to assist the elucidation, admirably executed. The remarks we shall offer upon the architectural features of the 'Companion to the British Almanac,' and its use as a popular hand-book, or journal of the science, we may preface with a few general observations.

"Ranking as one of the fine arts," says Candidus, "the position of architecture, as such, is anomalous: its character ambiguous." The justness of which remark is hardly to be disputed, although, instead of being at all accounted for, the fact itself has been kept as much out of sight as possible, it being so much more convenient and agreeable to take for granted that, besides being an art, in the lowest sense of the term, it is a so-called fine or æsthetic one, than to define it by explaining how far it can be recognized in the latter capacity; accordingly, if, either

through inability to clear away misconception, and set the matter in a proper light, or out of the desire of mystifying it, those who profess to instruct others take up with very confused and limited notions, we ought not to be surprised at finding the most erroneous ideas relative to *the art* entertained by the public.

It might, indeed, be thought that a taste for architecture would be more generally diffused than for any other art of design, seeing that its productions are open to the inspection of every one, while those of painting and sculpture are, in this country, secluded in private galleries or immured in museums. Nevertheless such is not the fact, since, however familiar they may be to the public as objects of sight, persons in general are wholly unable to appreciate buildings æsthetically and critically, or for other than the matter-of-fact, if not prosaic, qualities of size and material. Still it is not very difficult to account for such prevalent lack of intelligence in regard to what is familiar to observation, because it employs signs and characters more or less arbitrary, the value and meaning of which require to be understood, yet can no more be acquired intuitively, or by the mere instinct of natural good taste, than can the accidence and syntax of a foreign idiom. Far more unaccountable is it that, though sufficient elementary knowledge is by no means difficult of acquisition, utter ignorance of it is unscrupulously avowed by those who are well-educated, and lay claim to taste as well as to good general information; at the same time, too, that they frankly disavow all capacity for forming an opinion, on nothing do people express themselves more freely than on buildings, and all the more decisively because they are unable to allege any sort of reasons for their likings and dislikings. So all but universal is this ignorance that it is not considered a disqualification for acting and voting in committees that sit in judgment upon designs at architectural competitions. No wonder, therefore, that competitions are, for the most part, wretchedly mismanaged,—converted sometimes into mere contests of intrigue to serve friends or favourites, without the slightest reference to the actual merits of the respective designs. Hence bitter complaints and grievous heart-burnings among professional men, and a well-grounded mistrust on their part of such mode of obtaining designs, as being little better than a pretext, and for the purpose of making a show of impartiality and willingness to invite talent.*

* It is now become a common practice for committees to invite architects to send in designs, offering premiums, but with the significant hint that they do not pledge themselves—or, in plain English, do not *intend*—to employ the author of the approved design as the actual architect. The competitors have nothing to look for as their reward in case of success beyond the offered premium alone, which in such cases is generally

One thing, however, professional men ought by this time to have learnt from the very grievances they complain of, namely, that it would be to their own interest, as a body, and to that of their art, were the public better acquainted with architecture; since it is the public that are their employers: accordingly, to their taste, be it bad or good, they must defer. Were the public sufficiently well-informed, committees of non-professional persons taken from among that public would be better qualified for their office than they now are; and, being able to distinguish and appreciate good designs, would be far more likely, if only for their own credit's sake, to select to the best of their ability, without any undue favour or partiality.

Considered in their relation to the public, as one branch of the general family of artists, the condition of architects is a more peculiar than enviable one. They have chosen to make themselves separatists, saying, if not in express terms, to all who are not within the pale of the profession, or on its immediate borders,—“Presume not to understand—seek not to become participators in our mysterious lore, which is not to be apprehended except by the formally initiated.” By thus raising themselves and their art above the jurisdiction of popular opinion, they cut it off from popular sympathy, and deprive themselves of one great incentive to exertion—the consciousness that, as in the other fine arts, so in theirs, they can be appreciated by others than their professional brethren and rivals, and widely beyond their own immediate sphere. Jealousy of amateurship is mean,—apprehension that the throwing open the study of architecture would be throwing open the practice of it is absurd; because the latter requires multifarious knowledge and experience, and acquaintance with all the various mechanical departments of building, besides involving much that is mere business and drudgery. How much more liberal and enlightened policy would it then be on the part of the profession, to encourage, promote, and facilitate the study of architecture, and render it, if possible, a popular one,—one to be included among the accomplishments of education, and that for both sexes. To the captious *Cui bono* question, the answer is both prompt and sufficient; together with an accomplishment

a most paltry one. This is certainly one way (a novel and ingenious one) of obtaining ideas for a protégé kept in the back ground.

The abuses of architectural competition ought to be put down, but it can be only by strong measures. That a reform of present mal-practices is not to be easily accomplished is very certain; all the greater necessity, therefore, for its being set about strenuously. To grapple with the complicated difficulties of competition is a proper and worthy task for the “Institute of British Architects.”

the more, a resource the more is provided; the faculty of taste is trained and exercised; the field of æsthetic vision enlarged, and the sphere of intellectual gratification extended. A knowledge—some knowledge at least—of architecture is one prerequisite for travelling, since without it a considerable part of the interest to be derived from visiting foreign cities and capitals is entirely lost. Yet that very few of those who go abroad for the sake of appearing in print on their return, possess the slightest acquaintance with architecture, is sufficiently apparent from the fact that, fluent as they are and prodigal of their remarks on other and more hackneyed topics, they are so utterly at a loss in regard to buildings, that they can neither describe them at all, nor venture more than a few brief and hurried observations, generally derived from the 'Guide-book.' This shyness in regard to architecture—this estrangement from it as from an ungracious and uncongenial subject—is shown even by those travellers who professedly direct their attention to art in general. Dr Waagen, for instance, who is so minute in his notice of picture-galleries and pictures, is very sparing of remarks on buildings. From periodical criticism on art, again, architecture seldom comes in for more than casual and very slight notice, except when some such incidental circumstance as the fuss of a so-called "inauguration" renders a new edifice a topic for the newspapers. In short, let architects vapour as much as they please about the dignity of their art, it is looked upon by the critics and the public as the Cinderella sister to painting and sculpture. It is thrust into the background, and pushed as much as possible out of sight; and it is lost sight of altogether as a branch of educational instruction at classical schools, although its history and archæology are so intimately connected with, and might be rendered so auxiliary to, classical studies. If little of direct utility, much of positive and REAL information (a knowledge of *things* as well as words), would be learned; which is more than can be said for "nonsense verses." It is true, boys in general are not intended to be architects: but then much less are they intended to be poets; and even when acquired, a talent for writing Latin verse—be it equal to that of Vincent Bourne's—is a barren and valueless one in after-life, whereas some acquaintance with ancient architecture and art would be a real acquisition, and would lay the foundation for taste. For most schoolboys such study would be so attractive as to be looked upon by them rather as a recreation from their other tasks, than as increasing their number. We do not say that it ought to be among their daily ones: a lesson on classical architecture once a week would be sufficient; and a half year's course of such lessons would render the pupils tolerably

familiar with the principal monuments of Greece and Rome. For this purpose, the mode of instruction adopted ought to be quite different from that of the architect's office; not that which begins with separate members and details, but rather by examining an entire structure, and making out from it the respective parts and details, and all the peculiarities of arrangement. Let us suppose the subject (shown either in drawings or a model) to be the Parthenon, or the ideal of the Grecian Doric style, and the exemplar of a Greek peripteral temple: the teacher would first point out the leading characteristics of the order, the main divisions of the edifice, the system of columniation and inter-columniation, &c., and then proceed to describe the several members of the columns and entablature, explaining in every instance the reason why each thing is *so*, and not otherwise, and the rules derived from those reasons. This would be what may be called the *natural* process of instruction—less tedious and more inviting than the usual one, because, instead of groping his way blindfold, step by step, the pupil beholds a finished result, convincing him at once of the object of study, and what it is that he will understand by applying to it.

Such mode of teaching would not require that the pupils should practise architectural drawing, which they might do or not, according to circumstances; but at any rate their eyes, if not their hands also, would be trained; they would acquire the habit of attentive and patient examination; they would learn to *read* buildings and designs, by learning how they ought to be read. At present, instruction of the kind is not even so much as thought of, for either public or private seminaries, so that, unless they happen to pick it up for themselves, casually and incidentally, schoolboys remain without the slightest tincture of information respecting the architecture, the monuments, and topography of Athens and Rome. Their lessons may introduce the Greek dramatists to them, but of the Greek theatres they know nothing; nothing more, at least, than the names alone of one or two of their principal parts, without having any distinct idea either of those parts, or of the whole. It is the same with regard to the amphitheatres, baths, and other edifices of the Romans, also the domestic architecture and household utensils of the ancients, as exemplified by the buildings at Pompeii, and the various articles of both furniture and personal ornaments there discovered.

Nor is it at schools alone that such mode of architectural and æsthetic instruction might be adopted; since it would be found exceedingly well calculated for those who might wish to obtain a competent insight into the study of architecture as a branch of fine art,—such initiation into it as would clear away all difficulties

at the outset, and enable them to pursue it by themselves. An intelligent instructor, and a course of a few private lessons expressly framed for the purpose, therefore very different from the tedious and plodding routine of professional teaching in an office, would accomplish wonders. Accurate and familiar explanation on the part of the teacher, divested of cant and mystery, and willingness on the part of the learner, who else would not offer himself as a volunteer pupil at all, would render such mode of instruction equally efficacious and agreeable; nor would it be altogether superfluous to many who have taken up the study as well as they could by themselves, and who, on the strength of knowing a little more of the art than their acquaintance do, affect the character of amateurs in it. A course of familiar lessons of the kind alluded to,—the number of which must be determined by circumstances, and accordingly as a knowledge of either some one particular style, or of all the principal ones, was sought,—would, if not altogether so indispensable as a passport, qualify a gentleman for visiting the continent with more advantage and satisfaction to himself; or if he staid at home, it would render him better qualified for being upon a competition or building committee, than the generality of those who now undertake such office with little other ability than that of giving their vote.* Suitable instructors for the purpose are not perhaps readily to be found; for, however competent in other respects, it is not every one that possesses the talent of communicating to others the knowledge they require, or understands what particular information the non-professional student has occasion for. Those who are encumbered with the forms and prejudices of the usual routine system of teaching would be very ill-fitted for such office. To many the mere idea of a person's taking lessons of an architectural master may appear strangely whimsical, if not absolutely chimerical,—

* Assuredly there is something not a little absurd in the practice of deciding the choice of a design by mere voting or balloting. The vote of a dunce (and dunces in architecture do find their way into architectural committees) tells for just as much as that of an intelligent man, who is acquainted with the subject: and, whatever his opinion ought to do, the vote of the latter stands for no more than that of him whose opinion would have no weight at all with any one, or who cannot, perhaps, assign any tolerably plausible reason in support of it. And therefore it would be an improvement upon the present system, were the votes to be delivered in writing, accompanied by specific reasons in favour of the design voted for. Such a regulation would operate beneficially by deterring the incompetent from interfering in matters of the kind: it would render the judges all more cautious, by imposing on them some degree of responsibility; and although it might retard rather than expedite the business of selection, the selection itself would in most cases be a greatly better one; and that is the main point to be attended to.

one of those fancies, which are pool-pooed, and waived off by "Who ever heard of such a thing?"

As to lectures on architecture, we have no very great opinion of them for any serviceableness beyond that of giving a history of the art and its different styles, or some one particular style of it, which may be done just as well by book as by oral delivery, or even far better, because the book can be perused attentively, and studied and consulted again and again; whereas, unless the memory be unusually retentive indeed, the greater portion of a lecture escapes from it. Such mere *vivâ voce* recitation before an auditory as a lecture is, differs materially from the oral tuition of a master with a private scholar. However popularly, and cleverly in that respect, he may treat his subject, the lecturer cannot possibly pause upon all minutæ, be it ever so important that they should be clearly understood. He must trust to the general ability of his hearers to follow him; 'no questions asked' being invariably the rule, and for obvious reasons, because he might else be interrupted every moment by being called upon for more accurate and detailed explanations, for which, too, he might not be at all prepared. Again, as to drawings, either hung up in the room, or handed about among the company, even if they are understood by most of those present, nothing can be learned from the hurried glances and glimpses which are all that can be obtained of them. Between a master and single pupil, instruction assumes the character of familiar conversation, in which one party seeks such information as the other can communicate. No question tending to elicit it is too trifling to be put; repeated explanation may, if necessary, be asked for and given; and even the instructor himself receives a lesson, since he thereby learns how to accommodate his lessons to his scholar's apprehension. He will, besides, re-examine his pupil, in order to ascertain if he be well grounded in his previous lessons, and has given any further thought to them, or whether he has learnt at all otherwise than by mere memory and rote.

Self-instruction by reading, and from books and prints, is almost all that is now open to those who wish to apply to architecture as a study affording intellectual amusement and occupation, and tending to form and refine the taste generally; and the influence of good taste in architecture, be it observed, extends far beyond architecture itself,—to everything connected with a house,—to furniture, and all other accessories in a habitation, as well as to the rooms themselves. Of books, however, very few are adapted to non-professional students, or calculated to invite persons to become such. On the contrary, many who feel disposed to enter upon the study, are deterred from it *in limine* by

the very unprepossessing approaches, and by the sort of *Cave canem* inscription that startles and sends them back again. Architects themselves have rarely ever written except to their own class,—if not exclusively so, chiefly so. In all that comes from their pen there is too much of what is merely technical and practical,—what is quite unnecessary, and not only unnecessary for, but repulsive to, the general reader, while what would be instructive and interesting to the latter is with them only incidental, and not even to be discovered without searching for it, and getting it in scraps and bits. There is, besides, generally too much of the *magister* and pedagogue in their writings; they are apt to be too drily didactic and dogmatic, even on mere points of opinion and taste, rarely condescending to anything like argumentative criticism or reasoning, but expecting that their decisively delivered judgments—many of which, if fairly examined into, would be found to be no better than conventionalities and prejudices—should be received implicitly, and deferred to without appeal. On the other hand, publications claiming to be considered ‘popular’ books on the subject are, if not tedious, for the most part very superficial, insufficient, and meagre; sometimes the merest second-hand compilations, put together in the most slovenly manner. We could mention more than one curious instance of the kind, affording strong proof of the general ignorance of architecture which must prevail, where such ‘information’ relative to it is provided for, and swallowed by the public. It is a vulgar, and so far it may be a *popular* mistake, to suppose that the acquisition of the elements of a science is facilitated by their being condensed into the smallest possible compass. Such a manual—or whatever else the volume be called—may indeed quickly be read through; but with what profit? What will have been found in it more than the dry bones of a skeleton, divested of all that might be made to give interest to the subject, and by fixing attention to impress what is or is pretended to be taught, upon the memory?

Within the few last years, indeed, one branch of architectural study has been brought into very great vogue, namely, that of the mediæval styles, more especially with reference to ecclesiastical edifices; and books of all sizes, from folios and quartos, some of them splendidly illustrated, down to duodecimos and tinier tomes, have appeared on the subject; had it not been for which, there would have been a pause in architectural publishing, since there seems to be scarcely any demand for works on the art generally, or else demand would, no doubt, have produced supply. Wherefore, it is a question, whether a good deal besides taste and love of art be not mixed up with this sudden movement in behalf of the styles and the class of buildings alluded to. The

clergy and diocesan societies, on the one hand, and antiquaries on the other, have distinguished themselves in it; and that they have effected some good, is not to be denied, for they have advanced, or, to speak more correctly, have carried back church-building to former decencies of design. At the same time they seem determined to keep it under close surveillance, so that, with the very best intentions, they may also do some harm. Art, or at least those who exercise it, should be Janus-faced,—should look backwards to the past, but also look around to the present, and forwards to the future.

In the meanwhile, what has been done for promoting and popularizing the study of that particular species of architecture is encouraging, inasmuch as it shows that the public may be weaned from their prejudices; or else, in their zeal for the Church, they must have forgotten to make use of them in self-defence, when called upon to direct their attention to matters which they had previously professed themselves to be contentedly ignorant of. The 'Glossary' we have referred to is all it professes; but, after all, we cannot say that recent publications bearing generally upon Gothic architecture are so well calculated for popular instruction as they might be. They are chiefly historical and archæological, or else more devout than æsthetic in tone; or else, again, too merely elementary and concise manuals for ready reference in ascertaining the leading features of the different styles of our mediæval structures. Among them all we do not find, at least we ourselves have not met with, one that goes beyond what belongs to history and antiquarianism, or to the mere accidence and grammar of mediæval architecture. Of course, grammars are very useful in their way, but, having once mastered them, people have no further occasion for them; neither can they be always going over one and the same portion of history again and again, merely because it is put into different books. Yet one gets little more than such common-stock information, and mere surface views of the styles which are treated of;—scarcely anything like reflecting, intelligent, and liberal criticism. After the date and style of a building have been settled, and the matter-of-fact particulars connected with it have been spoken of, there seems to be nothing more to be said. Careful examination and æsthetic estimate of the particular structure itself, as an individual example of its style, and a separate production of the art, are rarely ever thought of or attempted. We shall better explain the kind of works that appear to us to be desiderata in the literature of architecture, by saying that a volume of most interesting and instructive criticism might be written on the subject of our English cathedrals—if not all of them, the principal ones,—giving a full comparative architectural

examination of them, and merging all that is merely historical, therefore already provided in other works, to which a volume of the kind here instanced would be supplementary and complementary. Unless people are satisfied with a very scanty portion indeed of critical artistic remark respecting those edifices, they have not had so much of it as not welcoming to receive a great deal more. This one instance may suffice, though we could form a catalogue of similar desiderata.

The truth is, there is little readable upon architecture. Setting aside books for study and reference, to which the epithet 'readable' cannot be expected to apply, we find very few others that deserve it. A work, indeed, has just appeared, and that, too, from the pen of a professional man—on which account it is more of a *rara avis*—which may be ranked among those few; for, while it is popular and attractive in style, it is the reverse of superficial in matter, it being fraught with able and clever criticism, admirably calculated to inspire a taste for the subject. The work alluded to is Lamb's 'Studies of Ancient Domestic Architecture,' wherein the author shows himself to possess the spirit of a true artist, without any tinge of professional jealousy or prejudice. He is not one of those who affect to condemn amateur students, or who would fain make the public believe that it is presumption in them to pretend to judge, or to suppose that they can qualify themselves for judging of architecture, although they are at the same time given to understand that they are in duty bound to encourage it; such is the meaning, at least, of what some have said before now, though, of course, wrapped up in language that somewhat disguises its insolence and inconsistency. Very different in opinion from such professional writers, far more liberal and generous, and, we may add, more politic is Mr Lamb, as the following quotation from his preface will show, where, with reference to the public, he observes:—

"It is upon their appreciation of the art that the destinies of the art depend; and it is no more than just to own that, for the comparative advance our art has made of late years, and for the greater attention now bestowed upon it, it is in no small degree indebted to the exertions and influence of those who come under the designation of amateurs,—a name which, if borne worthily, will command the grateful respect of every true artist."

If there are stupid and incompetent amateurs, there are also very dull, plodding, and incompetent architects; and as to criticism,

"Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra."

Professional critics, reviewers, like ourselves, do not always speak so much to the purpose as they ought to do, on topics of

architecture; but, then, neither do architects themselves always show particular *forte* in criticism appertaining to their own art. Throughout Mr Lamb's book, however, we find both *forte* and original thinking; much also that leads readers to think for themselves, and teaches them how to examine buildings, with attention to all those minor yet influential particulars which ought to be taken into consideration, if we would form a correct estimate of their artistic qualities and merits. The subject of pictorial composition in architecture, one seldom touched upon, or, when touched upon, dismissed again almost immediately, is kept constantly in view by him in his comments upon the examples shown in the plates; which, we should observe, are views of mansions and houses of strictly domestic character in the 'old English' style. To further remark on this exceedingly clever, highly interesting and instructive publication, we dare not trust ourselves, for it would detain us too long, and has even now occasioned what may look like an interruption.

One great and tolerably obvious desideratum in architectural literature there is, which no one seems to be at all disposed to fill up; on the contrary, almost every one appears exceedingly shy of even approaching it. While the history of the art in former periods has been and continues to be served up to us again and again in scores of different publications, we have neither in our own nor any other language a satisfactory and connected history of it during the last two or three centuries. As if by common consent, all writers on it invariably break off towards the close of the sixteenth century, if not earlier, without attempting to carry it on any further; so that from that time we can follow it only through partial fragmentary notices, some of them fuller perhaps than could be afforded in a *Corpus Historia*, but not supplying the place of one, nor rendering one unnecessary.

This abrupt and arbitrary cessation of continuous historical record may be partly accounted for by the circumstance of an entirely new style having come up after the time of the Renaissance or Revival; and it is chiefly with styles alone—the distinct phases of the art at different periods, and with causes which led to the successive changes—that the historians of the art occupy themselves. When there is nothing further to be said in regard to them,—when there is no longer room for speculation relative to disputed points,—they find themselves out of their element, and glad to escape from what remains—artistic notices and æsthetic examination of later monuments: they dismiss the subject with a peroration that generally reads like an epitaph on an art defunct. Here we shall, perhaps, be reminded of Wiebeking's Civil-

Baukunst, which brings the history of the art and its monuments down to, and into the earlier part of, the present century. Taken as a mere chronology it is useful; it has even interest as showing what abundant matter for notice there is, which is, as yet, untouched; it is the best general account of modern European architecture—simply, however, because there is no other. As history, it is meagre and superficial, and is altogether deficient in what ought to be the staple of artistic history, namely, description and critical commentary. Similar deficiencies render us dissatisfied with the '*Noticias de los Arquitectos y Arquitectura de España*,' by Llaguno and Cean Bermudez,—a work that has lately been highly commended in the '*Quarterly*.' That it contains a mass of information hitherto inaccessible, including much that is tediously prolix and minute, is not to be denied; but it is such very dry and laborious reading as to be almost the reverse of a model for a work of its class. In one respect it certainly does not fulfil expectation so well as it might have done, for the notices of the Spanish architects and buildings of the last century, relative to which period full and accurate information could, it should seem, have been most easily of all obtained, are little more than mere notices and notes, with one or two exceptions at least; as, for instance, in the case of Ventura Rodriguez, the '*restaurador*,' as he is termed, '*de la arquitectura Española*,' and of whose very numerous designs and buildings a detailed list is given, extending to upwards of twenty pages.* How far they

* Rodriguez's name has yet hardly found its way into biographical dictionaries, either general ones or such as are exclusively devoted to the notice of architects and other artists. In Nagler's '*Allgemeine Künstler-Lexicon*,' which professes to treat of every artist, dead or living, no more than five lines are bestowed on Rodriguez; which, however, is less to be wondered at, when we find such men as Barry and Persius—the latter a German, too,—altogether omitted. Forcibly contrasted with the extraordinary ignorance or negligence manifested by such glaring omissions is the unhappy industry which has crammed the work with hundreds and hundreds of the most obscure and merest names imaginable, raked out of exhibition catalogues, and only encumbering the work, not merely uselessly, but quite injuriously. Originally promised to be completed in six volumes, it has now reached its *sixteenth*, and will probably be terminated only with the twentieth. The execution of the architectural department is exceedingly poor, much of it quite wretched.

Another German publication, the '*Conversations Lexicon für bildende Kunst*,' is by no means so good in execution as in the idea, which is excellent. An Encyclopædia of the Fine Arts, in a popular and economic form, illustrated with explanatory and descriptive wood-cut representations of the principal objects, was much wanted; and this one contains a good deal of new matter, more especially in regard to German art and artists. But the plan has not been so well schemed as it might have been; articles of ancient mythology occupy undue space; and in all the departments there

were actually distinguished by the merits so freely claimed for them, is doubtful, praise being bestowed only in the lump and in general terms, without any artistic estimate being entered into; nor have we any other than verbal description—if description it may be called—for our guidance, because, as far as we are aware, neither he nor any other Spanish architect has ever published any engravings of their works.

Comparatively so very little has been done at all systematically for the history of modern and recent architecture, that, to be adequately executed, a work upon the subject would require co-operation both of talent and research, and would accordingly be a fitter undertaking for an academy, or some such body as the "Institute," than for an individual, unless, indeed, he possessed, together with more than ordinary enthusiasm, ample means of securing all requisite assistance. So far is anything of the kind from being done, that it is scarcely so much as attempted—hardly a beginning made towards it, except very feebly and imperfectly. The Institute, which if disposed, and earnestly so, might accomplish much, effects nothing whatever. It might keep a record of all contemporary structures of any pretension or note, as they are from time to time erected. It might establish an Archive, and invite professional men to deposit in it drawings of the buildings executed by them; and models might be received also, so as to form in time a Gallery or Museum of Architecture, which museum ought to be freely open to the public. Let us not be told of obstacles and difficulties: difficulties of course there are, but not insuperable ones, and the greatest obstacle of all seems to be the want of sincere and hearty desire to carry any scheme of the kind into effect, although it would tend to give architecture itself greater importance in the eyes of the public, as a branch of fine art and design. We would have the Institute go further, and take up an independent position for the art and the profession by establishing an *annual exhibition* also of drawings and models; or if not an annual, a biennial or triennial congress of such productions. *Fac periculum*, say we; at least let the experiment be made, for of its success we have very little doubt. What is now done in the way of exhibiting architectural drawings at the Royal Academy, is confessedly very unsatisfactory

is great inequality of execution; while some of the topographical articles, for instance, are sufficiently full and satisfactory, others are altogether the reverse;—Amsterdam and its buildings obtain only a quarter of a page, Angers three lines, Bordeaux not quite half a page, and Cambridge but little more; therefore it may easily be imagined what sort of account is given of its architectural treasures. The value of the work might be greatly enhanced by pointing out at the end of each article the best publications on the subject treated of,

and inadequate, and in some degree even degrading, since architecture is there treated as the "poor relation of the family," for whom any accommodation is good enough, and which ought to be vastly grateful for being admitted at all. It seems to be taken for granted that, architects excepted, no one takes any interest in drawings of the kind, and visitors are made to understand pretty plainly that such things are regarded by the Academy rather as a dead weight upon its annual show, which it would willingly get rid of, if possible, than as a feature in it, or any attraction. It may be all very natural that the painters—forming nine-tenths of the academicians—should give themselves no concern about architecture, but rather look upon it as an intruder, especially as space is exceedingly limited.* All the more incumbent, then, is it on the followers of architecture to extricate themselves and their art from an unavoidable and unfriendly alliance, wherein they act the part of *patiti* and *de trop*. Not only could a separate architectural exhibition be made a far more complete one—for ground plans, sections, drawings of details and designs for ornaments and furniture, might very properly be admitted into it,—but, as there would be nothing else to look at or speak of, attention would of necessity be given to architecture; whereas, in a general exhibition, consisting almost entirely of pictures, it is quite overlooked by the majority of visitors, and rarely obtains more than a hurried word or two of notice—sometimes not even that—in newspaper reports of exhibitions. We are aware that comparatively few take any real interest in architecture; therefore a taste for it requires to be sedulously fostered and diffused. Hitherto it has been starved rather than fed, unless it can make a feast off the more elementary than alimentary spoon-pap, of which *quantum sat* and more is provided.

It may be said that after sufficient elementary knowledge has been obtained, buildings themselves afford the best mode of further informing and gratifying architectural taste. There are the

* If the building accuses Wilkins for want of contrivance in no other respects, the Royal Academy portion of it does so, for his not having made better, some tolerable provision for exhibiting the architectural drawings. A long, narrow, corridor-like room, with an arched ceiling springing at not more than between seven and eight feet from the floor, and with a dado on the lower part of the walls, so as to allow of only two rows of frames, and where large, only a single one, to be hung up, would be the most suitable and economic arrangement of a room for the particular purpose; extent "on the line," as it is technically termed, and not space, either as to general surface of wall or width of area on floor, being the principal desideratum; wherefore, supposing a room for such purpose to be nearly double the width that might else be sufficient—say about twenty feet instead of twelve—it might be divided by a low screen for drawings extending down the middle of it nearly from end to end.

edifices themselves, and they are infinitely more satisfactory than the very best verbal or graphic descriptions can possibly be. Very true; but instead of at all diminishing the enjoyment derived from visiting buildings, the auxiliary information relative to them furnished by books and engravings enhances interest, and facilitates judicious examination. We compare the things themselves and the actual impressions produced by them, with our previous notions, correcting the latter accordingly; wherefore, though less of mere surprise is felt, more of rational gratification is obtained. If we have no need of full and accurate representations of buildings, equally well can we dispense with engravings from pictures, when the originals—not mere inadequate copies from them in black and white, but the autograph productions of the respective masters—are extant and accessible. What need of prints to show us what can be seen in all their glorious reality in the galleries of Dresden, Munich, Florence, and Rome? We answer the question only by observing that, even in this age of steamers, railroads, and universal travelling, it is not every one who can travel everywhere, to look at all and everything that is worth looking at. Or even if they could, they cannot bring away with them such vivid and lasting impressions as to have neither occasion nor wish for any reminiscences to refresh their memories.

The same holds good in regard to buildings, and that in a stronger degree, because a tolerably complete idea of a building can hardly be obtained by going over it—not only once but several times, and each time with careful examination. Unless noted down upon paper on the spot, many particulars that were observed at the moment will escape recollection, besides which there will always be more or less that cannot be understood without explanation by means of plans and sections. But, say your common-sensible people, we who are *not* architects—we who go about merely for the sake of sight-seeing, we are quite satisfied with looking at buildings without studying or understanding them. By such contented ignorance it is that people cheat themselves out of the gratification they might obtain at the time, by understanding what they are looking at; and of the satisfaction they would have, were they able afterwards to describe to others, and make pertinent remarks upon, the edifices they visited, which it is impossible for them to do so long as they are at a loss even for words and terms with which to express themselves. We ought, perhaps, to apologise for saying so much about what is so self-evident that our remarks must almost look like impertinence. Yet there are prejudices and misconceptions prevalent in regard to architecture that render necessary explanation and

remark, which, on almost any subject of art, or indeed any pursuit that is not of an exclusively scientific or technical nature, would be superfluous.

That architects themselves are not so fully and generally aware how much it is to the interest of their art that all its worthiest productions should be faithfully recorded by the pencil and graver may be suspected, when we find so very few of them commemorate, after such fashion, anything they have executed. Indeed the practice of architects publishing authentic illustrations of any of their own buildings seems to be now quite discontinued among ourselves, notwithstanding that so many structures have been erected in this country within the last five-and-twenty or thirty years. Sir Jeffry Wyattville's work on Windsor Castle—the plates of which, numerous as they are, illustrate only the exterior of that pile—is the *ultimus Romanorum* of its class. The European celebrity of Schinkel and Klenze, and now of Gärtner, may, in some measure, be attributed to their having published designs of their buildings, which have thereby been made known both earlier and more extensively than they otherwise would have been; and not only that, but vindicated also from the horribly, though not intentionally, libellous representations that have appeared of some of them in *soi-disant* views. It is only from graphic documents that of many buildings we now know anything at all, and that either satisfactorily or tantalizingly, favourably or injuriously, according as such memorials of them are sufficient and worthy ones or the contrary. How many structures have perished by fire needs not be told, nor how many have fallen into decay and have been allowed to disappear piece-meal without aught having been preserved of them, except, perhaps, some fragmentary yet now highly valued delineations of their disfigured remains. Nor is it fire alone, or decay, that deprives us of architectural productions; alteration, improvement,—necessity at one time, wanton caprice at another,—have all played their part in the work of destruction. The palatial Wanstead has disappeared; Carlton House, whose portico was the finest specimen of Roman *Corinthianism* we then possessed, is no more; and Barry has just expunged and will expunge more of Soane's work,—the work of but yesterday. Of those structures there exist some, though insufficient memorials, among which those relating to Soane, and published by him in a folio volume of his own, are of the libellous class, being nothing less than disgraceful in point of execution, and betraying more of niggardliness than of ostentatious vanity on the part of Sir John. But there are many edifices, modern as well as older ones, in regard to which scarcely anything is now known, owing to no adequate and trustworthy descriptions, either verbal or

graphic, having been made of them while in existence. James Wyatt's Pantheon, the admired of fashion in its day, is one of them; and we have now nothing by which we can judge how far it really merited the apparently hyperbolic encomiums bestowed upon it by contemporaries, for, strange to say, not a single drawing of it is given in Richardson's 'New Vitruvius Britannicus.'

Subjects of architectural illustration require the united aid of both pen and pencil; and yet buildings are seldom deemed of sufficient interest while they are entire and can be described fully and faithfully. It is not till they are perishing, or have been so mutilated and changed that very little of the original work remains; it is not until everything relating to them and their history is involved in doubt and uncertainty, and becomes matter of antiquarian conjecture and curiosity; that they are considered deserving of careful notice. Then every dry and meagre scrap of information relative to them, that can be got at, is seized upon with avidity; every vile old print, though it bears falsehood upon the very face of it, is prized as a valuable relic and veracious record; and even the most insignificant particulars, masons' bills, workmen's names, are *historied* with provoking industry and smile-provoking gravity. Then great is the lamentation that so little has been preserved,—so little can now be collected relative to the building spoken of;—then the indifference of those who suffered to fall into oblivion what it costs the present generation so much labour to dig out of it again piecemeal and in disjointed fragments, is treated, if not quite as a moral delinquency, as shocking obtuseness of taste. At the very same time, perhaps, examples, to the full as valuable as those which are so loudly deplored, are perishing, or beginning to perish, before the eyes of those who bestow so much affectionate, unavailing regret upon, perhaps shed a few widow's tears over, what is irrecoverably gone. The proverb about shutting the stable door after the steed is stolen, continues to be exemplified. Succeeding generations will accuse the present one of being as incurious and indifferent as its predecessors where contemporary structures are concerned, which are not thought worthy of being portrayed architecturally, when it can be accomplished most easily and completely by aid of the original designs; the task of doing so being deferred until it becomes one of great difficulty.

What between antiquaries and architects, architecture comes badly off in one respect, for, while the latter generally seem to give themselves very little further concern about their buildings, when they have ceased to be employed upon them, leaving them to take their chance for being known or forgotten, the others do not take any æsthetic interest in buildings, or consider them

worthy of notice, so long as they are merely objects of art and subjects for criticism, but reserve all their affection and solicitude for those which chiefly exercise their historical ingenuity and archæological erudition,—*à-propos* or impertinently as may happen,—generally, wearisomely. These have their pilfering imitators, who first steal and then dress up in less grim and formidable shape, what pass for histories of buildings, but in which almost anything and everything is spoken of except the buildings themselves: topography, biography, anecdote, with not a little sentimental badinage, taking the place of architectural description and commentary, or else smothering what little of it there may chance to be. As to the matter of pilfering, that is frequently practised with equal audacity and clumsiness; we could point to one instance of the kind where remarks and notices of buildings, such as they are, in Starke's 'Picture of Edinburgh,' were appropriated verbatim, and without acknowledgment, by one who enjoys some repute as an able and careful topographical and antiquarian writer.

The numerous family of 'Pictures,' 'Tourists,' 'Visits to—,' 'Handbooks,' 'Guides,' almost uniformly, or with very rare exceptions, betray a very insufficient acquaintance with architecture, and even a disrelish for it—eagerness to escape from it as an ungrateful topic; nor does the flummery of magnificent epithets, which are rather pelted indiscriminately at than bestowed upon the buildings, conceal from us how disagreeable and awkward that part of the writer's or compiler's task is found by him to be. Similar evasion of, and distaste and incompetency for, the professed task marks that portion of it which belongs to the pencil. In the usual sort of the topographical manuals calling themselves 'Guides' and 'Handbooks,' the prints or cuts are no better than rude and coarse memoranda, which are so far honest, inasmuch as they avow, at the very first glance, their own falsehood and mendacity. In many cases the utter vilceness of representation becomes a virtue; because, if disgusted, we are at the same time consoled by the comfortable assurance that, however bad, hideous, or deformed the buildings so shown may be in themselves, they cannot by any possibility resemble their *soi-disant* resemblances. At any rate, they are not dislocated and distorted by perspective that plays the most outrageously grotesque pranks with the laws of vision; and be they ever so misshapen as buildings, there is still form and shape in them. It is sorry comfort to know that they do not manage such matters better abroad than here at home. We have now lying before us what, although it is without text, is a sort of architectural guide-book for Munich, namely, a collection of small views of the modern

edifices in that capital. Verily the *kunst-liebend* Ludwig is not quite so sensitive as was our Queen Elizabeth, or he would prohibit, under heavy penalty, such vilifying portraits of his pet buildings. We merely recognize in them the general form of the structures they pretend to show, so as to be able to distinguish one subject from another; but of architectural character and quality they convey no idea.* Well, then, is it for Kleuze, that his own published designs enable those who have not seen the Glyptothek and other buildings by him at Munich, to estimate them architecturally,—correctly, if not completely. The misfortune is, that such publications as his ‘Entwürfe,’ and those of Gärtner, are a positive *noli-me-tangere* to almost all but architects and a few ultra-amateurs. Leaving their expensiveness out of the question, the very large size of those, and many other works of the same class, is so great an inconvenience that that, quite as much as their cost, must deter many from purchasing them. Their shape and dimensions render them formidable by rendering them objectionable, and cause them to be regarded only as show-books and luxuries suitable for large and spacious libraries. In many instances, too, such inconvenient and costly form is adopted without any concomitant advantage being derived from it, several subjects on a small, perhaps, even a minute scale, being shown on a single plate (as is the case with Durand’s ‘Parallèle,’ and Seroux d’Agincourt’s ‘Histoire de l’Art par les Monumens’), whereas they might be represented on the same, or very nearly the same, scale within the compass of an octavo page; nay, many of those in Soane’s ‘Public and Private Buildings’ would not be at all cramped up in a duodecimo one.

Whether it be that they are so completely the creatures of routine and precedent that they hold anything less than the customary folio size to be *infra dig.* and unprofessional, architects have never published authentic drawings of their own buildings, except in a form that, while it greatly increases the outlay of publishing, limits the sale; price and form together operating as

* Surely it would very well answer the purpose of some English publisher or artist, or of both conjointly, to give us some good architectural ‘illustrations’ of Munich, after the dismal *obscurations* of German views of its buildings. Let Allom take the hint—proceed to the capital of Bavaria, and occupy himself there, for a couple of months, with gathering into his portfolio the *cream* of its buildings. In his ‘France Illustrated’ the architectural subjects, especially the interiors, are treated so charmingly as to cause us to complain of the work for containing so much skimmed milk in the shape of landscape views. For Allom to employ his pencil on such things, of which we have abundance, and which others can do just as well, seems quite a waste of his *forte* and talent.

a prohibitive duty and restriction. This partly accounts for so many buildings not being edited at all by the authors of them. Intermediate class there is none between correct architectural delineations from autograph drawings or the original designs, to be found only in expensive books of large engravings, and mere views of the same buildings, which, even if correctly drawn, afford merely superficial information as to their general design and appearance; wherefore, if it be in one sense satisfactory, what is so shown becomes unsatisfactory, because tantalizing; because, if there be any particular interest or merit in the subject, more complete and exact explanation of it is craved for. Thus, what might become a popular taste for architectural *study*, is actually starved, owing to there being so very little provided for it to feed upon. True, there are the buildings themselves, and they, it will be said, are the very best studies, and the best food that such taste can desire: certainly; yet, not to repeat what has been already said in reply, as to their all-sufficiency for the purpose, we may observe that those who are quite satisfied with merely looking at buildings can have no particular relish for careful artistic study and thorough æsthetic examination of them. The fuller information in regard to a variety of particulars which is to be derived from plans and other accurate explanatory drawings of them, is so far from being superseded, or rendered superfluous, by actual acquaintance with the edifices they represent, that it becomes on the contrary all the more desired, and all the more interesting. Buildings, and the delineations of them, mutually illustrate and elucidate each other; and in order to render the interest attached to them complete, they stand in need of some interpretation by means of the pen; and not merely that of historical notice and *material* description, which, in its turn, *illustrates* graphic illustration, but of critical analysis and æsthetic comment also.

Every work of art, it will perhaps be thought, ought sufficiently to explain itself; the greater its merits and beauties, the more obvious ought they to be to every one; the more universally its fame is established, the less occasion can there be for any further critical inquiry and application. If so, an enormous quantity of ink and paper has been wasted, and a prodigious deal of criticism squandered away, upon Shakspeare. Possessing his works, what need we more for the perfect enjoyment of them? Are their beauties so doubtful and so dim, that they cannot be discerned unless criticism holds up a torch to enable us to perceive them? There is Goethe's 'Faust,' again; have not as much commentary and opinion as would fill a hundred volumes—and we speak within bounds—been expended on that single production, when it ought to have been enough to say, Read the poem itself; enjoy it in its reality,

without caring what other people say or think of it? Yet poetry ought, least of all, to require the intervention of criticism, which now so officiously busies itself by expatiating on beauties so brilliant that, it might be imagined, they would be tolerably self-evident, unless actually 'dark by excess of light!'

Most assuredly the public are not at all less obtuse in regard to architecture, or more competent to judge of it entirely for themselves, than of poetry, or of painting and sculpture, all of which may be presumed to speak a more generally intelligible language to every one alike. On the contrary, they require something like generous, that is earnest, *con amore*, expansive criticism, the very reverse of the cold and leaden stuff which is generally retailed as didactic or critical remark,—to awaken and inform their sympathies with architecture as art. Yet those who have written on architecture and its productions seem to have almost made a point of abstaining from whatever might impart any popular or many-sided interest to the subject. Apparently they have all been more or less influenced by the example of Vitruvius, whose solemnly dull pedantry and didactic dryness are never once enlivened by any gleams of criticism, or by aught that bespeaks an artist sincerely enamoured of his art. Pausanias is pretty much of the same stamp—a plodding, pains-taking collector and chronicler of facts—whose work has accordingly preserved to us much information that would otherwise have been lost; but devoid of talent for that kind of description which shapes out and depicts objects, as well as speaks of them. Good architectural description is rare; for to be good it is not sufficient that it be accurate, though that is, of course, a primary requisite; it must possess colouring also, and must be graphically touched, with somewhat of that picturesque handling and gusto which we meet with in Victor Hugo's chapters on the Cathedral of Notre Dame and the ancient Paris of the fifteenth century. Unluckily, those who most affect verbal colouring in what they mean for description, are apt to bungle sadly in their verbal drawings; so that, like Turner's, their pictures consist merely of shapeless, unintelligible combinations of colour, alluring perhaps at the first glance, but soon found to be without meaning. George Sand, the most accomplished of French writers for elegance of style, says of Canova's Church at Possagno, in her '*Lettres d'un Voyageur*,' that it is "*une copie exact du Panthéon de Rome*." This information would be sufficient to those who know the model, were it at all exact in itself; instead of which, however, it is very wide indeed from the truth; that modern copy resembling the Roman original only in its general form, and disposition of plan, and the style of the architecture being as far as possible completely Grecianized

by the adoption of the order of the Parthenon for the portico. There was therefore opportunity for discussing both that point and a good deal besides; and no doubt such a writer as George Sand would have expatiated upon it with *abandon*, had she not felt that she was getting out of her element, and that something more than active imagination and ready *eloquence de plume* is necessary for other than malapropos eloquence, when architecture is the subject.

Those who can descant fluently enough on most other topics of literature and art, are usually quite chilled and struck mute all at once when architecture has to be spoken of in any more than vague general terms, which, amounting to nothing, do not compromise a writer otherwise than indirectly by letting it be seen that he is unable to enter into specific criticism, he having neither opinion of his own to offer, nor reasons to put forth in support of such ready-made opinion as he might else take up with. The same kind of talent that is required for satisfactory architectural description, is required also for specific criticism on individual buildings; because, in speaking of them, descriptive explanation and æsthetic comment must run into each other more or less, and become intermingled. Some of the best specimens of the kind we are acquainted with are Callow's detailed notices of the Madeleine, Arc de l'Etoile, and other modern structures at Paris, which appeared a few years ago in Schorn's *Kunst-blatt*; which, penned with a relish for the subject, are calculated to create a relish for it in others. The article, 'Berlins Architektur,' in Seidel's 'Schönen Künste zu Berlin im Jahre 1828,' and occupying half the volume, is another very interesting and valuable contribution to the history of the art, its monuments, and its professors; very different that from the volume of Lardner's 'Cabinet Cyclopædia,' entitled, 'Cities and Principal Towns,'—the only one in the series bearing at all upon architecture,—for in the latter, instead of being made a prominent feature, architecture is most terribly "shirked;" which, however, is the less to be regretted, as, what little of it there is smells more of the paste-pot than the lamp; though some of the blunders—such as that which gives three Doric porticos to the post-office—maybe original.

Why should not each city and principal town have its local architectural vade-mecum—a volume, or, if necessary, more than a single volume, especially devoted to a critical description of its buildings alone, leaving all other matters to ordinary guide-books? Something of the kind for our own metropolis was produced a century ago, under the title of Ralph's 'Critical Observations on the Public Buildings of London;' but that work was very far better in idea and intention than in execution.

Its criticisms are for the most part very off-hand and *jejune*—anything but searching, and some of its opinions—moulded and mildewed—read not a little curiously at the present day. It requires to be well dusted, to have its pedantry beaten out of it,—more of æsthetic feeling infused into it. Or rather, London has so prodigiously outgrown Ralph's book, and we have so outgrown its opinions, that no refashioning short of reconstructing it with almost entirely new materials would be effectual.

However they may affect to plume themselves upon their buildings, there is scarcely a single capital in Europe which has provided itself with, or for which any one has thought fit to provide, an architectural "cicerone"—answering to the best meaning of such name, by being an intelligent, instructive, and truthful guide,—careful in its judgments, independent and honest in its opinions, therefore free from vulgar showman's tone, or the mechanically repeated rote of a 'show house' house-keeper. For some few cities there are what may be called architectural atlases, containing their principal "monuments," accurately delineated, though not always sufficiently fully explained by an adequate number of engravings, and, with here and there an exception, exhibiting none of their recent or what may be called their modern buildings. Such atlases are Cicognara's large work on Venice,—and a most valuable one it is,—Gautier's 'Gênes,' and Famin et Grandjean's 'Architecture Toscane,' for Florence, or rather some of its palazzi; to which works may now be added one which is in course of publication, viz., Cassina's 'Fabbriche di Milano,' which will assuredly prove not the least welcome and interesting of all, because it will exhibit a great many entirely fresh and unedited subjects,—buildings by Piermarini, Perego, Cagnola, Canonica, and others, who have, within the last sixty or seventy years, adorned that capital with numerous stately and elegant edifices, private as well as public. Such a work is all the more welcome, because it has strangely happened that the architectural interest of Milan has hitherto been almost completely merged in a single edifice—namely, its *Duomo*. That travellers in general should confine their architectural remarks to that *lion* is not, perhaps, very surprising but that professional men—Woods, in his 'Letters of an Architect,' and Wightwick, in his 'Sketches by a Travelling Architect,' should have had eyes for scarcely anything else—should have overlooked or merely listlessly glanced at modern buildings, is not only surprising but provoking. By those who have no other information than what they can obtain from books, or pick up from the reports of travellers, it might be imagined that architecture was now quite defunct in Italy,—that there was

nothing fresh to be noticed in regard to it, not even so much as for censure and unfavourable comparison. At any rate such is not the case in Germany and the North of Europe: from St Petersburg to Dresden and Munich, from Munich to Hamburgh and Berlin, architecture has been astonishingly active since the commencement of the present century, or rather within the last quarter of a century.

Out of this vast increase of buildings and architectural subjects, drawings of only a very few are to be found among the published designs of individual architects, therefore of several of the best and most interesting no authentic delineations are to be obtained at all. As representative for St Petersburg, in the general European *convent* or congress of architectural publications, we have Quarenghi,—such as he is,—but neither Bruilov nor Konstantine Thou;—for Copenhagen and Denmark, we have Hansen; for Germany, the architects already mentioned by us, and just one or two others; for Belgium, we get Roelandt, and Remont, in the supplementary plates to Durand's 'Parallèle,' where the University, Casino, and Theatre at Ghent by the former, and the University, and Casino, at Liege, by the latter, are introduced. Recent French architecture is rather copiously illustrated in the 'Choix d'Edifices Publics,' a work of some extent and not yet terminated; also in one or two minor collections. But contemporary, or we may say modern architecture generally, in Spain and Portugal, is not *represented* at all,—does not send even so much as a single member to congress. The 'España Artística'—and a most exquisite work it is—is wholly confined to the architectural glories of the Peninsula in former ages, and does not condescend to notice any productions of these degenerate, unheroic, and uuromantic times. Nor is it Spain and Portugal alone that are to be reproached for apathy and negligence in omitting to exhibit modern and contemporary productions of architecture in faithful graphic records; similar indifference being manifested by Ireland and Scotland. Or shall we call the seeming indifference discretion, and attribute it to the consciousness that most of their buildings, which *sound* so excellently while spoken of, would make but an 'indifferent' figure were they to be submitted to deliberate and careful inspection, and anatomized architecturally and critically? Be that as it may, it is difficult to explain how it has happened that so very *ad captandum* a subject as the house at Abbotsford, that pet production of Sir Walter's, has not received due or rather complete architectural illustration, no matter whether deserving of it or not. The profession, indeed, might have turned up their noses, or shaken their heads at it, but the public would have bought it, and would

have found out for once that plans and sections, as well as pictorial views, have their interest.

Desirable and valuable as they are in themselves, while works of the class above indicated are out of the pale of popular patronage, if only because they are exceedingly expensive and cumbersome, they do not patronize architecture by popularizing the study of it, and endeavouring to render it an attractive and familiar one to the many—that is, to all persons of education, all who feel, or affect to feel, any sympathy for art. That does not seem to be so much as aimed at, or even thought of. The taste that would be likely to patronize architectural publications, in its turn, must be either spontaneous, or produced by accident, nothing being done directly and systematically to produce it first and foster it afterwards. As there is no history attached to newly-erected buildings, nothing that affords matter for narrative, there is as frequently as not no letter-press account at all to accompany engraved designs of them; as if none were required for explanation as to an infinity of particulars and circumstances that cannot possibly be understood from what is shown in the drawings, be the latter ever so expressive, and ever so well understood. Hence there is what looks like emptiness of interest, the kind of interest which might be superadded to the information afforded by the designs themselves being altogether renounced. As for the authors of the buildings so shown, we learn nothing of them, nor of their other works. In fact, it seems to be taken for granted, that architects have no pretensions to be treated as public characters to their contemporaries, and that no one ever cares to learn ought concerning them and their labours.

What might be done towards facilitating and popularizing an acquaintance with buildings by presenting correct architectural delineations of them, even within the compass of an ordinary octavo page, is shown by many subjects of the kind admirably executed in outline in the '*Annales du Musée*;' and also by Legrand and Landon's '*Description de Paris et ses Edifices*,' and the similar English work on the '*Public Buildings of London*.' The last two, which, as far as we are aware, are the only architectural publications of their kind in so economic and convenient a shape, have both reached a second edition, containing—the latter of them especially—several additional subjects; but when we say that nearly thirty years have elapsed since the last publication of Legrand's book, it is obvious that it stops short of what has proved a very interesting and productive period in the architectural annals of the capital of France. The deficiency might now very properly be supplied, either by supplementary volumes, or a fresh series, for which abundant materials have accunulated, or else

by an entirely new work corresponding with the other in size, and commencing from the time to which that had been brought down. Nearly the same may be said of the English work, for, although not even a decennium has elapsed since its appearance in a second and greatly enlarged form, there are now ample fresh materials for another volume, especially as several of the later-erected buildings in our metropolis demand fuller illustration, particularly with regard to sections, than, unluckily, was deemed necessary when the publication was originally planned. Besides which, there would be opportunity for introducing one or two subjects, that were then as unluckily and most strangely omitted—among others, St George's, Bloomsbury, the most original, picturesque, and dignified of all our metropolitan parish churches; nor are we better reconciled to such omission, by finding such a paltry bit of 'builder's' Greek as the church at Poplar thrust into the book. Another volume would further afford opportunity for improvement in regard to the mode of representation, it being desirable that, in addition to general elevations, there should be partial ones, showing a portion of the façade upon a larger scale, whereby the advantage attending folio plates would be secured, together with the economy and convenience of octavo size. In fact, something like a promise of a third volume was made in the preface to the second edition, where several subjects for one were enumerated; and it was perhaps supposed that the respective architects of the buildings so mentioned would show themselves disposed to encourage and assist by offering the loan of their own designs, or copies of them reduced to a suitable scale, for the purpose of being engraved. They do not, however, appear to have held out encouragement or proffered any aid of the kind. At any rate, the idea of continuing the work even by a single additional volume seems to be abandoned altogether; so that, instead of there being at all more, we must suppose that there is now less demand for such illustrations of modern buildings and contemporary edifices, than there was many years ago,—less prospect of success for carrying on the work in question any further, than there was when it was originated and first commenced.

Though architecture is more frequently in people's mouths than formerly, it takes but slender hold of their affections. Those two *ologies*, Ecclesiology and Archæology on the one hand, and engineering and mere practical matters on the other, not only divide attention with it, but almost absorb it. That such is the case is pretty evident from the disproportionately small share of attention which architecture proper—so to call it—obtains from those periodicals which profess to watch over it

—to support and promote its interests. The title of the ‘Civil Engineer and Architect’s Journal,’ plainly enough announces it to be the vehicle for what chiefly concerns the former of the two professions; but the ‘Builder’ seems hardly an appropriate designation for a journal devoting a large portion of its space to what is more or less strictly antiquarian, and seems to be of very little interest, certainly of no direct utility to the class whom it ought principally to have in view. Were it only in order to be somewhat more in conformity with its name, the ‘Builder’ might surely endeavour to supply some better information as to new *buildings* than a few passing notices. Nor would it be amiss, were it now and then to let us see some newly-erected structure, instead of confining its illustrations for the most part to details of mediæval, or rather Elizabethan architecture; subjects from the latter being by far the more numerous.

What share of attention will be given to architecture in Murray’s forthcoming ‘Handbook of London’ remains to be seen: notices of buildings will, of course, form a prominent feature in it; yet, whether they will be spoken of with careful and impartial appreciation, or otherwise than very perfunctorily, is a question; and we only hope that our forebodings, founded upon so many *hand-books* turning out no better than mere literary *manu-facture*, will not be realized. Though from the pen of an architect, the letter-press to Jones’s ‘London in the Nineteenth Century’ (which by the bye ought by this time to be resumed, unless the present century expired several years ago, and we are now in the twentieth) was so far from manifesting any great critical ability as to be more remarkable for twaddle. As to the views themselves, they were passable enough, price considered, and served very well to give an idea of the *Nashean* grandeurs and improvements of a period which we have now outgrown. But neither that, nor any similar collection, gave us any subjects of that class which are more or less secluded from public inspection. That was afterwards undertaken by a work especially and exclusively devoted to such purpose, under the title of ‘London Interiors;’ and a most acceptable and interesting one would it have been had the idea—so excellent, and also so obvious a one that it is rather surprising it should not have been taken up before—been carried into execution as it ought to have been. Instead of which the subjects were treated most tastelessly; bad in drawing, and as bad or worse in engraving, and without any thing to *accuse*—as the French say—the artist, though in our English meaning of the term, they pretty plainly accused those who employed them of incompetence. Their views of some of the rooms in Buckingham Palace were not calculated to serve them as

a passport of admission into such mansions as the Duke of Sutherland's, Grosvenor House, and Mr Hope's. The failure is the more to be regretted, because it is likely to deter from any similar undertaking, for some time to come at least, although it ought in reality to be an encouragement, what has been done having been done so imperfectly and so badly, as to leave it to be done over again, and a great deal more besides, by more capable artists. Let this be a hint, then, to that capital hand at architectural interiors on a similar scale—Thomas Allom; with warning, however, that for commensurate ability in regard to literary *redaction*, he must look out for some one more *au fait* in matters of architecture than his present writer. Mere compiling and cramming for the purpose will not do; on the contrary, they are attended with danger, and apt to lead into strange blunders—serious ones, as regards the writer's credit, but often highly diverting to better informed readers, as we could show by not a few instances of such blunderings; which those, who, if they know as little of the subject, are more discreet, avoid by retreating from it as soon as it presents itself. Mrs Jameson, for one, is too cautious and sensible to commit herself to perilous familiarity with it, and where she has been forced to touch upon it, as in speaking of some of the buildings which she visited at Munich, all her facile eloquence and cleverness of general remark do not conceal how greatly she is at a loss, how little it is she can say with any feeling of satisfaction to herself, how unable she is to descant *con amore*—freely and feelingly upon productions of architecture with regard to their æsthetic worth, in like manner as she does upon pictures and similar works of art. Accordingly, it may be presumed that, if no one else does so, she will agree with us as to the importance of an acquaintance with architecture to travellers like herself, if to no others.

Clever architectural writing or description is sometimes to be met with by chance, where it would hardly be looked or sought for by those who were not previously apprized that there it is to be found. The search becomes like that for a few shrubs of a particular kind scattered about in the recesses of a vast, dense, and tangled forest.* Not every one, perhaps, is yet aware that

* Were one of the architectural journals to give us a list of the principal papers relating to subjects in which their own readers may be supposed to be interested, yet, for want of some such index or indicator, not likely to be known to them, unless they chanced to be seen just at the time of their appearance, lying as they now do dispersed and buried in the heterogeneous mass of general periodical literature and pamphlets, it would perform a good office.

It would not be amiss, either, were some of our travellers to wander forth

there is anything relating to architecture in the 'Companion to the Almanac,' there being nothing in the title to give indication of it, or even to render it probable; wherefore we are the less surprised that some of our professional friends should have learnt it for the very first time from ourselves. It must now, however, be pretty generally known that, under the head of 'Public Improvements,' matters passed over altogether unregistered and unnoticed by 'Annual Registers,' that publication has for a series of years made a sort of annual report of the principal buildings erected during the contemporary period; so that those sections of the 'Companion' by this time afford a great deal of information that cannot be got at anywhere else. It may therefore, at least, claim the merit of "doing better than others what no one has done well;" or rather, perhaps, of beginning to do at all what others have not so much as attempted: for most assuredly there has been no other attempt to give us anything like a regular and connected account of new buildings in a similarly popular and economic form.

The 'Companion' must have done much if only by thrusting, so to say, architecture into the way, and more or less upon the attention, of those who purchase the work for the other information which it contains, getting the architectural wood-cut illustrations into the bargain; and as they cannot avoid seeing these last, they are thereby apprized of the nature of the accompanying letter-press; that letter-press may be called illustrative, the descriptions being carefully drawn up, though not always so full as could be desired, which is, no doubt, owing to want of better materials—to the difficulty of eliciting the requisite information from the respective architects. And that architects are not very forward in offering such materials and sketches as are almost indispensable for the purpose, may be imagined from our so very rarely meeting with more than the bare mention of new build-

into those "by-ways" and devious tracks, whither guide-books do not think of conducting them. "Full many a gem" is to be met with, not only in the "dark unfathomed caves of ocean," but on *terra firma*, in tracts unexplored by architects and tourists. If the existence of Canova's 'Tempio' at Possagno be known to English architects, it is about as much as it is; but we dare wager that scarcely one has even so much as heard of that vast pile, the Abbey of St Blaise, in the Black Forest, Austria, erected by Ixnard, between the years 1768-80, whose church is a rotunda of somewhat greater diameter than the Pantheon at Rome. As little, in all likelihood, is known here of two much more recent structures, the Cathedral at Gran, and that at Erlau, both in Hungary, the former the work of Khünel, the latter of Hild; and if we may trust such tantalizingly imperfect descriptions as we have seen of them, both the one and the other must be unusually grandiose in character, and worthy to rank with the noblest monuments of modern architecture.

ings, in those journals where they ought to form a constant and prominent feature. It may be that much which might be had is not got merely because it is not asked for; but there are also many things, and those perhaps not the least worthy in point of design, that cannot be asked for, because they have not been heard of, or, if they have, it cannot be ascertained whom they are by, and to whom application is to be made.

Some, probably, may consider it *infra dig.* to let their buildings be exhibited at all in periodicals, or in such humble form as that of the 'Companion' and its wood-cuts; and, if so, they must sometimes be mortified almost to madness on beholding the vile caricatures of them which other publications are in the habit of putting forth. We do not pretend to say that there is not room for further improvement—improvement since the first there has been—in the wood-cuts of the 'Companion;' neither is any pretension made for them of their being more than useful explanations, if somewhat rude, sufficiently honest and intelligible, and giving attention to accuracy of forms and proportions as the chief point. Their merit lies in their showing us what they do, more than in the manner of showing it; whereas many exquisite specimens of modern wood-engraving, exhibiting the perfection to which the art has now been brought, are very namby-pamby in subject, and possess no other value than that derived from charin of execution. To the latter we are not insensible, very far from it; but we have no right to look for excellence of that kind in such a professedly utilitarian publication as the 'Companion,' with whose appearance it would, in fact, be rather out of keeping. There is enough of positive interest in the subjects it gives to render them welcome; and many, like ourselves, would be exceedingly glad to be able to obtain similar accounts and illustrations of new buildings in other countries. To say the truth, we rather wonder that there is not now something of the kind;—that the idea has not been taken up elsewhere;—that Germany, annual-loving as well as art-loving, should not yet have produced an architectural annual, including, among its other contents, biographical notices and sketches of some of the more eminent German architects.

That the 'Companion' has silently performed, in some degree, the office of an architectural annual here, and that its wood-cuts are very acceptable and serviceable, *real* illustrations, though they do not aspire to rank as book-embellishments, may be seen by those which the liberal kindness of the publisher has enabled us to reproduce and exhibit to our readers in this article, in evidence both of what the 'Companion' has done, and of what further

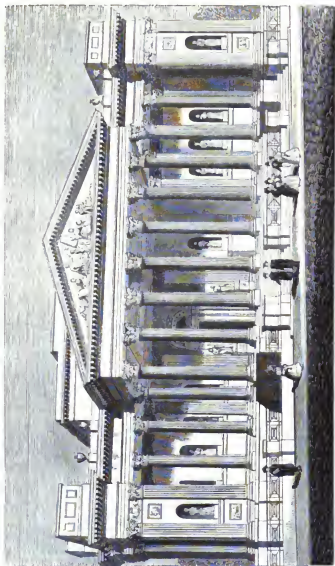
may be done to bring subjects of this kind more directly under the cognizance of the general public. By collecting all the materials of the 'Companion,' reshaped, perhaps, so as to bring together all the buildings belonging to each of the respective towns and places, an interesting and popular volume might be formed, more especially were some additional illustrations to be introduced. That or some other equally intelligent architectural *vade-mecum* would be a very useful and agreeable travelling companion and cicerone. The 'Companion' certainly affords both model and materials for the purpose, and has frequently been quoted as an able authority by other publications, which, in borrowing its opinions and remarks, have bestowed a compliment justly due to them. By professional men themselves it ought to be taken as a compliment to their art that it should be so especially noticed in any publication at all. They ought, for their own sakes, if not out of any more generous and elevated motive, to encourage and promote that and whatever else is calculated to create a relish for, and awaken an intelligent sympathy with, architecture. Such, at least, would seem to be their direct interest, because it is the public that are their employers and paymasters. Be it bad or good, it is the taste of the latter that must be humoured; for so completely are architects at the mercy of that taste and of circumstances, that they are glad to catch at opportunities, however disadvantageous the conditions by which they are accompanied. What sort of patronage it is the art obtains from ignorant and ill-informed, indifferent, yet obstinate employers, be they either individuals or public bodies, may be too plainly discerned by looking at the miserable abortions—the parodies of Greek architecture—which were applauded during the Greekomania that prevailed during the two first decenniums of the century. Gladly would we now get rid of some of the most notable of them; and, excepting the fire-insurance offices, almost every one is tempted to invoke Vulcan to come to our aid and rid us of them, architects more especially, and that *pour cause*; though some of them might not greatly mend matters even now.

In all professions there are those who find their account in the ignorance of the public; accordingly, in that of architecture as well as the rest, there may be some who are of opinion that the public already understand quite as much of architecture as it ought to do. At the same time, let us hope that the main body of the profession agree with ourselves, and will assist in breaking down those barriers and prejudices which have hitherto prevented the study of their art from becoming a popular one.

INSTEAD of breaking up the letter-press forming the body of our article, by throwing into it so many woodcuts, we have, as most convenient both to our readers and ourselves, resorted to the expedient of introducing the architectural subjects from the 'Companion,' apart and *de suite*, in what may be considered an appendix of documentary evidence, from which may be seen in some measure what that publication has done towards recording and illustrating some of the principal contemporary productions of architecture in this country. We cannot, however, undertake to reproduce here in like manner, the descriptions and comments on each structure, entire; much less to notice either the subjects of the other woodcuts in the work, or any of the numerous buildings which are spoken of in it, although not represented. To do so would amount to drawing up a tolerably full chronological *aperçu* on the subject for the last nineteen years; accordingly the task—though to ourselves it would be a pleasure—must be left to some one else, or reserved for other occasion elsewhere. We go no further back than to the volume for 1838, which gives us the FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, the work of the late Mr. George Basevi, who was killed last year (Oct. 16) by falling from a plank in Ely Cathedral.

This façade is *facile princeps* the gem of modern, *i.e.* Græco-Roman or classical architecture, at Cambridge; indeed, as a composition, marked by elegant taste and sterling originality, it stands unrivalled by any preceding or contemporary example which we possess of the same style. It is eminently replete with picturesque effect of an unusual and striking kind, such as no mere view, however faithful, can convey, there being not one, but a series of effects, one of which is that of the vista through the colonnades and centre portico from end to end, as seen from either of the entrances on the "returns" of the two pavilions or masses forming the extremities of the façade, and which give increased value to the general columniation. This, and other peculiarities, can hardly be clearly understood by those who have not seen the building itself, except by means of a ground plan; and both such plan and elevation of the façade may be found in 'The Civil Engineer and Architects' Journal' for last May, accompanied by a description and analytical critique, pointing out the several beauties and merits of this charming piece of architecture. But most strange to say, the very same publication gave, the following month, another article on the same building, which was evidently penned

with the determination to decry it, although the writer professed to admire it vastly, except that everything in the design ought



Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

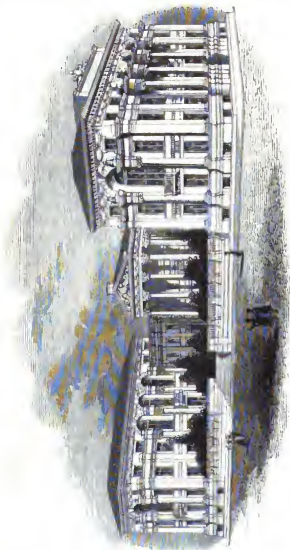
to have been altogether different from what it actually is!—inconsistency paralleled only by that on the part of the journal

itself, in admitting the second article without any sort of explanation, or hinting that it was to be considered an *anti-critique*, intended to contradict—at least greatly qualify, what had been just before said. According to the musty maxim, *de gustibus, &c.*, the second writer was at liberty to condemn the extension of columniation in connexion with the octastyle beneath the pediment, by carrying out immediately from it the lateral colonnades. Opinion as to that is mere matter of taste, but he went against matter of fact in affirming that the low attic-like superstructure rising up over the rear wall of the portico, and by him elegantly nicknamed a “hump” on the building, shows worse in the building itself than in the geometrical elevation; an assertion plainly confuted by the above cut, since so far from being obtrusive, that “hump” is nearly lost in perspective, altogether so in a near view of the façade; and when seen it serves both to throw greater variety of outline into the general mass, and to indicate the great depth of the portico (viz. three intercolumns, or nearly half its width in front) previously to approaching it. Surely the “elevation” must have played the lynx-eyed critic a trick; causing him to fancy that “hump” to be immediately upon the roof of the portico itself, instead of at thirty feet distance from the pediment. Had he seen the volume of the ‘Companion’ for 1839, he would not have fallen into such error, for that contains a section of the entire building from front to back, whereby it is plainly enough shown that in a direct front view very little is seen beyond the pediment. The section which we have just alluded to, serves to make us acquainted in some degree with the character originally contemplated for the interior by the architect himself.

“The Hall is an exceedingly happy specimen of Italian architecture, —one fraught with much originality, and retaining the playfulness and richness of the style, without any of its capriciousness or uncouthness. It is in every respect admirably arranged for effect, and so as to produce a very imposing *coup d’œil* on entering, notwithstanding the spaciousness and decorated character of the portico.”

For the rest, and for the general description of the edifice, we must refer our readers to the ‘Companion’ of 1838-9; but how far what is there said with respect to the interior will now be realised is doubtful, since very little advance had been made with the inner part of the structure at the time of the architect’s death, which event has caused the task of completing it to be confided to Mr. Cockerell, therefore it remains to be seen whether he will scrupulously perform the office of *executor* to his talented predecessor. Should he not, it will be all the more to be regretted that Basevi himself did not perpetuate his own designs for the building, by publishing them.

Having mentioned Mr. Cockerell, we may as well here produce at once the view of a building erected by him at Oxford



Taylor and Randolph Institute, Oxford.

(begun 1841), viz., the "Taylor and Randolph Institute." Although somewhat similar in purpose to the Fitzwilliam Museum,

inasmuch as a considerable part of the interior is allotted to a museum and statue-gallery, the building is of altogether different character from the Cambridge one—quite different in style and in taste as well as in design. With a silence that is more significant than flattering, the ‘Companion’ makes no comments upon it; nor can we by any means compliment it. That it manifests determined aim at originality is not to be denied; but the originality itself is, in our opinion at least, of a most unlucky kind. To us the whole seems to be a jumble of incoherences and incongruous and conflicting parts; therefore, after such a specimen, let us hope that the architect will not think of tampering, at any rate, not be allowed to tamper, with poor Basevi’s designs for the interior of the Cambridge edifice.



London and Westminster Bank, Lothbury.

We have Mr. Cockerell again as joint architect with Mr. Tite in the building of the London and Westminster Bank, in Loth-

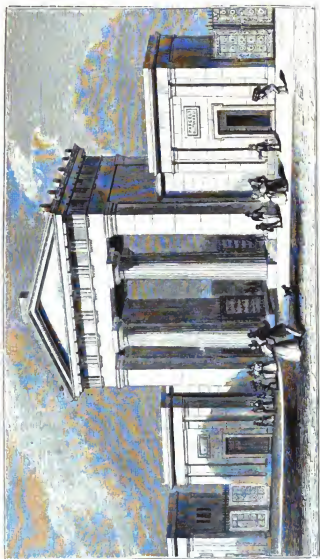
bury; the front of which—and the design is attributed to the first-mentioned gentleman alone—is more satisfactory than the preceding subject, not but that there is much in it which is more odd than pleasing. The interior, however, is well worth seeing, and is thus described in the ‘Companion.’

“From the entrance a long corridor, measuring $38 \times 13\cdot6'$, and flanked on each side by four columns, leads into the principal banking room, or ‘Town Bank,’ which is 34×50 and $59\cdot6'$ high. It may, however, be described as being thirty-four feet square; that being the space within the columns on the east and west sides, behind which are additional spaces, containing staircases to the upper floor. Upon these columns, which are in the Grecian Doric style, plain in their shafts, yet fluted just at their bases and beneath their neckings, rest three arches, on each of the sides mentioned. As these openings do not occupy the entire width of those sides of the room, solidity of character is preserved, and confusion of plan avoided, while variety is obtained, and the depth of shadow in the recessed parts serves to give great brilliancy to the rest. The most objectionable circumstance is, that the balustrade of the landing of the staircase, which is carried as a gallery just behind the columns, cuts against their shafts, just below the capitals. Higher up there is a projecting gallery, continued quite around, but entered only from the east and west sides, through three square-headed openings corresponding with the arched inter-columns below. On this level the angles of the hall are cut off so as to obtain space for a niche; and above these niches spring the pendentives of the dome, or *velum*—the name applied by way of distinction to a spherical roof extended over a square plan,”—and a term, it might have been added, omitted in architectural glossaries. “This dome is crowned by a lesser one, through which the light is admitted; and there is also a large semicircular ‘Diocletian’ window, glazed with hexagonal panes, on the north and west sides, within the arch-heads formed by the pendentives.”

That Railways have collaterally promoted architecture, by causing a great many structures to be erected as termini, stations, and other buildings connected with them, may be freely allowed; and in some instances designs of considerable pretension, possessing a sort of class, if not always “first class,” character, have been produced in consequence. The one here represented, viz., the London Terminus of the Birmingham Railway, in Euston Square, is certainly of sufficiently *classic* style, and although there is not much attempt at design in it, it has

“the merit of being, as a specimen of Greek architecture, not only upon a grander scale than anything of the kind yet attempted in this country, but also free from any adulteration of the style by the admixture of features which, however well they might be de-

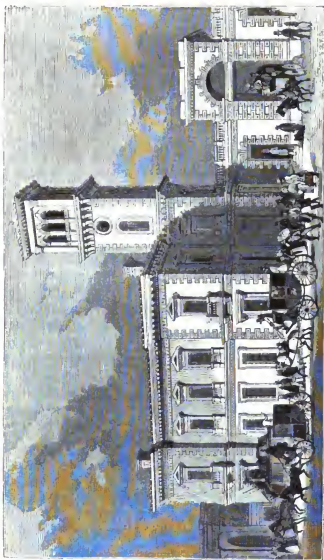
signed in themselves, almost invariably detract from classicality of design. Here there was fortunately no occasion for having sash-



London Terminus of the Birmingham Railway, Euston Square.

windows peep out between Doric columns. Neither have we a severe Doric portico, correct, perhaps, and unexceptionable in itself, yet

tacked to a building of different and modern physiognomy. On the contrary, the Grecian outline is preserved entire, on which account



London Terminus of the Brighton and Dover Railway, London Bridge.

the structure exhibits itself to most advantage when viewed obliquely, so as to show its line of roof, and depth, especially as the

cornice is of unusually bold design, being not only ornamented with projecting lion heads, but crowned by a series of deep antifixæ; while when beheld from a greater distance, the large stone slabs are also seen that cover the roof."

Of this building, which was erected in 1837-8, Mr. Philip Hardwick (another structure by whom will presently claim our notice) was the architect.

As belonging to the same class of buildings, yet strongly contrasting with the preceding subject, in regard to both style and design, we now show one that was begun a few years later (1843), namely, the terminus of the Dover and Brighton Railway, near London Bridge. This façade, designed by Mr. T. Turner, although Mr. H. Roberts is the actual—hardly in that instance the acting—architect to the joint Companies, exhibits an ornate and picturesquely grouped composition, in what is now called the Italian palazzo style.

"The campanile would have looked loftier than it now does, had the intermediate cornices been either greatly diminished, or made only string courses, since they operate as so many breaks in the vertical line, and divide the tower into distinct stories. The height of this clock-tower is 75 feet, or from the level of Tooley Street, 95, and that of the main façade, 32 feet."

The building, therefore, is upon a very small scale, particularly as compared with the preceding one, whose Doric columns are only a few feet less in height than the tower attached to this terminus. And we may remark that as it is or was intended that the design—which is not yet completed, no more of it being executed than what is shown in the cut,—should be in all other respects uniform, the introduction of the campanile in the present position, on one side of the main building, will be attended with a disagreeably awkward effect when the whole shall come to be finished. Surely it would have been far better to put it at the rear of the main building; had which been done the rest of the façade might have looked not quite so low perhaps as it now does.

The Victoria Rooms at Bristol, of which edifice a ground-plan is also given in the 'Companion' for 1839, was erected by Mr. C. Dyer, a London architect, and is distinguished by a Corinthian octastyle portico of noble aspect, and inferior to very few modern ones in its dimensions, the columns being thirty feet high. It is also made to admit carriages to drive into it, by means of a sloping ascent on each side in addition to the flight of steps in front; and it possesses the further great recommendation of having its back ground kept quite undisturbed by windows. Neither are there any apertures of the kind elsewhere in the

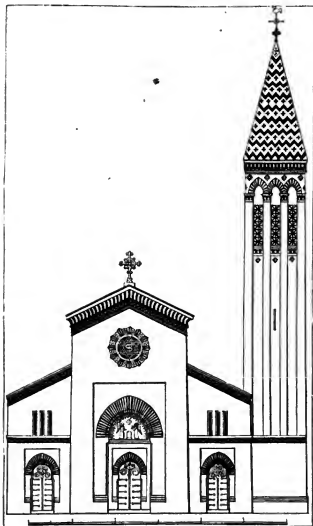
façade, but blank windows, or shallow recesses dressed like windows, apparently for the reception of statues upon the blocks on



Victoria Rooms, Bristol.

their sills. Whether intended to be so made use of as niches for figures or not, it would, we conceive, have been infinitely

better had there been only a single one on each side of the portico; because while that would have been sufficient, as features to fill up those compartments, the window-like character now



New Church at Streatham.

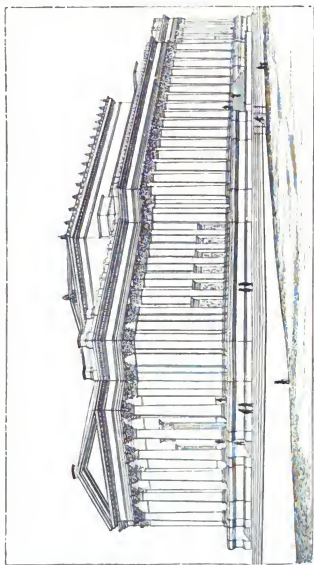
observable would have been avoided, and in each of the side divisions there would have been, what there now is not, a centre

for the eye to rest upon. Like many others, the architect seems to have satisfied himself too easily,—to have been content rather with avoiding positive faults, than studious of and attentive to matters that do not fall under the reach of express rules. The rear of the building is occupied by the Great Room, an apartment measuring “117 feet by 55, and 48 in height, therefore, although in height it is somewhat less, in its area it greatly exceeds that of Freemasons’ Hall, London, for the latter is only 92 × 43 feet.”

Among the churches which have been from time to time represented in the ‘Companion,’ that at Streatham by Mr. J. W. Wild, 1841, is unquestionably the most remarkable for singularity of style, in which respect it partakes largely of the character of Lombardic architecture. This subject would have shown better in perspective than in mere elevation, for unless explained it can hardly be understood from the cut, that the campanile is quite at the other end of the building, namely, at the south-east angle. That tower, which is so dissimilar in its physiognomy from the steeples of Gothic churches, comes greatly in aid of the rest of the design, it being peculiarly characteristic of the style here affected.

No building in this country can boast of such a continuous display of columniation as is made by the two principal fronts (east and south) of St. George’s Hall at Liverpool; an edifice which, when completed, will rank among the first of its kind in the kingdom, whether in point of magnitude, or for the classical taste which stamps it as a composition without any of that alloy which more or less neutralizes the character aimed at by antique columniation. We are aware that another writer in this journal (see W. Rev. vol. xli. p. 104) has censured the architect for having, “by an excess of misapplied ingenuity,” managed effectually to hide every window; so that the doors are the only openings by which, “apparently,” light or air can be admitted. Yet surely the ingenuity was well employed which succeeded in completely banishing *fenestration* from a design that must else have been greatly impaired by it, unless the subject had been treated altogether differently. If they cannot be kept apart, one of the two of such clashing elements as fenestration or columniation must predominate, and even if it be the latter that does so, windows must invariably operate more or less as a drawback upon its intended effect. In proof of this we may quote the British Museum, whose façade will have no fewer than forty-two columns, palisading walls pierced with windows—at least with one row of them—therefore applied or “misapplied” not ingeniously but very insipidly, and for little other purpose than apparently to obstruct light, and to conceal the extreme poverty of invention and

idea which all besides the mere columns betray,—the architect's utter incapability of making anything at all out of fenestration



St. George's Hall, Liverpool.

alone. Provided there be sufficient light and air within a building, what matters it whether the mode of obtaining them be evident

or not on beholding the mere exterior, more especially if there be sufficient æsthetic reasons for avoiding windows, which always occasion a large public building to partake more or less of the character of one intended chiefly for habitation. At all events, the same objection relative to want of visible apertures for the admission of light and air, may with equal propriety be urged against such hyper-classical modern edifices as La Madeleine at Paris, and the Walhalla near Regensburg, or again, Schinkel's façade of the Berlin Museum, all which exhibit *pure* columniation without any mixture of fenestration in it. The last-mentioned piece of architecture seems to have been the theme upon which Mr. H. L. Elmes founded his composition for the east front of St. George's Hall; nor does this supposition of ours—be it a correct one or not—at all detract from the originality of the design, for he has hit upon a remarkably happy novelty, that of continuing columniation from end to end, not only without monotony, but in such manner as to produce great variety and powerful contrast, by carrying out the order at the extremities, not in mere pilasters, but square pillars, the upper part of whose shafts are completely insulated, while the intercolumns are closed up below with screen walls, affording spaces for large panels of sculpture. The partial closing up of the extreme divisions of that front not only contributes to variety, but imparts a character of solidity and repose to the whole mass. These remarks of our own must suffice, without quotation from the 'Companion,' and we only add that the height of the columns is forty-five feet, and of the entire order fifty-seven, dimensions considerably exceeding those of the portico of the Royal Exchange.

From the same volume of the 'Companion' which shows us St. George's Hall, we take another cut—one of the best executed in the whole series for both neatness of drawing and spiritedness of touch—representing a Savings' Bank erected at Bath, 1841, by Mr. G. Alexander. It will not detain us long, for although a very meritorious piece of Italian *astylar* design, it does not call for particular remark of any kind, except, perhaps, as regards the rusticated quoins, which diminish in length upwards, so that a greater expression of strength is given to the ground floor than to the upper ones. There is, however, another peculiarity noticed in the book, which ought not to be passed, because, as is there observed, it is hardly perceptible in so small a drawing, unless attention be directed to it viz., that

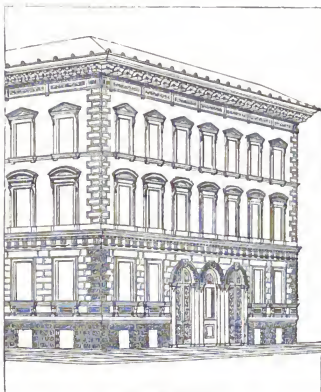
"Without being treated as a distinct basement, the ground floor is slightly projected, so that the pedestals to the columns of the windows rest upon its string course, whereby greater solidity is given to the lower part of the building; nor is the effect of the

building itself marred by iron railings to the area, but, on the contrary, rather set off by the podium around it."



Savings' Bank, Bath.

Another very handsome example of the same style is furnished by what is called the Brunswick Buildings, at Liverpool, erected by Messrs. Williams of that town for J. C. Ewart, Esq., at the corner of Brunswick and Fenwick Streets. Of the front or side towards the latter street only a portion is shown in the cut, which is, however, sufficient, since, except that it has no doors, it resembles the entrance-front, with no other difference than that of being somewhat longer, there being nine windows on a floor instead of seven. A comparison of this and the preceding subject will show how much variety of design may be obtained in astylar composition by means of little more than fenestration alone; which, we may observe, is infinitely more artistic than the vulgar pseudo-Greek mode of sticking porticos and columns against fronts with mere boles in the walls, or what are little better, for windows. In such cases it avails not that the columns themselves are strictly Greek, so long as the *ensemble* is essentially cockney.

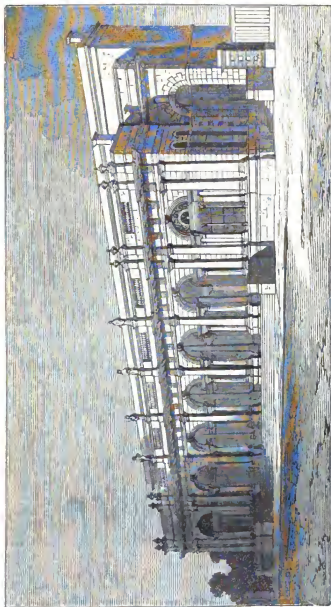


Brunswick Buildings, Liverpool.

As an example of Palladian composition—"evidently a *reminiscence* of Palladio's loggia to the Basilica of Vicenza,"—we may take the front of the County Courts, erected at Cambridge in 1842, by Messrs Wyatt and Brandon, who, instead of introducing a portico, which, however good it might have been, could hardly have vied with that of the Fitzwilliam Museum, have judiciously given quite a different character to their façade, and one which is rather of an unusual kind.

"The meagreness and monotony of the Italian building (at Vicenza), it is further remarked, are here avoided. Instead of the straggling, sprawling appearance there occasioned by the distance between the small columns and the pilasters of the larger order, the same arrangement is here made to produce greater compactness and greater richness of effect. Instead, too, of consisting of a mere repetition of the same compartment from end to end, a pleasing degree of variety,

without any prejudice to unity of composition, is thrown into the design, by making the extreme compartments somewhat different



Front of the County Courts, Cambridge.

from, while of a piece with the rest, thus limiting the open loggia to five arches; and by being inclosed at its ends, that arcade is not only more sheltered, but produces a more forcible contrast of light and shade."

By the same architects, and in the same volume, is Wilton



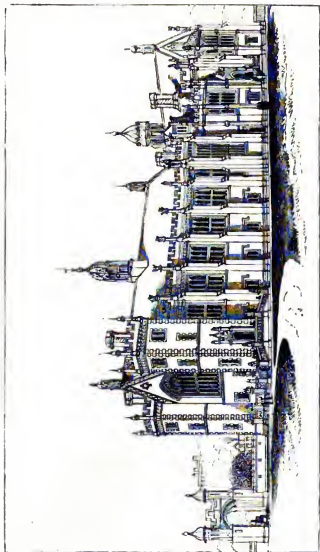
Wilton Church, near Salisbury.

Church, near Salisbury, illustrated by two cuts, one of them a ground-plan, which, interesting as it is, we must dispense with.

Like that at Streatham, this church is in the Lombard style, but the designs themselves are very dissimilar. In both of them the lofty square campanile forms a striking feature; but, besides the very great dissimilarity between the two, they are differently combined with the main structure. At Streatham, the campanile is immediately attached to the church at the east end of its south side; while here it is placed almost at the west end, and is connected with it by a vestibule or cloister, whose open arches and columns produce great richness of effect, and a pleasing contrast to the breadth and solidity of other parts. In consequence, too, of the tower being thus detached and brought forward, far greater play and variety than would else be the case are given to the whole composition, different combinations being presented from every point of view. As here shewn it is very effective: the campanile, cloister, and body of the church produce a most picturesque architectural group. With this portion of comment we must be satisfied, and if our readers are not, they must turn to the 'Companion' for 1843 for the remainder and for description. As far as we are aware, the same style has not been since made use of on similar occasions, owing, perhaps, to its being considered too exotic; yet, in our opinion, it is greatly preferable to the modern early English, now so much in vogue.

The new building in Lincoln's Inn is another work by Mr. Hardwick, the architect of the Doric propylæum in Euston Square, and one that is a very great architectural ornament, both to that Inn of Court and to Lincoln's Inn Fields. Were it remarkable for nothing else, this structure would be so on account of its having obtained such a very extraordinary degree of notice from the public press at the time of its being first opened, namely, the Royal visit on the occasion; had it not been for which, it might have been questioned whether the newspapers would have spoken of it at all, or at the utmost would have bestowed more than a brief paragraph upon it. The 'Illustrated News' and 'Pictorial Times' strove to outvie each other in their display of illustrations,—views both interior and exterior, and also drawings of details,—in which respect they were pretty much on a par, each possessing some cuts better than those given by its rival; but the 'Pictorial' had the vantage in regard to architectural description, ably drawn up and interspersed with intelligent remarks. As so much has already been said on the building in those and other publications which are likely to have been seen by most of our readers, we may very well be excused from entering into any account of it here; and therefore need say little more than that, substantially as it is built, carefully as it is executed, and liberally as it is adorned within, the whole structure was com-

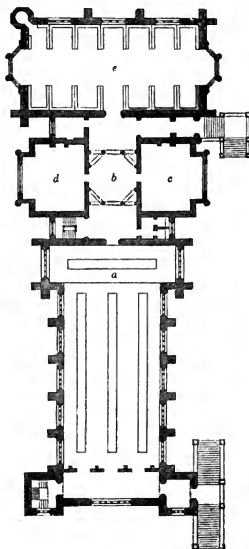
pleted in a remarkably short space of time, the first stone having been laid April 20th, 1843, and the inauguration banquet being



New Hall, Lincoln's Inn.

held, October 30th, 1845. In the direction of its length, the building stands north and south, and the view of it shows the

south end and east side, or that towards the Inn garden. The letters of reference in the plan, which is that of the upper or



New Hall, Lincoln's Inn; ground plan.

principal floor (beneath which are two others, viz. a basement for offices sunk within, and a ground-floor upon, the terrace),

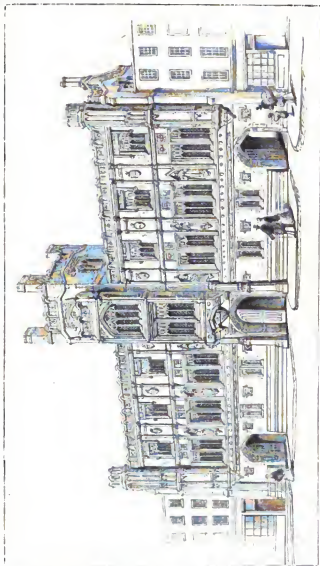
are: *a*, the great dining-hall, with the arrangement of the tables; *b*, vestibule, with an octagonal clerestory over the middle division of it, whose windows are decorated with stained glass; *c*, council-room; *d*, Benchers' drawingroom; and *e*, library. There is a second view of the edifice in the Companion, showing it from the north-west.

The new Guildhall, or Law Courts, at Bristol, erected by Mr. R. S. Pope, an architect residing in that city, is rendered notable by a façade of more ornate character than usual in what may be called the *civic* Gothic or Tudor style. The cut, however, as the 'Companion' itself remarks, does not show it by any means to advantage; some of the details—the canopy heads to the niches, for instance—being rather indicated *hieroglyphically*, than expressed. How far the execution and details of the building itself are satisfactory we are unable to say; but the general design, at least, is sufficiently characteristic. Owing to one most unlucky specimen—that in the metropolis,

"Guildhall Gothic has become a term of reproach, but it is one that does not apply to the Bristol structure, since no two things, admitting of any sort of comparison, can be more dissimilar in taste. We do, however, discover considerable congeniality of character between the building here shewn and that by Mr. Barry at Westminster. Rivalry with, or resemblance to, the last-mentioned, is out of the question; equally so is plagiarism; yet we may fairly impute much of what is here done to the influence of that example; which is just as it should be, and leads to hope, that, in like manner as the taste previously shewn in many of our public buildings extended itself to the provinces to the discredit of our national architecture, it may now do so to the great improvement of it."

Another provincial structure, which competes in taste with those of a similar class in the metropolis,—and, in fact, in point of taste, is very much superior to most of them, as regards the architecture of its façade,—is the new Manchester Theatre, begun December, 1844, and opened September 29th, 1845. The architects were Messrs. Irwin and Chester, of Manchester, but the design is to be attributed to the latter gentleman alone, and, considering how limited was the space of frontage allowed him (not more than sixty-nine feet), it must be confessed that he succeeded in his attempt to confer dignity of manner on what is in itself inconsiderable with regard to mere size. Instead of an advanced portico, which, though only tetrastyle, would, by projecting forward, have seemed to encumber so small a front, and have caused it to appear less than it really is, he adopted a recessed loggia—which, apart from other considerations, has the advantage of affording a better-sheltered entrance to the theatre, it being open only in front.

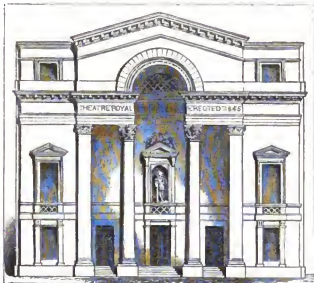
This loggia is besides rendered more than a mere Corinthian distyle *in antis* of the usual kind, for by the middle inter-column



New Law Courts, Bristol.

being arched over, it acquires great novelty of character and strong expression. That lofty arch gives physiognomy to the whole

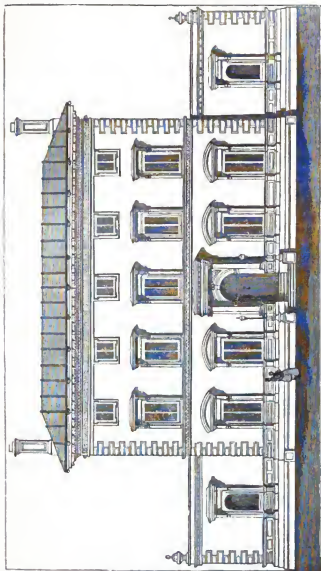
composition, marks the centre most decidedly, and serves also to combine together the upper and lower part of the façade. We ourselves, however, desiderate what might even now be applied, viz. some sculpture on each side of that arch—two figures, perhaps symbolizing Tragedy and Comedy, in half reclining attitude, against the archivolt. We could also wish—and no doubt the architect himself has done so—the two ground-floor windows away, and those spaces rusticated *à l'antique*.



New Theatre, Manchester.

The next subject, which is one of the Kensington Garden Villas, might very well pass for a small Club-house, at least for some street front, its character being so totally different from what we are here accustomed to in anything calling itself a villa. The only thing that "*accuses*" it of not being intended for a street façade is the extension of the ground-floor, by wing-like additions to it. If, however, in very different, it is also in very superior taste to the great majority of buildings of its class, and its aristocratic look is not a little enhanced by the front being entirely of stone. The architect is understood, it seems, to be Mr. Bankes, a pupil of Mr. Barry; but whether pupil of his or not, he is evidently of his school, and not an unworthy follower of it; wherefore it is somewhat strange that there should be any doubt as to his being Mr. Bankes or Mr. Somebody-else. But, whether it be owing

to sheer *mauvaise honte*, architects seem to delight in preserving an *incog.*; their names being either withheld by themselves, or



Kensington Garden Villa.

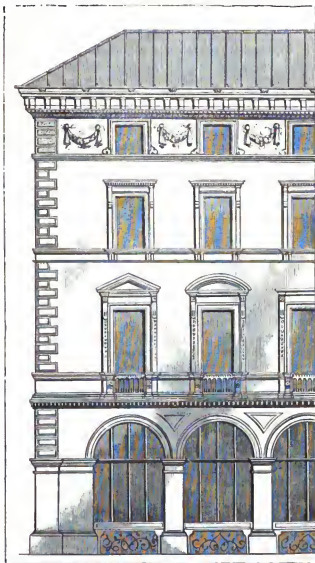
suppressed by those who speak of their works; which, in many cases, may argue discretion on one side, or mercy on the other

To speak of the design itself,—the cut presents our readers with another specimen of astylar decoration, and let them not fail to notice one peculiarity that is certainly no *Barryism*, and which is somewhat at variance with the strict “Italianism” kept up in all other respects: we allude to the openings of the first-floor windows being brought down to the string-course beneath those windows, without any intervening *parapet table* or balustrade; owing to which, and to the want of greater height in the openings themselves (which are not so high as those of the ground-floor), that story looks to be much less lofty within than the one beneath it, which last, no doubt, according to villa fashion, contains the principal apartments. In fact, the ground-floor is made to declare itself externally as being the principal one, by the greater importance there given to the windows; they having pediments, whereby the entire dressings of those windows, the parapet tables beneath them included, are more than half as much again in height as those of the first floor. This is another peculiarity, which those readers who make use of their eyes to study and compare, as well as look at drawings of this kind, will hardly fail to notice,—at least, if they have noticed the two previous examples of the same mode of composition.

The next cut presents us with a fourth example of astylar Italian, showing a portion of the elevation of that very handsome piece of street architecture facing the east front of the Royal Exchange. It bears the name of Freeman’s Place, was erected by Messrs. P’Anson, and was completed in 1845. One thing in regard to it, which our readers ought to be apprised of, no indication being given of it in the cut, is that the front is of red brick, with stone dressings; which mixture of materials, though rather unusual in the style adopted, here produces a very good effect, one in which sobriety is combined with richness. Another thing which cannot be understood from the cut itself, and therefore requires to be stated, is that the entire front extends to the length of thirteen windows on a floor; and we may also here as well correct an unlucky error in the cut, which might lead some to imagine that the architect varied the dressings of the first-floor windows very strangely, the third window from the angle having no pediment, whereas all the windows in that range have pediments, triangular and segmental alternately. In its remarks on this very superior specimen of the kind of street architecture in which the ground-floor is allotted to shops and other business purposes, the ‘Companion’ says of it:

“Not only is it a fine mass as far as mere size goes, but the importance so derived is well kept up and preserved by the character of the ‘fenestration,’ which is such as not to cut up the mass itself

into littleness, as is too generally the case, owing to windows being put too closely together, which inevitably occasions an ordinary



Freeman's Place.

dwelling-house look to prevail, in spite of every attempt to mask it by ornament ; whereas this façade is exceedingly well proportioned,

both as to the quantity of *window opening*, as compared with the entire surface, and is well proportioned also in regard to mass (about 160 feet by 60), wherefore the eye takes in the whole of it as a distinct architectural object."

Yet, in reviewing the 'Companion,' one critic boldly denied that Freeman's Place at all answers to the character given of it in the book, with regard to merit of fenestration; because, with the cut staring him in the face, he chose to overlook all the upper part of the building, being determined to understand by "fenestration" the windows of the ground-floor alone, although, that being treated as an arcade,—and whether it be a glazed or an open one makes no difference in the composition,—the proportion of openings or voids is very much greater than that of the solids or piers. It pleased the ingenuous reviewer to compare the "fenestration"—leaving his readers to find out whether he meant that of the entire front or only a portion of it—to that of a conservatory; and of course such arcade does resemble some conservatories, for the reason that some conservatories resemble such arcades. However, our readers have eyes, as well as reviewers; we may therefore safely leave it to them to judge how far the Freeman's Place façade can be likened in its *ensemble* to a conservatory, or is defective in its general fenestration. For our part, we are disposed very much to commend the unlucky arcade in question, as affording a most admirable example of the mode by which architectural expression and due appearance of solidity may be kept up in the lower part of fronts where very spacious openings are required for shop windows; whereas now many such fronts are made to appear as if they rested on a substructure of glass, or on a mere beam thrown across a yawning void.

And now we will take our leave of the 'Companion' at once, or some of our readers may begin to think it a troublesome one; we therefore dismiss it with a brief but kindly meant "*Au revoir!*"

L.

[Since our article was set up, we have met with the following anecdote in print:—A year or two ago, the council of the Institute actually rejected a most liberal proposition on the part of Mr. Weale, who, after representing how desirable it was that authentic designs of new buildings should be edited by such a body as the Institute, offered to take upon himself all the expenses of such a work, and to deliver to the Institute 250 copies of each volume, provided they would obtain the requisite drawings and descriptions from the respective architects.]

ART. IV.—1. *An Act for the Amendment of the Laws relating to the Importation of Corn.* (9 & 10 Vict. cap. 22.)

2. *An Act for the Amendment of an Act granting Duties on Customs.* (9 & 10 Vict. cap. 23.)

THE Corn Laws are at length repealed. The struggle of eight years has been crowned by victory—a victory singularly complete, glorious, full of consequences, and wholly stainless,—a victory equally beneficial to victors and to vanquished. The struggle has been, in many of its features, the most remarkable in our history. The movement was commenced, and has throughout been headed and sustained, exclusively by the middle classes, and the credit of the victory belongs to them alone. They were opposed by both of the great aristocratic parties in the state, who for centuries have divided the power and patronage of the government between them:—one party was vehemently hostile: the other either cold, indifferent, or actively discouraging; while the farmers, the peasants, and the operative classes generally, for whose more immediate benefit it was designed, and in whose instantaneous relief its success would have resulted, either stood altogether aloof from the contest, or gave their strenuous opposition to those who were fighting their battle. It is a victory gained in the Legislature in opposition to the supposed pecuniary interests of the legislators, and gained by the force of argument alone.

In the case of Catholic Emancipation, the principles which were finally victorious were supported by the leading statesmen of both political parties, and were opposed by the clergy only, and the great mass of the ignorant and bigoted among the people. In the case of the Reform Bill, the movement was supported by the whole Whig aristocracy, and the more intelligent and powerful portion of the people; and was finally successful at least as much through menace as through argument. But in the present case the Repeal of the Corn Laws has been won by the weapons of reasoning alone—aided by the proof which seasons and circumstances have afforded of the accuracy of that reasoning; and it has been won against the united hostility of the working classes, the clergy, and both sections of the aristocracy; it has been won in spite of the opposition of those whom it was designed to benefit, and of those whom it was imagined it would impoverish or ruin. Truly it offers a glorious precedent for future efforts. Distrust, ignorance, political prepossessions, the pecuniary interests and ancient and deep-rooted prejudices of the two most powerful bodies in the state,

have all melted away before the simple force of logic—and that logic in the mouth of mercantile and manufacturing men. From which premises we may draw two conclusions: *first*, that henceforth in England no law which can be clearly demonstrated to be unsound, unjust, and injurious, can be maintained, whatever be the power or whoever be the parties interested in its continuance; and, *secondly*, that it is from the commercial classes that will issue those principles of wisdom and justice, which, gradually penetrating the Legislature and the country, will make England what she ought to be—because what she is capable of becoming.

It is never safe, and seldom useful, to prophesy in political matters. The operative working of any great legislative change depends upon too many elements, and is liable to modification and interference from too many contingencies, to be foreseen with any approach to certainty by the most sagacious intellect. In the present case, however, so much benefit may arise, and so much mischief may be averted, by our being not taken by surprise by the results of freedom, but found prepared to manage and direct them, and take advantage of them as they occur, that we shall not shrink from the hazardous task of endeavouring to trace out the probable consequences which will flow out of this great victory of common justice and common sense, in order that its benefits may be improved to the uttermost, and its perils as far as possible averted. Let us then inquire what will be its effects,

- I. ON THE PROGRESS OF AGRICULTURE.
- II. ON THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.
- III. ON THE FUTURE COURSE AND CHARACTER OF OUR LEGISLATION.
- IV. ON OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS.

I. ON THE AGRICULTURE OF THE COUNTRY.

The idea, that any land will be thrown out of cultivation by the withdrawal of protection, we consider capable of disproof almost to demonstration. In the first place, England is a country having a very limited area, a very dense and a rapidly increasing population, and land that is not wanted for one purpose is therefore certain to be wanted for another. Moreover, it was well shewn by one of the official reports which issued from Somerset House, that the augmented numbers of our people would require *every year* the addition to our area of land of a county as large as Worcestershire, or the *productiveness of our present area increasing to an equivalent amount!* Such an annual increase to the demand

for land—an article of which only a limited quantity exists—must, unless the principles of political economy are wholly futile and erroneous, add materially to its value, and far more than counterbalance any effect which foreign competition could have in discouraging the cultivation of inferior soils.

In the *second* place. Not only has the value of land been regularly and greatly enhanced for a long series of years (except in a few localities where this effect has been counteracted by gross mismanagement of the poor rates) in the face of a declining price of corn, but even now—even during the uncertainty and suspense which prevailed during the seven years' agitation of the question of repeal—land has risen, and is still daily rising, in marketable value; and even among those who are loudest in their outcry, and boldest in their prediction of ruin to the agricultural interest from the change, we do not hear of any man either desirous to dispose of his landed property, or willing to take a lower price for it. These prophets would be anxious sellers, if they believed their own prophecy—but they are not.

Thirdly. The same predictions have been uttered with equal confidence ever since 1815, with every fresh alteration in the corn laws, and every further fall in the average price of grain. Yet not only has no land been thrown out of cultivation, but more land has been yearly inclosed, and brought under the plough. We are fully justified, therefore, in turning a deaf ear to forebodings so regularly uttered, and so invariably falsified.

Fourthly. No land can go out of cultivation, except it be so poor and prices so low that it cannot be cultivated at a profit, if rent-free. Now, if there be any land in this position, it is clear that its cultivation hitherto must have been a losing and not a gainful occupation, so far as the country is concerned, and the sooner it is abandoned the better. Moreover, if there be any such land, and it be thrown up by the farmers, there can be little doubt that the peasants will be only too glad to cultivate it as rent-free allotments.

Finally, and this reason is sufficient of itself. It has been clearly shown by Messrs Morton and Trimmer, by simple arithmetical calculations, that protection laws are a source of loss, not of gain, to the farmers; and that their abolition will enable farmers to cultivate their land so much more cheaply than at present, as to more than counterbalance the diminished price of wheat.

It seems certain, then, that no land will be allowed to go out of cultivation in consequence of the repeal of the protection duties on grain. We think it is equally capable of demonstration that the produce obtained from the land will be greatly augmented. Prices will not only range lower on the average, but will never

reach so high, as under the former system. Consequently, farmers and landlords will at once perceive that, in order to place them in as good a position as at present, the soil must be made to yield a larger aggregate produce than it now does,—by the process of higher and better, and cheaper—not *stingier*, farming. The possibility of this no one doubts; the *extent* to which it may be effected, few, save experimental and scientific farmers, have any conception. Two or three considerations will serve to open our eyes to this possible extent of improvement. A short time ago, according to the authority of Professor Johnstone, of Durham (whose estimate we believe has never been disputed), the average produce of wheat land throughout England was stated at $2\frac{3}{4}$ quarters to the acre. Now, in the Lothians, and in well-farmed land in England, the ordinary production ranges from four to six quarters; and we know of one large field in Norfolk which in 1844 produced eleven quarters to the acre. If, therefore, the ill-farmed land under wheat cultivation were brought up to the standard of the best-farmed land of *equal original quality*, it is evident that the aggregate production of England would be doubled, if not trebled. Such a change, which is clearly possible, and which we hold to be absolutely certain, would, if rapidly effected, change England from an importing to an exporting country; and, even if gradually brought about, provided agricultural improvement progressed decidedly faster than the population, would regularly ameliorate the condition of our people, at the same time that it preserved our farmers from any inordinate production of foreign grain.

Further. There are several parts of England, particularly in Cheshire, which it is impossible to pass through without seeing thousands of acres, now producing only rushes, and scarcely worth five shillings an acre, which, by a judicious and *remunerating* outlay of capital, might be raised to a *permanent* yearly value of from twenty-five to thirty shillings an acre, and in some localities to much more.

Lastly. The saleable produce of a ten-acre field of good meadow land will fetch 60*l.*; the saleable produce of a ten-acre field of well-farmed turnip or mangold-wurzel, is worth 200*l.*

But to produce this great increase in the aggregate produce of the land, three changes will be requisite. We must have a different class and character of farmers, a different tenure of land, and a marked alteration in the conduct of the majority of landlords. We must have fair and long leases, fair and liberal landlords, and a competent and independent tenantry, possessed of sufficient capital to work their farms to advantage. The landlords will soon discover that farmers, powerless and poor-spirited enough to sub-

mit to the political dictation of their superiors, and to the ruinous oppressions of the game system, are not the men who can pay the rents or undertake the mode of cultivation which the new order of things will render necessary. They will discover, also, that farmers fit to farm on an improved system cannot be tenants-at-will, and will not endure to be hampered and harassed by such oppressive and insulting leases as are current in Cheshire and elsewhere. They must be content to receive *rent*, and not *feudal scalty*, for their land; and to feed their game upon their own, and not upon their tenants' property. They must select men of education, energy, and scientific knowledge for their tenants, and must learn to treat them as gentlemen, and not as serfs.

The material changes in agriculture we conceive will be fourfold:—a great increase in the average acreable produce of grain land; and the conversion of much permanent meadow and pasture into arable, for the production of artificial grasses and green crops; economy of manures from a scientific mode of employing them; and an economy of working by the employment of better machines and more machines, by ploughing with *two* horses as in Scotland, instead of with *six*, as in Warwickshire, and Buckinghamshire; in fact, by so conducting the whole process of cultivation, as to get a profit instead of merely "getting a living" out of the land, and by keeping a far larger amount of live stock out of the same acreable extent.

II. The first operation of the repeal of the corn laws on the condition of the people will unquestionably be to increase the quantity and improve the quality of their food. The supply to the whole country will be greatly enhanced from several sources:—first, from the improvement of agriculture in Great Britain, both by the extraction of a larger produce from the grain land, and the increased live stock which will be involved in the improved modes of farming which we have contemplated as certain to ensue. The same acreage which now supports one beast as pasture, will support two or more in green crops, and the free admission of oil-cake and Indian corn will operate strongly in the same direction. And further, whatever may have been alleged in high quarters to quiet the fears of the agriculturists, and whatever may be the augmentation of produce from our own soil, it cannot, we think, be doubted that we shall have large importations of wheat and Indian corn, if not of other grain from abroad. For not only, we firmly believe, will the consumption of our working classes be so much improved and increased as to meet not only all that we can grow in ordinary

years, and much of what foreigners may send us, but corn, being under a free system a regular article of merchandise, will be largely imported as a *return*, and the most profitable return which many of our customers can send us for the manufactured goods which we send to them. It will be imported, not as *food*, but as *payment*: it will be sent to us, not because it can be sent from America or Prussia so as to have a profit on its sale in England, but because it is the form in which they can remit their debts to us with least loss, the profit to them being upon the inward, not the outward transaction—upon the import of our cloth, not upon the export of their flour.

This flour and wheat may, or may not, be entered for home consumption; but at all events it will remain in our granaries for our use if we want it, for export if we do not. We shall always have a year's stock of wheat in the country, as an average quantity, instead of being reduced, as now, at certain periods of the year, to two, or even one month's supply—perilous condition, which no civilized nation ought willingly to encounter! It is remarkable that corn is the only article of general consumption in regard to which we are content to *live from hand to mouth*; in cotton, coffee, sugar, tea, and indigo, we never think of allowing ourselves to be put into such a position; but always keep a stock equal to from six to twelve months' consumption by us, and should feel ourselves in a very unsafe and anxious condition were this stock materially to diminish.* Yet none of these is so essential an article as corn.

This circumstance, also, would preserve us from those excessive

* "He held in his hand a statement of the stocks on hand in the year 1843, which he would read. It is as follows:—

Cotton,	a stock equal to 40 weeks' consumption.	
Cocoa,	40	do.
Rum,	40	do.
Saltpetre,	40	do.
Rice,	35	do.
Tea,	50	do.
Sago,	50	do.
Indigo,	60	do.
Coffee,	70	do.

and all spices 100 weeks' consumption. But at this time what a striking contrast to the above do the stocks of monopoly articles present!

Of corn,	stock equal to 8 weeks' consumption,	
Colonial sugar	10	do.
Foreign sugar (prohibited)	13	do. in bond.

Under free trade in corn they would have, in place of eight weeks', one hundred weeks' consumption."—*Speech of Hamer Stanfield.*

fluctuations of price which have inflicted such evil on every branch of the community, and which have rendered corn an exception to the general rule which prevails with regard to all articles of universal consumption and production. It is not unusual to see a variation of 100 per cent. in the price of wheat within very short periods:—in no other great article except sugar and cotton has fluctuation ever approached this range; and with sugar we have pursued exactly the same policy as with wheat, by confining our people to the produce of our own dependencies, and thus keeping the supply perpetually below the demand, and rendering ourselves liable to the full effect of local and temporary causes.

Not only, then, will there be a greater supply in the country, and, consequently, a greater consumption by the people, of bread and butcher's meat, but we have little doubt that the steady and moderate prices of these two articles will eventually lead to their being extensively substituted for potatoes in the diet of the poor. This will both materially improve their ordinary food, and vastly diminish their suffering in times of scarcity, by leaving them still potatoes to fall back upon when bread is high in price and limited in quantity.

But free trade will improve the physical condition of the people in two ways:—It will not only ensure an ample supply of wholesome food to the country; it will also ensure to the industrious poor the means of purchasing that food: and this will be the case both as regards the peasant and the artisan. The agricultural labourer is now depressed into a condition of almost barbarous privation, because his numbers exceed the actual demand for his labour; and he is therefore reduced to the lowest rate of remuneration at which the working faculty can be maintained, and would, if that were possible, be reduced still lower, by the simple operation of natural economic laws, did not the poor rate compel the farmer to support him, whether he employs him or not. Under such an improvement in the entire system of agriculture, however, as we have shown in our first section will take place when protection is finally withdrawn,—with the large amount of labour that must be expended in draining, and the vast extra number of labourers which extensive changes from pasture into arable land would call into employment,—we are satisfied that not only would the whole agricultural population be required for the due cultivation of the soil, but that it would be barely sufficient for the purpose; * and wages, instead of being 7s. and 8s.

* Any attempt at an exact calculation to show this would be futile; but it may aid our conception of the operation to know that one hundred acres in permanent grass land give employment, the year round, to only

a week, as in Dorsetshire and Wiltshire, would reach 12*s.* and 15*s.*, as in Lincolnshire, and perhaps even higher. The full operation of so signal a change as this it is difficult to predict. We will content ourselves with pointing out two of its effects. The poor-rates—those oppressive burdens on all classes—would be reduced probably to one-fourth their present amount; and the relief to the landowner and farmer would go far to compensate them for the extra wages they would pay; and in such counties as Leicester and Nottingham the population would be drained away from those manufacturing occupations which their redundant numbers keep in a state of perpetual depression.* The agricultural labourer, earning 15*s.* instead of 8*s.* a week, and giving 35*s.* instead of 55*s.* for his wheat, would find himself raised as by a miracle out of savage into civilized life, and placed at once—and, if he please, for ever—among the “easy classes.”

The condition of the manufacturing operative will be only less altered for the better, because he has never sunk so low. His condition depends upon the extent and profitableness of trade; and the extent to which the removal of protection will improve both home and foreign markets almost passes calculation. The state of the home market depends almost entirely, as is well known by long and severe experience, upon the price of food. When the people have 10*s.* a quarter, or 10,000,000*l.* a year *more* to pay for wheat, they have 10,000,000*l.* less to expend in clothing. When wheat is at 40*s.* the home trade is good; when wheat is at 60*s.* the home trade is bad; when wheat fluctuates, as it has done, from 35*s.* to 80*s.*, the home trade is variable and uncertain to a ruinous degree. A freedom of trade and improvement of domestic agriculture, which kept prices between 35*s.* and 50*s.*, would give us a regular, steady, remunerative home demand for manufactured goods.

Moreover, such a change as we have contemplated in the condition of the peasantry, would give back to the manufacturers a large class of customers, of whom it is scarcely too much to say that of late years they have been almost entirely deprived. Those who have not made the matter the subject of diligent inquiry, would scarcely conceive how small a portion of his earnings the agricultural labourer expends upon clothing either for his bed or his back. Seldom can a man who earns 8*s.* a week afford to purchase a blanket, a pair of stockings, or a shirt. He lives, as to this article of his expenditure, upon charity, economy, patching, and

half a labourer, while the same extent in green crops would employ *four men* at least.

* See the Poor Law Reports for the state of Hinkley, Nottingham, Leicester &c

nakedness,—for truly to him “the body is more than raiment.” When bread is cheap, he eats more—when bread is dear, he eats less; but rarely indeed does he indulge himself or his family in the purchase of coats, blankets, petticoats, or gowns. If the entire peasantry of the country were once to be *decently* and *warmly* clothed, as they ought to be and will be, it would ensure to the manufacturers of Lancashire and Yorkshire a brisk home trade for years to come.

The improvement to our foreign trade would be at least as marked, both as to extent and steadiness. Almost the only limit to this trade is the absence of a sufficient number and amount of articles of exchange. There are three countries especially, our trade with which has been most mischievously hampered by our system of protective duties, these duties having excluded the articles in which they could most profitably or most easily make their remittances—Germany, Brazil, and the United States. Our refusal to take the corn and timber of Germany and Poland has, as is well known, prevented them, to a deplorable extent, from purchasing our manufactured goods; and has driven them, not only to manufacture for themselves, but, by an artificial and forcing system, to become our manufacturing rivals in neutral markets; and there can be no doubt, and among practical merchants there is no doubt, that our exports to America and Brazil might now have been at least double what they are, had we not so obstinately refused to accept the corn of the one, and the sugar and coffee of the other. The effect of our abandonment of protective and discriminating duties may be stated in few words:—it will vastly increase their means of payment and remittance—or, in other words, their wealth; it will turn waste paper into current coin. In the case of Prussia and America, it will do more than this; it will powerfully contribute to change competitors into customers.

The effect of these changes upon all other useful classes in the community needs scarcely be pointed out. The additional employment, wages, and profits, which will ensue to carriers, porters, railway servants, masons, bricklayers, joiners, and shopkeepers, from the general prosperity of the commonwealth, will be gathered at a glance.

To sum up all—throughout the length and breadth of the land, our people will have full employment, ample wages, good clothing, and sufficient food.

When these results have been achieved, the people's fate will be in their own hands. We shall then have reached that social condition which philanthropists have sighed after so long in vain, wherein physical destitution is no longer a barrier to moral and spiritual improvement; and when the industrious classes in the community, having all the *material* means of a comfortable and

happy existence within their reach, may place themselves in whatever position they desire and can appreciate. It will be a critical epoch—a turning point in their and their country's history. If they understand their right position and their true interests; if the objects at which they aim shall be at once high, solid, and attainable; if their improved condition shall bring with it improved desires; if their efforts be directed to raise their class, not to rise out of it; they may rival the Americans in the material, and far surpass them in the spiritual, elements of well-being; all of them may attain the elective franchise in towns, and many of them in the counties; all of them may live, as the best of them do now, in healthy, sufficient, and respectable dwellings; all of them may become possessed of property, and thus render themselves safe and independent, as well as useful members of society; the artisans may work ten hours without a ten hours' bill, and the peasantry again become in fact—what they have long ceased to be even in theory—"their country's pride." To obtain all this, good sense and good feeling on their part will alone be requisite; their efforts to raise themselves to what men ought to be will be met with rejoicing, encouragement, and aid by all ranks of their countrymen. If, on the contrary, their moral state should be not far enough advanced to profit by and turn to good account the improvement in their physical comforts; if, as has hitherto been too often the case, increased employment should lead to diminished diligence, and increased power to exaggerated and unreasonable caprices, and augmented wages should only stimulate to more unlimited indulgence; if they should still, from unworthy distrust of their superiors, allow themselves to be made the tools of men who live and thrive upon their follies and their jealousies; they will turn away and dry up the sympathies of those who would have helped to raise them,—they will sink anew into the miseries of frequent distress and perpetual serfdom, and throw blindly away one of the fairest opportunities ever offered to a nation, of realizing, amid the most complicated forms of modern civilization, a golden age of freedom, happiness, and peace. Everything is ready—everything is within reach of England, if her sons are "wise in time;"—those who have oppressed the poor are stripped of their power; those who have neglected them are awakened to their duties; those who despised them have begun to appreciate and fear them; those who looked upon them as antagonists, rivals, and competitors, have begun to comprehend the great idea of mutual identity of interests; and now that free trade has secured to them all the *raw materials* of physical well-being, all that is further wanting *will be wanting in themselves alone*, viz., temperance to resist animal indulgence, knowledge to understand their interest, and discrimination to distinguish friends

from flatterers and foes. If we could feel secure that they possessed, or would attain in time, these few and simple endowments, we should be satisfied that the future of England was assured and safe. As it is, we confess our hopes are scarcely greater than our fears:—the desirable result is unquestionably within our reach, but it will require the sedulous, united, unremitting efforts of the government, the influential classes, and the better educated and more enlightened among the operatives themselves, for the next ten years, to enable us to attain it. Every man who has a tongue in his head, or a pen in his hand, should employ the interval in pointing out to the people the glorious opportunity, and teaching them how “to use it, as not abusing it.”

III. The change which will come over the character of our legislation in consequence of the removal of protective duties, and the abandonment of the principle on which they were founded, is a more complicated matter, and one of which it is not easy to foresee the details. Many measures have been spoken of as necessarily flowing from a fall of rents, and consequent diminution of the value of land, which, as we anticipate no such results, we may put aside as not requiring consideration. But as, by the withdrawal of protection, both the owners and occupiers of land will be thrown upon their own resources, it will be necessary that Parliament should relieve them from all fetters and limitations on those resources. They themselves, we may be sure, will be among the first to cry out for such measures of relief. They will have to work the soil, as the manufacturer does his mill,—get as large a produce out of it as it is or can be made capable of yielding. This cannot be done without perfect freedom in the mode of treating it on the one hand, and the application of capital on the other. There must, therefore, be no limits either in leases, or in acts of settlement, upon the cutting down of useless or injurious timber, or upon the breaking up of grass land. All feudal restraints of this kind, which now press upon the landlord, legislation must interfere to remove; and such as custom or bad leases have imposed upon the tenant, the good sense of the landlord and the independence of the new race of farmers will suffice to annul. As to the application of capital, there are and will probably remain many cases in which neither landlord nor farmer have sufficient means to cultivate the land to full advantage, the landlord himself living up to his income, and having only a life interest in the property.* In such cases it will be

* A law, we believe, has recently been passed, since the commencement of the anti-corn-law struggle, to authorize the raising of loans for the improvement of the land, on the security of entailed estates.

found advisable that the entail should be so far interfered with as to enable the proprietor to mortgage, or, what would be far better, to sell such portion of the estate as may be necessary to raise money for fully developing the resources of the rest, so that no man shall farm more land than he can do full justice to. Legislative measures of this character the aristocracy will themselves call for, as soon as the entire withdrawal of protection shall have thrown them on their own resources.

The effect of the removal of protection from land, in raising up an educated, wealthy, and independent class of farmers, with long and fair leases, in the place of the present servile and impoverished tenants-at-will, must materially diminish the illegitimate and unconstitutional influence which the landlords have hitherto exercised over elections. The *agricultural* interest will gain political power at the expense of the *landlord* interest; and instead of always pulling *against* the commercial classes, will, in the great majority of political questions, find it wisdom to pull *with* them. At the same time, as we have shown, the prosperity which free trade cannot fail to spread among merchants, manufacturers, and operatives is certain to increase their command over the elective franchise, and consequently over Parliamentary tendencies. The abandonment, also, of both the principle and the practice of protective and fostering legislation to particular interests, will inevitably lead to a revision of those vast inequalities and unfair exemptions which pervade our financial system, and which nothing but the deep-rooted, but now, we trust, exploded doctrine, that the landed gentry were to be favoured at the cost of all other classes, could have induced our generally right-seeing and justly disposed countrymen to tolerate so long. It will then be seen that the redemption and fixation of the land-tax in the reign of William III was a scandalous and shameless job, almost amounting to a swindling transaction, which must be quashed and re-considered. It will be found, also, that the exemption of landed property from the legacy and probate duties can be defended upon no principle but the abandoned one—that land is to be the favourite and spoiled child of the State. And farmers, as soon as they become an independent, easy, and influential class, will be ashamed to claim exemption from tolls, assessed taxes, and insurance duties, as they now do, and will join with all lovers of justice in sweeping away all such invidious and indefensible distinctions. And these matters, be it observed, will come for discussion before a Parliament in which landowners no longer exercise an unfairly predominating influence—a Parliament returned *bonâ fide* by ten-pound householders, forty-shilling freeholders, and lease-holding tenants. The decision of such a body cannot be doubtful; and we may hope at length to see our statute-book purged from all those partial

and shabby enactments, which can neither be defended without sophistry, nor submitted to without shame.

IV. Finally. We anticipate that free trade will exercise as happy an influence on our foreign relations as on our internal condition. The bonds between interchanging nations will become too strong and too complicated to be broken. Peace will become permanent, because war would be too reciprocally and tremendously mischievous to be thought of, and still more, perhaps, because commerce will then give us as complete a command over the productions of all foreign countries as over those of our own. America and Russia will work for us and enrich us as much as if they belonged to us, and injury to us will be dreaded by them as much as injury inflicted on themselves. *All motive to territorial aggrandisement will be at an end.* W. R. G.

. For the convenience of reference, and as an appropriate conclusion to the above paper, we here reprint *in extenso* the new acts relating to free trade in food, and the abolition of protective duties.

An Act to amend the Laws relating to the Importation of Corn.
9 & 10 Vict. ch. 22.

WHEREAS an Act was passed in the Session of Parliament held in the fifth and sixth years of the reign of Her present Majesty, intituled "An Act to amend the Laws for the Importation of Corn:"

And whereas it is expedient that the Duties now payable upon the importation and entry for home consumption in the United Kingdom and in the Isle of Man respectively, of corn, grain, meal, and flour should be altered, and that the Act herein-before recited should be amended as herein-after is expressed:

BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED, by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the passing of this Act, in lieu of the Duties now payable upon the entry for home consumption in the United Kingdom, and upon the importation into the Isle of Man, of corn, grain, meal, and flour, there shall be levied and paid unto Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, on all corn, grain, meal, and flour already or hereafter to be imported into the United Kingdom, or the Isle of Man from parts beyond the seas, and entered for home consumption after the passing of this

Act, the Duties set forth in the Schedule to this Act annexed, until the first day of February, which will be in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and forty-nine; and on, from, and after the said First day of February, One thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, the following Duties; (namely),

Upon all Wheat, Barley, Bear, or Bigg, Oats Rye, Peas, and Beans,

For every Quarter, - - - One Shilling;

and so in proportion for a less quantity:

Upon all Wheat-meal and Flour,

Barley-meal,

Oat-meal,

Rye-meal and Flour,

Pea-meal and

Bean-meal,

For every Cwt. - - - Four-pence Halfpenny;

and so in proportion for a less quantity.

And be it enacted, That the several duties hereby imposed, and leviable in the United Kingdom, shall be levied, collected, paid, and applied in such and the same manner in all respects as that in which the duties imposed by an Act passed in the session of parliament held in the eighth and ninth years of the reign of Her present Majesty, intituled, "An Act for granting Duties of Customs," are directed to be levied, collected, paid, and applied.

And be it enacted, That the several duties hereby imposed, and leviable in the Isle of Man, shall be levied, collected, paid, and applied in such and the same manner in all respects as that in which the Duties imposed by an Act passed in the session of Parliament held in the eighth and ninth years of the reign of Her present Majesty, intituled, "An Act for regulating the Trade with the Isle of Man," are directed to be levied, collected, paid, and applied.

And be it enacted, That the average prices, both weekly and aggregate, of all *British* corn, shall continue to be made up, computed, and published, and the certificates of the aggregate average prices shall continue to be transmitted, at the times and in the manner required by the said herein-before recited Act for amending the laws for the importation of corn; and the rate and amount of the duties set forth in the Schedule to this Act shall be regulated and governed according to the scale in the said Schedule contained, by the aggregate average prices so to be made up, computed, published, and transmitted, in the same manner as the rate and amount of the duties imposed by the said herein-before recited Act are by that Act directed to be regulated and governed; and at each of the several ports in the United Kingdom and in the Isle of Man the aggregate average prices, the certificate of which shall have been last received previously to the passing of this Act by the Collector or other chief officer of Customs at such port as by the said herein-before recited Act is directed, shall be taken to be the aggregate average price by which the duties hereby imposed shall be governed and regulated at such port, until the certificate of some other aggregate average price

shall have been received by the Collector or other chief officer of Customs at such port.

And be it enacted, That so much of the said Act herein-before recited as prohibits the importation into the United Kingdom for consumption there of any corn ground shall be repealed.

And be it enacted, That this Act may be amended or repealed by any Act to be passed in the present session of Parliament.

SCHEDULE TO WHICH THIS ACT REFERS.

If imported from any Foreign Country :

WHEAT :—	s.	d.
— Whenever the average price of Wheat, made up and published in the manner required by Law, shall be for every Quarter		
— under 48s. the Duty shall be for every Quarter	10	0
— 48s. and under 49s. - - - - -	9	0
— 49s. and under 50s. - - - - -	8	0
— 50s. and under 51s. - - - - -	7	0
— 51s. and under 52s. - - - - -	6	0
— 52s. and under 53s. - - - - -	5	0
— 53s. and upwards - - - - -	4	0

BARLEY, BEAR OR BIGG :—

— Whenever the average price of Barley, made up and published in the manner required by Law, shall be for every Quarter		
— under 26s. the Duty shall be for every Quarter	5	0
— 26s. and under 27s. - - - - -	4	6
— 27s. and under 28s. - - - - -	4	0
— 28s. and under 29s. - - - - -	3	6
— 29s. and under 30s. - - - - -	3	0
— 30s. and under 31s. - - - - -	2	6
— 31s. and upwards - - - - -	2	0

OATS :—

— Whenever the average price of Oats, made up and published in the manner required by Law, shall be for every Quarter		
— under 18s. the Duty shall be, for every Quarter	4	0
— 18s. and under 19s. - - - - -	3	6
— 19s. and under 20s. - - - - -	3	0
— 20s. and under 21s. - - - - -	2	6
— 21s. and under 22s. - - - - -	2	0
— 22s. and upwards - - - - -	1	6

RYE, PEASE, AND BEANS :—

For every Quarter,
A Duty equal in amount to the Duty payable on a Quarter of Barley.

WHEAT MEAL AND FLOUR :—

For every Barrel, being One hundred and ninety-six pounds,
A Duty equal in amount to the Duty payable on Thirty-eight gallons and a half of Wheat.

BARLEY MEAL :—

For every quantity of Two hundred and seventeen and a half pounds,
A Duty equal in amount to the Duty payable on a Quarter of Barley.

OATMEAL AND GROATS:—

—————For every quantity of One hundred and eighty-one pounds and a half,

A Duty equal in amount to the Duty payable on a Quarter of Oats.

RYE MEAL AND FLOUR:—

—————For every Barrel, being One hundred and ninety-six pounds,

A Duty equal in amount to the Duty payable upon Forty gallons of Rye.

PEA MEAL AND BEAN MEAL:—

—————For every quantity of Two hundred and seventy-two pounds,

A Duty equal in amount to the Duty payable on a Quarter of Pease or Beans.

If the produce of and imported from any British Possession out of Europe;

Wheat, Barley, Bear or Bigg, Oats, Rye, Pease and Beans,	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
the Duty shall be for every Quarter	1	0
Wheat Meal, Barley Meal, Oat Meal, Rye Meal, Pea Meal		
and Bean Meal, the Duty shall be for every Cwt.	0	4½

CUSTOMS' DUTIES.

An Act to alter certain Duties of Customs. 9 and 10 Vict. ch. 23.

WHEREAS by an Act passed in a Session of Parliament holden in the eighth and ninth years of the reign of Her present Majesty Queen Victoria, intituled, "An Act for granting Duties of Customs," the several Duties of Customs are imposed upon goods, wares, and merchandise imported into or exported from the United Kingdom, as the same are respectively inserted, described, and set forth in figures in the Tables marked (A.) and (B.) to that Act annexed, together with the additional duties thereafter mentioned:

And whereas it is expedient to make certain alterations and amendments therein:

BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED, by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that in lieu and instead of the duties now payable by law upon the goods, wares, and merchandise mentioned in the Table to this Act annexed, when imported into the United Kingdom, there shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid unto her Majesty, her heirs and successors, upon the said goods, wares, and merchandise, when imported into the United Kingdom, the several Duties of Customs as the same are respectively inserted, described, and set forth in figures in the said last mentioned Table.

And be it Enacted, That from and after the fifth day of April One thousand eight hundred and forty-seven, the Duties of Customs

now payable upon the foreign goods hereinafter next mentioned shall cease and determine, and that in lieu thereof there shall be charged the following Duties on such foreign goods on their importation into the United Kingdom; (that is to say),

	From and after April 5, 1847.	From and after April 5, 1848.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Upon TIMBER and WOOD GOODS, not otherwise charged, viz.,		
Timber or wood, not being deals, battens, boards, staves, handspikes, oars, lathwood, or other timber or wood, sawn, split, or otherwise dressed, except hewn, and not being timber or wood otherwise charged with duty—the load of 50 cubic feet	1 0 0	0 15 0
Deals, battens, boards, or other timber or wood, sawn or split, and not otherwise charged with duty—the load of 50 cubic feet	1 6 0	1 0 0
Staves, if exceeding 72 inches in length, 7 inches in breadth, or 3½ inches in thickness—the load of 50 cubic feet	1 3 0	0 18 0
Firewood—the fathom of 216 cubic feet	0 8 0	0 6 0
Handspikes, not exceeding 7 feet in length—the 120	0 16 0	0 12 0
—, exceeding 7 feet in length—the 120	1 12 0	1 4 0
Knees, under 5 inches square—the 120	0 8 0	0 6 0
—, 5 inches and under 8 inches square—the 120	1 12 0	1 4 0
Lathwood—the fathom of 216 cubic feet	1 12 0	1 4 0
Oars—the 120	6 0 0	4 10 0
Spars or poles, under 22 feet in length, and under 4 inches in diameter—the 120	0 16 0	0 12 0
—, 22 feet in length and upwards, and under 4 inches in diameter—the 120	1 12 0	1 4 0
—, of all lengths, 4 inches and under 6 inches in diameter—the 120	3 4 0	2 8 0
Spokes for wheels, not exceeding 2 feet in length—the 1000	1 12 0	1 4 0
—, exceeding 2 feet in length—the 1000	3 4 0	2 8 0
Wood, planed, or otherwise dressed or prepared for use, and not particularly enumerated nor otherwise charged with duty	0 0 6	0 0 4
	per foot of cubic contents, and further for every £100 value, £10.	

Or, in lieu of the Duties imposed upon Wood by the load, according to the cubic content, the importer may have the option, at the time of passing the first entry, of entering battens, batten ends, boards, deals, deal ends, and plank, by tale, if of or from foreign countries, according to the following dimensions, viz:—

Battens and Batten Ends :—					
	Not above seven inches in width.	From and after April 5, 1847.		From and after April 5, 1848.	
		Not above 1½ in. in thickness.	Above 1½ in. and not above 2½ in thickness.	Not above 1½ in. in thickness.	Above 1½ in. and not above 2½ in thickness.
Not above 6 feet in length—the 120	-	1 4 8	2 9 3	0 18 6	1 17 0
Above 6 and not above 9 feet in length—the 120	-	1 16 11	3 13 10	1 7 9	2 15 6
Above 9 and not above 12 feet in length—the 120	-	2 9 3	4 18 6	1 16 11	3 13 10
Above 12 and not above 15 feet in length—the 120	-	3 1 7	6 3 2	2 6 3	4 12 6
Above 15 and not above 18 feet in length—the 120	-	3 13 10	7 7 8	2 15 4	5 10 8
Above 18 and not above 21 feet in length—the 120	-	4 6 2	8 12 4	3 4 6	6 9 0
Boards, Deals, Deal Ends, and Plank :—					
	Not above 9½ in. in width.	From and after April 5, 1847.		From and after April 5, 1848.	
		Not above 1½ in. in thickness.	Above 1½ in. and not above 3½ in thickness.	Not above 1½ in. in thickness.	Above 1½ in. and not above 3½ in thickness.
Not above 6 feet in length—the 120	-	1 19 6	3 19 0	1 10	2 19 8
Above 6 and not above 9 feet in length—the 120	-	2 19 3	5 18 6	2 4 5	4 8 10
Above 9 and not above 12 feet in length—the 120	-	3 19 0	7 18 0	2 19 2	5 18 4
Above 12 and not above 15 feet in length—the 120	-	4 18 10	9 17 8	3 14 2	7 8 4
Above 15 and not above 18 feet in length—the 120	-	5 18 7	11 17 2	8 11	8 17 10.
Above 18 and not above 21 feet in length—the 120	-	6 18 4	13 16 8	5 3 8	10 7 4
	Above 9½ in. and not above 11½ in width.	From and after April 5, 1847.		From and after April 5, 1848.	
		Not above 1½ in. in thickness.	Above 1½ in. and not above 3½ in thickness.	Not above 1½ in. in thickness.	Above 1½ in. and not above 3½ in thickness.
Not above 6 feet in length—the 120	-	2 7 10	4 15 8	1 15 10	3 11 8
Above 6 and not above 9 feet in length—the 120	-	3 11 8	7 3 4	2 13 8	5 7 4
Above 9 and not above 12 feet in length—the 120	-	4 15 7	9 11 2	3 11 7	7 3 2
Above 12 and not above 15 feet in length—the 120	-	5 19 7	11 19 2	4 9 7	8 19 2
Above 15 and not above 18 feet in length—the 120	-	7 3 6	14 7 0	5 7 6	10 15 0
Above 18 and not above 21 feet in length—the 120	-	8 7 6	16 15 0	6 5 8	12 11 4

And be it Enacted, That in lieu of the Duties of Customs now chargeable on the articles hereinafter next mentioned, imported into the United Kingdom, the following Duties shall be charged from and after the first day of June in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and forty-six; (that is to say),

SEEDS; videlicet,	£	s.	d.
Canary, the cwt.	0	5	0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	2	6
Caraway, the cwt.	0	5	0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	2	6
Carrot, the cwt.	0	5	0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	2	6
Clover, the cwt.	0	5	0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	2	6
Leek, the cwt.	0	5	0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	2	6
Mustard, the cwt.	0	1	3
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	0	7½
Onion, the cwt.	0	5	0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	2	6
All other Seeds not particularly enumerated or described, or otherwise charged with Duty, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
Of and from a British Possession, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	2	10	0

And be it Enacted, That no Duties of Customs shall be chargeable upon the goods, wares, and merchandisc hereinafter next mentioned; (that is to say),

Animals, living; videlicet,

Asses.
Goats.
Kids.
Oxen and Bulls.
Cows.
Calves.
Horses, Mares, Geldings, Colts, Foals.
Mules.
Sheep.
Lambs.
Swine and Hogs.
Pigs, sucking.

Bacon.

Beef, fresh, or slightly salted.

Beef salted, not being corned Beef.

Bottles of Earth and Stone, empty.

Casts of Busts, Statues or Figures.

Caviare.

Cherry Wood, being Furniture Wood.

Cranberries.

Cotton Manufactures, not being articles wholly or in part made up, not otherwise charged with Duty.

Enamel.

Gelatine.

Glue.

Hay.

Hides, or pieces thereof, tawed, curried, varnished, japanned, enamelled.

Muscovy, or Russia Hides, or pieces thereof, tanned, coloured, shaved or otherwise dressed, and Hides or pieces thereof, in any way dressed, not otherwise enumerated.

Ink for Printers.

Inkle, wrought.

Lamp Black.

Linen; videlicet, plain Linens and Diaper, whether checquered or striped with Dye Yarn or not, and Manufactures of Linen, or of Linen mixed with Cotton or with Wool, not particularly enumerated, or otherwise charged with Duty, not being articles wholly or in part made up.

Magna Gracia Ware.

Manuscripts.

Maps and Charts, or parts thereof, plain or coloured.

Mattresses.

Meat, salted or fresh, not otherwise described.

Medals of any sort.

Palmetto Thatch Manufactures.

Parchment.

Partridge Wood, being Furniture Wood.

Pens.

Plantains.

Potatoes.

Pork, fresh.

— salted, not Hams.

Purple Wood, being Furniture Wood.

Silk, Thrown, dyed; videlicet.

Singles or Tram, Organzine or Crape Silk.

Telescopes.

Thread, not otherwise enumerated or described.

Woollens; videlicet, Manufactures of Wool, not being Goat's Wool, or of Wool mixed with Cotton, not particularly enumerated or described, not otherwise charged with Duty, not being articles wholly or in part made up.

Vegetables, all, not otherwise enumerated or described.

Vellum.

And be it Enacted, That the Duties imposed by this Act shall be under the management of the Commissioners of her Majesty's Customs, and shall be ascertained, raised, levied, collected, paid and recovered, and allowed and applied or appropriated under the provisions of any Act or Acts now in force, or hereafter to be made, relating to the Customs.

And be it Enacted, That this Act may be amended or repealed by any Act to be passed in the present Session of Parliament.

TABLE OF DUTIES

TO WHICH THE FOREGOING ACT REFERS.

	£	s.	d.
Agates or Cornelians, cut, manufactured, or set, for every 100 <i>l.</i> -			
value - - - - -	10	0	0
Ale and Beer of all sorts, the barrel - - - - -	1	0	0
Almonds, Paste of, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value - - - - -	10	0	0
Amber, Manufactures of, not enumerated, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Arrow-root, the cwt.	0	2	6
— of and from a British Possession, per cwt.	0	0	6
Bandstring Twist, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
— of and from a British Possession, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
Barley, Pearled, the cwt.	0	1	0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	0	6
Bast Ropes, Twines and Strands, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
— of and from a British Possession, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
Beads, viz.			
— Arango, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
— Coral, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
— Crystal, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
— Jet, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
— not otherwise enumerated or described, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Beer or Mum, the barrel	1	0	0
Blacking, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Brass, Manufactures of, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
— Powder of, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Brocade of Gold or Silver, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Bronze, Manufactures of, not particularly enumerated, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
— Powder, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Buckwheat, the quarter	0	1	0
— Meal, the cwt.	0	0	4½
Butter, the cwt.	0	10	0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	2	6
Buttons, Metal, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Cameos, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
Candles, viz. :			
— Spermaceti, the lb.	0	0	3
— Stearine, the lb.	0	0	1½
— Tallow, the cwt.	0	5	0
— Wax, the lb.	0	0	2
Canes, Walking Canes, or Sticks mounted, painted or otherwise ornamented, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Carriages of all sorts, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Casks, empty, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Cassava Powder, the cwt.	0	2	6
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	0	6
Catlings, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Cheese, the cwt.	0	5	0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	1	6
China or Porcelain Ware, painted or plain, gilt or ornamented, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Cider, the tun	5	5	0
Citron, preserved in salt, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
Clocks, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Copper Manufactures, not otherwise enumerated or described, and Copper-plates engraved, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Copper or Brass Wire, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Cotton, Articles or Manufactures of Cotton wholly or in part made up, not otherwise charged with Duty, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
— of and from a British Possession, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
Crayons, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Crystal, cut or manufactured, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Cucumbers, preserved in salt, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
— of and from a British Possession, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	2	10	0
Fish, cured, not otherwise enumerated, the cwt.	0	1	0
Gauze of Thread, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
— of and from a British Possession, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
Hair, Manufactures of Hair or Goat's Wool, or of Hair or Goat's Wool and any other Material, and articles of such manufacture wholly or in part made up, not particularly enumerated or otherwise charged with Duty, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
— of and from a British Possession, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
Hams of all kinds, the cwt.	0	7	0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	2	0
Harp Strings or Lute Strings, silvered, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Hats or Bonnets; viz.			
— of Chip, the lb.	0	3	6
— of Bast, Cane, or Horse-hair, Hats or Bonnets, each Hat or Bonnet not exceeding twenty-two inches in diameter, the dozen	0	7	6
— each Hat or Bonnet exceeding twenty-two inches in diameter	0	10	0
— Straw Hats or Bonnets, the lb.	0	5	0
Hats, Felt, Hair, Wool or Beaver Hats, each	0	2	0
— made of Silk, Silk Shag laid upon felt, linen or other material, each	0	2	0
Hops, the cwt.	2	5	0
Iron and Steel, wrought, not otherwise enumerated, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Japanned or Lacquered Ware, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Lace, viz. Thread, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
— Made by the hand, commonly called Cushion or Pillow Lace, whether of Linen, Cotton or Silken Thread, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Latten Wire, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Lead, Manufactures of, not otherwise enumerated, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Leather, Manufactures of:—			
— Boots, Shoes, and Calashes, viz.			
— Women's Boots and Calashes, the dozen pairs	0	6	0
— Women's Boots and Calashes, if lined or trimmed with Fur or other trimming, the dozen pairs	0	7	6
— Women's Shoes with Cork or Double Soles, Quilted Shoes and Clogs, the dozen pairs	0	5	0
— Women's Shoes, if trimmed or lined with fur or any other trimming, the dozen pairs	0	6	0
— Women's Shoes of Silk, Satin, Jean or other stuffs, Kid, Morocco or other Leather, the dozen pairs	0	4	6
— Women's Shoes, if trimmed or Lined with Fur or any other trimming, the dozen pairs	0	5	0
— Girls' Boots, Shoes and Calashes, not exceeding Seven inches in length, to be charged with two-thirds of the above Duties.			
— Men's Boots, the dozen pairs	0	14	0
— Men's Shoes, the dozen pairs	0	7	0

£ s. d.

Leather, Manufactures of:—

Boys' Boots and Shoes, not exceeding Seven inches in length, to be charged with two-thirds of the above Duties.			
Boot Fronts, not exceeding nine inches in height, the dozen pairs	0	1	9
Boot Fronts, exceeding nine inches in height, the dozen pairs	0	2	9
cut into shapes, or any article made of Leather, or any Manufacture where of Leather is the most valuable part, not otherwise enumerated or described, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0

Linen, or Linen and Cotton; viz.

Cambrics and Lawns, commonly called French Lawns, the piece not exceeding eight yards in length, and not exceeding seven-eighths of a yard in breadth, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, plain, the piece	0	2	6
Bordered Handkerchiefs, the piece	0	2	6
Lawns of any sort, not French, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Damasks, the square yard	0	0	5
Damask Diaper, the square yard	0	0	2½

Linen Sails not in actual use of a British ship, and not fit and necessary for such ship, and when otherwise disposed of, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
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Articles, Manufactures of Linen, or of Linen mixed with Cotton or with Wool, wholly, or in part made up, not particularly enumerated or otherwise charged with Duty, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
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Maize or Indian Corn, the quarter	0	1	0
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Meal, the cwt.	0	0	4½
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Musical Instruments, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
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Mustard Flour, the cwt.	0	6	0
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Paper, printed, painted, or stained Paper, or Paper Hangings, or Flock paper, the square yard	0	0	2
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Pencils, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
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of Slate, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
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Perfumery, not otherwise charged, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
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Perry, the tun	5	5	0
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Pewter, Manufactures of, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
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Platting of Straw, the lb.	0	5	0
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Potatum, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
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Potato Flour, the cwt.	0	1	0
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Pots of Stone, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
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Rice, the cwt.	0	1	0
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of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	0	6
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rough and in the husk, the quarter	0	1	0
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of and from a British Possession, the quarter	0	0	1
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Sago, the cwt.	0	0	6
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Sausages or Puddings, the lb.	0	0	1
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SILK MANUFACTURES:—

Manufactures of Silk, or of Silk mixed with metal, or any other material the produce of Europe: viz.

Silk or Satin, plain, striped, figured or brocaded; viz.			
Broad Stuffs, the lb.	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Articles thereof, not otherwise enumerated, the lb.	-	0	6 0
Or, and at the option of the Officers of the Customs, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	-	15	0 0
Silk Gauze or Crape, plain, striped, figured, or brocaded; viz.			
Broad Stuffs, the lb.	-	0	9 0
Articles thereof, not otherwise enumerated, the lb.	-	0	10 0
Or, and at the option of the Officers of the Customs, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	-	15	0 0
Gauze of all descriptions, mixed with Silk, Satin, or any other materials in less proportion than One-half part of the fabric; viz.			
Broad Stuff, the lb.	-	0	9 0
Articles thereof, not otherwise enumerated, the lb.	-	0	10 0
Or, and at the option of the Officers of the Customs, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	-	15	0 0
Velvet, plain or figured; viz.			
Broad stuffs, the lb.	-	0	9 0
Articles thereof, not otherwise enumerated, the lb.	-	0	10 0
Or, and at the option of the Officers of the Customs, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	-	15	0 0
Ribbons, plain Silk, of one colour only, the lb.	-	0	6 0
— plain Satin, of one colour only, the lb.	-	0	8 0
— Silk or Satin, striped, figured, or brocaded, or plain Ribbons of more than one colour, the lb.	-	0	10 0
— Gauze or Crape, plain, striped, figured, or brocaded, the lb.	-	0	14 0
— Gauze mixed with Silk, Satin, or other materials, of less proportion than One-half part of the fabric, the lb.	-	0	12 0
— Velvet, or Silk embossed with Velvet, the lb.	-	0	10 0
Artificial Flowers wholly or in part of Silk, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	-	25	0 0
Manufactures of Silk, or of Silk and any other material, called Plush, commonly used for making Hats, the lb.	-	0	2 0
Fancy Silk Net or Tricot, the lb.	-	0	8 0
Plain Silk Lace or Net, called Tulle, the lb.	-	0	8 0
Manufactures of Silk, or of Silk mixed with any other materials not particularly enumerated or otherwise charged with Duty, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	-	15	0 0
Ribbons of and from a British Possession, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	-	5	0 0
Millinery of Silk, or of which the greater part of the material is Silk; viz.			
Turbans or Caps, each	-	0	3 6
Hats or Bonnets, each	-	0	7 0
Dresses, each	-	1	10 0
Manufactures of Silk, or of Silk and any other materials, and articles of the same wholly or partially made up, not particularly enumerated or otherwise charged with Duty, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	-	15	0 0
Silkworm Gut, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	-	10	0 0
Skins, Articles manufactured of Skins or Furs, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	-	10	0 0
— of and from a British Possession	-	5	0 0
Soap, hard, the cwt.	-	1	0 0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	-	0	14 0
— soft, the cwt.	-	0	14 0
— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	-	0	10 0
— Naples, the cwt.	-	1	0 0

	£	s.	d.
Spa Ware for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Spirits or Strong Waters of all sorts; viz.			
—— For every gallon of such Spirits or strong Waters, of any strength not exceeding the strength of proof by Sykes' Hydrometer, and so in proportion for any greater or less strength than the strength of proof, and for any greater or less quantity than a gallon; viz.			
—— not being Spirits or strong Waters, the produce of any British Possession in America or any British Possession within the limits of the East India Company's Charter, and not being sweetened Spirits, or Spirits mixed with any article, so that the degree of strength thereof cannot be exactly ascertained by such Hydrometer, the gallon	0	15	0
Starch, the cwt.	0	5	0
—— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	2	6
—— From and after the 1st February 1849, the cwt.	0	1	0
—— Gum of, torrifed or calcined, commonly called British Gum, the cwt.	0	5	0
—— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	2	6
—— Gum of, torrifed or calcined, commonly called British Gum, from and after the 1st February, 1849, the cwt.	0	1	0
Steel, Manufactures of, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Tallow, the cwt.	0	1	6
—— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	0	1
Tapioca, the cwt.	0	0	6
Tin, Manufactures of, not otherwise enumerated, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Tobacco Pipes of Clay, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Tongues, the cwt.	0	7	0
—— of and from a British Possession, the cwt.	0	2	0
Turncry, not otherwise described, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Twine, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
—— of and from a British Possession, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
Varnish, not otherwise described, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Verjuice, the tun	4	4	0
Wafers, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Washing Balls, the cwt.	1	0	0
Wax, Sealing Wax, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Whip-cord, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Wire, Gilt or Plated, or Silver, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
Woollens, Articles or Manufactures of Wool, not being Goat's Wool, or of Wool mixed with Cotton, wholly or in part made up, not otherwise charged with Duty, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0
—— of and from a British Possession, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	5	0	0
Goods, Wares and Merchandise, being either in part or wholly manufactured, and not being enumerated or described, not otherwise charged with Duty, and not prohibited to be imported into or used in Great Britain or Ireland, for every 100 <i>l.</i> value	10	0	0

ART. V.—*Life and Correspondence of David Hume*. From the Papers bequeathed by his Nephew to the Royal Society of Edinburgh; and other original sources. By John Hill Burton, Esq., Advocate. 2 vols, 8vo. Edinburgh: William Tait. 1846.

THIS book is a very valuable and interesting addition to our biographical literature. It gives us, with a more perfect accuracy of outline and harmony of colouring than most of the thousand-and-one volumes of 'Lives,' 'Memoirs,' and 'Correspondence,' written expressly to elucidate the period, a clear and unobstructed view of the greater and lesser lights of the Scottish Philosophy and French Encyclopædism of the last century, revolving in a system of which David Hume is the sun and centre, and whose attractive influence is acknowledged by the occasional visit of a stray comet from the realms of English letters and of the New World's rising statesmanship. It brings us into an almost startling proximity of contact with that host of distinguished men who, by their talent and genius, illustrated an era fruitful beyond most in the growth and luxuriance of its ripened intellect. Robertson, Blair, Adam Smith, Hutcheson, Reid, Kaimes, Gibbon, Franklin, D'Alembert, Turgot, Montesquien, Diderot, Helvetius, Voltaire, and Jean Jacques Rousseau are among the number of those to whose intimacy we are admitted. With most of these men we hold familiar converse not only on the bustling stage of public effort, but amid the less exciting though not less attractive scenes of their every-day home existence, in the freedom and dishabille of hours devoted to retirement and repose. From the closet of the philosopher, the bureau of an ambassador, or the court of a king, we pass to the Poker Club, assembled for the discussion of claret at Fortune's Tavern, or relax in the brilliant *salons* of Paris, amused listeners to the domestic chit-chat and literary gossip of social circles, commanding a speciality and intensity of interest from the felt presence of elements that were destined, at so close an interval, to produce that terrible convulsion which shook Europe to its centre.

The general acceptance of works of biography is largely referable to the gratification which they offer to that widely diffused taste for microscopic investigation into the affairs of one's neighbour, vulgarly denominated busybodyism; a spirit which society frowns down when exercised on a living subject, but to which, in the field of posthumous observation, it accords a *carte blanche* for any kind or amount of anthropological research. A "minute

philosopher" may, "*oculis emissit*," fearlessly invade and explore the sanctuary of the abodes of the great departed, and even, on the strength of his itching curiosity, put in a claim to philanthropy. "*Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto*," is held to constitute an indisputable warrant for the most rigorous and searching *post mortem* examination.

Though the common appetite for such "critical inquiries" will find its appropriate food in this very attractive work, we should be underrating, or rather misrating, its merits by giving room for the inference that they lie altogether or chiefly in this direction. The work possesses other and far higher claims to our regard. It is pregnant with interest as a psychological study,—as a history of the growth and development of a mind that has cast bountifully into the world's treasury of thought, and of a heart that has enriched the store of the world's humanities. We greet, therefore, with satisfaction, the epitomiser of Bentham in his new character of the biographer of Hume. The transition was not unnatural. In the complexion of their minds, as well as in the general features of their philosophies, Bentham and Hume present many points of coincidence; and he who had shown a true appreciation of the intellectual products of the one had given the guarantee of his aptitude to do justice to the mental and moral qualities of the other.

The original sources of information open to Mr Burton in the prosecution of his task, were a large collection of manuscript letters and papers deposited by the philosopher's nephew, the late Baron Hume, in the hands of the Council of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and also a minor collection of documents, consisting principally of letters from Hume to Sir Gilbert Elliot, placed at Mr Burton's disposal by Sir Gilbert's descendant, the Earl of Minto. Mr Burton has, however, not confined himself to these stores, rich and ample as they were, but has, from every accessible quarter, drawn to his aid all kinds of materials, in the selection and disposal of which his sound sense and good taste are no less apparent than the faithfulness and impartiality of his narrative. The incidents of the philosopher's life are detailed with that attention to a harmonious distribution of the parts which serves to give unity and completeness to the whole. As far as may be, events are allowed to evolve themselves from the correspondence; and the connecting narrative and accompanying comment preserve throughout their due proportions. Mr Burton rarely himself courts the reader's attention, and only to unravel some knot "*dignus vindice*." He does not imitate the fashion of too many biographers, whose wont it is, having caught their great man, to play the part of the showman with his caged lion.

The many powerful temptations which the progress of the work must have presented to make an excursion into the regions of metaphysical disquisition are wisely withstood; and accordingly we have a very popular book on a not very popular subject. For valuable as is Hume's philosophy, it is so mainly in virtue of its relations to the progress of metaphysical investigation; and, interesting as is his personal character, it is not one greatly calculated to awaken enthusiasm, except with the few whom the "years that bring the philosophic mind" may have taught to sympathize with the quiet ways of a man whose distinctive qualities were placidity of temper and clearness and serenity of intellect.

With not enough of the Stoical nature to command veneration, nor so much of the Epicurean temperament as to repel sympathy, Hume combined in his character an amount of moral integrity, and of kindly and benevolent feeling, to secure reliance and attachment. He was indulgent to human frailty, having no very exalted standard of human virtue. The apophthegm of *πλειονες κακοι* constituted a primary element in his creed of humanity. Of an unenthusiastic temperament, he was not without passion, though it was always quiet and subdued in its tone, and under the ready control of reason. The sterility of sentiment and poverty of imagination for which he was remarkable necessarily limited and circumscribed the range of his otherwise admirably clear and acute intellect. Unimpressible to scenes of natural beauty, he could travel from Dan to Beersheba and find it barren of aught save utility. He had no æsthetic tastes. Gothic architecture was to him but "a heap of confusion and irregularity." Painting and sculpture possessed no power to move him, and music was but a noise, more or less loud. The ideality of sense was altogether denied him. Nor had nature gifted him more liberally with the power of idealizing emotion. Chivalry was in his estimate a thing of "monstrous birth,"—love, "a capricious passion;" and, though very far from adopting Sir Isaac Newton's definition of poetry as "ingenious nonsense," he could yet write of Home's tragedy of 'Agis,'—" 'Tis very likely to meet with success, and not to deserve it, for the author tells me he is a great admirer of Shakspeare, and never read Racine." The essentially logical and matter-of-fact character of his mind is strikingly illustrated by the medium through which *self* stood revealed to his consciousness. He could never "*catch himself*," as he expresses it, at any point, without, as it were, becoming identified with a sensation of pain or pleasure, or an emotion of love or hatred. Thus only could he take cognition of the *me* within him. "For my part," says he, "when

I enter most intimately into what I call *myself*, I always stumble on some perception or other, of heat or cold, light or shade, love or hatred, pain or pleasure. I never can catch *myself* at any time without a perception, and never can observe anything but the perception." Most indubitable evidence this, that he was, as our Teutonic neighbours would say, largely gifted with the *Verstand*, but absolutely deficient in the *Vernunft*.

The character of the philosopher is the key to the character of his philosophy; the mental and moral idiosyncrasy of the man preparing us to expect that his philosophy would be, as it was, in its method empirical, and in its end utilitarian. Hume was early fired with the ambition of establishing a modern science of metaphysics. In a highly interesting document, now happily rescued from the "cold obstruction" of the mass in which it lay imbedded, a kind of moral and physiological autobiography, intended for the secret eye of his physician, he thus describes the first promptings of his young genius to metaphysical inquiries:—

"You must know that, from my earliest infancy, I found always a strong inclination to books and letters. As our college education in Scotland, extending little further than the languages, ends commonly when we are about fourteen or fifteen years of age, I was after that left to my own choice in my reading, and found it incline me almost equally to books of reasoning and philosophy, and to poetry and the polite authors. Every one who is acquainted either with the philosophers or critics knows that there is nothing yet established in either of these two sciences, and that they contain little more than endless disputes, even in the most fundamental articles. Upon examination of these, I found a certain boldness of temper growing in me, which was not inclined to submit to any authority in these subjects, but led me to seek out some new medium by which truth might be established. After much study and reflection on this, at last, when I was about eighteen years of age, there seemed to be opened up to me a new scene of thought, which transported me beyond measure, and made me, with an ardour natural to young men, throw up every other pleasure or business, to apply entirely to it.

"I found that the moral philosophy, transmitted to us by antiquity, laboured under the same inconvenience that has been found in their natural philosophy, of being entirely hypothetical, and depending more upon invention than experience: every one consulted his fancy in erecting schemes of virtue and of happiness, without regarding human nature, upon which every moral conclusion must depend. This, therefore, I resolved to make my principal study, and the source from which I would derive every truth in criticism as well as morality. I believe it is a certain fact, that most of the philosophers

who have gone before us have been overthrown by the greatness of their genius, and that little more is required to make a man succeed in this study than to throw off all prejudices either for his own opinions or for those of others."

Such is the account recorded by Hume of his youthful philosophical experience; and true to the resolutions then formed, he gave to the world, at the age of twenty-seven, his first work, 'A Treatise of Human Nature,' under the subsidiary title of 'AN ATTEMPT TO INTRODUCE THE EXPERIMENTAL METHOD OF REASONING INTO MORAL SUBJECTS.' This is the great object to which, as metaphysician, his labours were devoted,—the endeavour, the vain endeavour (for "*adhuc sub judice lis est*") to found the principles of metaphysical and ethical inquiry on a scientific basis of fact ascertained by experiment—to do, that is, for metaphysics what Bacon had done for physics, establish it as a science of induction, yielding definite and indisputable results. It will be recollected that, in his 'Inquiry concerning Human Understanding,' the work of his maturer years, and intended to supersede the 'Treatise of Human Nature,' he thus unreservedly enunciates the principles of his experimental philosophy:—

"It is universally acknowledged that there is a great uniformity among the actions of men, in all nations and ages, and that human nature remains still the same in its principles and operations. The same motives always produce the same actions; the same events follow from the same causes. Ambition, avarice, self-love, vanity, friendship, generosity, public spirit; these passions, mixed in various degrees, and distributed through society, have been, from the beginning of the world, and still are, the source of all the actions and enterprises which have ever been observed among mankind. Would you know the sentiments, inclinations, and course of life of the Greeks and Romans? Study well the temper and actions of the French and English: you cannot be much mistaken in transferring to the former *most* of the observations which you have made with regard to the latter. Mankind are so much the same, in all times and places, that history informs us of nothing new or strange in this particular. Its chief use is only to discover the constant and universal principles of human nature, by showing men in all varieties of circumstances and situations, and furnishing us with materials from which we may form our observations, and become acquainted with the regular springs of human action and behaviour. These records of wars, intrigues, factions, and revolutions are so many collections of experiments, by which the politician or moral philosopher fixes the principles of his science, in the same manner as the physician or natural philosopher becomes acquainted with the nature of plants, minerals, and other external objects, by the experiments which he

forms concerning them. Nor are the earth, water, and other elements, examined by Aristotle and Hippocrates, more like to those which at present lie under our observation, than the men described by Polybius and Tacitus are to those who now govern the world.

"Should a traveller, returning from a far country, bring us an account of men wholly different from any with whom we were ever acquainted, men who were entirely divested of avarice, ambition, or revenge, who knew no pleasure but friendship, generosity, and public spirit, we should immediately, from these circumstances, detect the falsehood, and prove him a liar, with the same certainty as if he had stuffed his narration with stories of centaurs and dragons, miracles and prodigies. And if we would explode any forgery in history, we cannot make use of a more convincing argument than to prove that the actions ascribed to any person are directly contrary to the course of nature, and that no human motives in such circumstances could ever induce him to such a conduct. The veracity of Quintus Curtius is as much to be suspected, when he describes the supernatural courage of Alexander by which he was hurried on singly to attack multitudes, as when he describes his supernatural force and activity, by which he was able to resist them. So readily and universally do we acknowledge a uniformity in human motives and actions, as well as in the operations of body."

This rigid application of empiricism to the investigation of moral subjects—this restriction of the field of observation to the limited boundary of experience *ab extra*—leads necessarily to the falsest conclusions, and is the source of some of the gravest errors in the philosophy of Hume. In the passage just quoted, the progressive nature of man is altogether ignored, and the character both of the individual and of the race is stereotyped in the particular forms already supplied by historical experience. What man now is, he must be for ever; as in one country and under one set of circumstances, so in all countries and under all circumstances; a theory which forces us to place all grades of moral and intellectual excellence transcending our limited experience (however supposable in themselves) in the category not of anomaly, but of impossibility. On the assumption implied in these premises, the mathematical intuitions of a Pascal, the moral power manifested in the life of a Socrates, or the intellectual vigour that organized the victories of a Napoleon, are alike essentially incredible, and must rank with "the stories of centaurs and dragons," until, by frequency of occurrence, they have been brought within the boundaries of ordinary law. Moral and social facts that have happened only once or twice are not facts; the future must not presume to transcend the past; and the self-asserting powers of genius in society or in the individual are hemmed in by the necessities of historical analogy. Such is the

result that follows the exclusive and rigid adoption, by a man acute in intellect, but wanting enthusiasm and imagination, of "the experimental method of reasoning in moral subjects."

In "the gross and scope" of mental philosophy there are but two methods of inquiry, the empirical and the transcendental. The former, planting itself in the objective world, traces the facts of human nature by experiment; the latter, dwelling in the subjective, takes cognition of these facts by consciousness. The one, taking its departure from the senses, adopts the formula of Locke, "*Nihil est in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu*;" a formula which the other, taking its departure from the soul, meets with the invincible reserve of Leibnitz, "*Nisi ipse intellectus*." To a mind like Hume's, the first method would alone seem to offer stable results; while the conclusions of the second would appear as but the airy phantasies of a dreamy imaginativeness, presenting no reliable grounds of certainty to the scientific inquirer. Whatever may be our judgment, however, in regard either to the correctness of the principles, or the pregnancy of the more immediate results, of Hume's investigations, the distinguished services which he rendered to metaphysical science admit of no question. These will be appreciated and prized in proportion to the regard had to the then-existing state of the science, and to its subsequent development by the thinkers of our own country, and of Germany and France. Of the two great schools of philosophy, the Scottish and the German, the former leans to the empirical method of inquiry, the latter unreservedly adopts the transcendental. Both these schools may fairly be said to trace their origin to Hume, for Reid, the reputed founder of the one, was his avowed disciple, and Kant, the acknowledged father of the other, first caught, from Hume's views of cause and effect, the impulse and inspiration which led to the elaboration of his own system.

Feeble, grudging, and tardy has been the world's acknowledgment of the high moral integrity which Hume brought to the pursuit of metaphysical inquiry. He has been too commonly ranked and confounded with the light-minded sneerers of the Voltairian school of scepticism. But no spice of their quality did his nature know. His researches were all truthful. He was an earnest man, seeking, with what amount of force and virtue was in him, a proximate solution of the grand problem of life and being. "Where am I, or what?" we find him exclaiming; "from what causes do I derive my existence, and to what condition shall I return? Whose favour shall I court, and whose anger must I dread? What beings surround me? And on whom have I any influence, or who have any influence on me? I am confounded with all these questions, and begin to fancy myself

in the most deplorable condition imaginable, environed with the deepest darkness, and utterly deprived of the use of every member and faculty." Such is the spirit in which Hume approaches these high questions. And the sacrifices he made at the shrine of truth—we speak not of the objective truth of his opinions, but of the subjective truthfulness of his convictions, which, *to him*, were *truth*—ought not to be lightly esteemed. He was as true to his scepticism as others are to their faith; and, in his case as in theirs, unswerving allegiance to intellectual and moral conviction merits approval and regard. How touching is his description of the internal struggle by which his mind was agitated in what we should otherwise deem the cold and unimpassioned pursuit of abstract speculation! The passage has often been quoted by the theologian with strong expressions of pity for a mind tempest-tost on a sea of error, drifting, without rudder or compass, at the mercy of winds and waves. For ourselves, looking to Hume's firm adherence to what he judged the right, admiration of the steadfast will that could weather such a storm is the feeling that predominates with us, rather than the *quasi*-pleasurable pity which loves to "stand upon the vantage-ground of truth (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene), and to see the errors and wanderings, and mists and tempests, in the vale below." Far different are the sentiments conveyed to our mind by Hume's passionate outburst:—

"I am affrighted and confounded with that forlorn solitude in which I am placed in my philosophy, and fancy myself some strange uncouth monster, who, not being able to mingle and unite in society, has been expelled all human commerce, and left utterly abandoned and disconsolate. Fain would I run into the crowd for shelter and warmth, but cannot prevail with myself to mix with such deformity. I call upon others to join me, in order to make a company apart, but no one will hearken to me. Every one keeps at a distance, and dreads that storm which beats upon me from every side. I have exposed myself to the enmity of all metaphysicians, logicians, mathematicians, and even theologians; and can I wonder at the insults I must suffer? I have declared my disapprobation of their systems; and can I be surprised if they should express a hatred of mine and of my person? When I look abroad, I foresee on every side dispute, contradiction, anger, calumny, and detraction. When I turn my eye inward, I find nothing but doubt and ignorance. All the world conspires to oppose and contradict me; though such is my weakness that I feel all my opinions loosen and fall of themselves when unsupported by the approbation of others. Every step I take is with hesitation, and every new reflection makes me dread an error and absurdity in my reasoning?"

It is only when we bring home to our own bosoms the painful

intensity of emotions like these, that we can form a worthy estimate of the moral strength and magnanimity of the man who, thus feeling, can yet summon up the spirit resolutely to conclude—"In all the incidents of life we ought still to preserve our scepticism." In occasional moods of despondency we find him on the very verge of denouncing philosophy as an alchemy fatal to his peace,—tempted with Prospero to exclaim—

" But this rough magic
I here abjure.
• • • • •
I'll break my staff,
Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
And deeper than did ever plummet sound,
I'll drown my book."

Again and again he is "affrighted and confounded" by the yawning depths of doubt, and would fain "run into the crowd for shelter and warmth." But the spirit of philosophy ever and anon re-asserts its claims and regains its ascendancy. He is shaken, but not cast down. He remains true to his truth, to what he troweth, and, after a brief faltering pause, once more braces his spiritual energies to the utterance—"In all the incidents of life we ought still to preserve our scepticism."

It was this singular fidelity to abstract conviction that induced Hume to enunciate, in their most startling form, and with the utmost latitude of statement of which they were susceptible, the principles which his rigorous induction seemed to warrant. He never thought to blunt the edge of his logic that it might cut less deeply. He dealt in no evasions,—sought no compromise,—rested in no half-conclusions,—shrunk not from the assertion of any persuasion, however widely opposed it might be to the current prejudices or opinions of the society by which he was surrounded. In the region of pure philosophy he was bold and daring, a mental peculiarity which contrasts strangely with his timidity and caution in the application of principles to established customs and institutions,* and which we may regard, partially at least, as the reaction of an oppressive sense of the doubt and uncertainty attaching to metaphysical science. The sentiment which he puts into the mouth of the sceptical Philo, one of the

* It is the trimming and temporizing historian, not the truthful and trustworthy philosopher, who, in allusion to the act of judgment on Charles I, thus speaks of a nation's right to resist oppression:—"If even on any occasion it were laudable to conceal truth from the populace, it must be confessed that the doctrine of resistance affords such an example; and that all speculative reasoners ought to observe, with regard to this principle, the same cautious silence which the laws, in every species of government, have ever prescribed to themselves."

interlocutors in his 'Dialogues on Natural Religion,' we believe to have been that of the author. "I must confess," says Philo, addressing Cleanthes, the deist, "that I am less cautious on the subject of natural religion than on any other; both because I know that I can never, on that head, corrupt the principles of any man of common sense; and because no one, I am confident, in whose eyes I appear a man of common sense, will ever mistake my intentions." This work, which was not published till after his death, Hume appears to have submitted in manuscript to his friend Gilbert Elliot, to whom, in a letter found in the Minto papers, he says—

"You would perceive, by the sample I have given you, that I make Cleanthes the hero of the dialogue: whatever you can think of to strengthen that side of the argument will be most acceptable to me; any propensity you imagine I have to the other side crept in upon me against my will; and 'tis not long ago that I burned an old manuscript book, wrote before I was twenty, which contained, page after page, the gradual progress of my thoughts on that head. It began with an anxious search after arguments, to confirm the common opinion; doubts stole in, dissipated, returned, were again dissipated, returned again; and it was a perpetual struggle of a restless imagination against inclination—perhaps against reason."

"If, in order to answer the doubts started, new principles of philosophy must be laid, are not these doubts themselves very useful? Are they not preferable to blind and ignorant assent? I hope I can answer my own doubts; but if I could not, is it to be wondered at? To give myself airs, and speak magnificently, might I not observe that Columbus did not conquer empires and plant colonies?"

The charge of dogmatism, which has so often been brought against Hume, has no foundation but in the form and manner in which he stated his views. In reality, he had little of the dogmatic spirit, and exhibited a rare modesty in estimating the value of his philosophical researches. "I am apt in a cool hour," says he, writing to Hutcheson, "to suspect, in general, that most of my reasonings will be more useful by furnishing hints and exciting people's curiosity, than as containing any principles that will augment the stock of knowledge that must pass to future ages." His whole life and conversation testify how deeply he felt the truth of his own remark, that "the observation of human blindness is the result of all philosophy, and meets us at every turn, in spite of our endeavours to elude or avoid it."

By a man of Hume's intensely social nature, averse as he was to polemical strife, and anxious, if it were possible, to live peaceably with all men, the attacks to which his writings exposed him, at the hands of certain self-elected champions of Christianity and the

Church, could not fail to be painfully and acutely felt. Warburton led the van of the orthodox forces, and assailed the speculative errors of the philosopher in terms of haughty vituperation, which the mild spirit of the latter would have deemed it harsh and unseemly to direct against even malignity and moral delinquency. Inferior to Hume in every quality of genuine manhood, the author of the '*Divine Legation of Moses*'—who had been bred an attorney at Newark, and had latterly brought to the service of the Church, along with intellectual talents of an undoubtedly high order, the lowest adjuncts of attorney-nature—gave vent, in his controversial onslaught against the heresies of our philosopher, to a scurrility and arrogance, that might well serve to palliate, if not excuse, Hume's somewhat uncourteous expression to Blair (on an occasion, by the way, that did not call for it), of a "wish that the parsons would confine themselves to their old occupation of worrying one another, and leave philosophers to argue with temper, moderation, and good manners." It is amusing to see Warburton's extraordinary anxiety to ascertain that in Hume he had a mark worthy of his arrows. Writing to Hurd, he says, "But does he deserve notice? Is he known among you? Pray answer these questions; for, if his own weight keeps him down, I should be sorry to contribute to his advancement to any place but the pillory." And in another letter to the same underling, he thus expresses his laudable resolve: "I will trim the rogne's jacket, at least sit upon his skirts, as you will see when you come hither, and find his margins scribbled over." We find Hume thus alluding, in a letter to his publisher, Andrew Millar, to one of the savage attacks of the noisy and rancorous polemic, whose malice he could well afford to despise, seeing he shared the infliction in common not only with Bolingbroke and Voltaire, but with such men as Drs Middleton, Lowth, Leland, and Jortin:—

"As to my opinions, you know I defend none of them positively; I only propose my doubts where I am so unhappy as not to receive the same conviction with the rest of mankind. It surprises me much to see any body who pretends to be a man of letters discover anger on that account; since it is certain, by the experience of all ages, that nothing contributes more to the progress of learning than such disputes and novelties.

"Apropos to anger: I am positively assured that Dr Warburton wrote that letter to himself which you sent me; and indeed, the style discovers him sufficiently.* I should answer him; but he attacks so small

* The letter here alluded to was a pamphlet entitled, '*Remarks on Mr David Hume's 'Essay on the Natural History of Religion,' addressed to the Rev. Dr Warburton.*' Hume was right in his conjecture. The letter was

a corner of my building, that I can abandon it without drawing great consequences after it. If he would come into the field and dispute concerning the principal topics of my philosophy, I should probably accept the challenge: at present nothing could tempt me to take the pen in hand but anger, of which I feel myself incapable, even upon this provocation."

Hume does not appear to have been always thus impenetrable to rebuke, even when administrated in the milder language of more courteous opponents. In acknowledging the receipt, from his friend Blair, of a copy of Dr Campbell's '*Sermons on Miracles*,' the first form in which the celebrated '*Dissertation*' appeared, he says—

"I could wish your friend had not denominated me an infidel writer on account of ten or twelve pages which seem to him to have that tendency, while I have wrote so many volumes on history, literature, politics, trade, morals, which, in that particular at least, are entirely inoffensive. Is a man to be called a drunkard because he has been seen fuddled once in his lifetime?"*

written by Dr Warburton to himself. The '*Letters from a late eminent Prelate to one of his Friends*' supply evidence of the "pious fraud" of Warburton and Hurd in its concoction. We there find Warburton writing to Hurd as follows:—

"As to Hume, I had laid it aside ever since you was here; I will now, however, finish my skeleton. It will be hardly that. If, then, you think anything can be made of it, and will give yourself the trouble, we may, perhaps, between us, do a little good, which, I dare say, we shall both think worth a little pains. If I have any force in the first rude beating out of the mass, you are best able to give it the elegance of form and splendour of polish. This will answer my purpose; to labour together in a joint work to do a little good. I will tell you fairly, it is no more the thing it should be, and will be, if you undertake it, than the Dantzic iron at the forge is the gilt and painted ware at Birmingham. It will make no more than a pamphlet; but you shall take your own time, and make it your summer's amusement, if you will. I propose it to bear something like this title—'*Remarks on Mr Hume's late Essay, called 'The Natural History of Religion'; by a Gentleman of Cambridge, in a Letter to the Rev. Dr W.*' I propose the address should be with the dryness and reserve of a stranger, who likes the method of the letters on Bolingbroke's '*Philosophy*,' and follows it here against the same sort of writer, inculcating the same impiety, naturalism, and employing the same kind of arguments. The address will remove it from me; the author, a gentleman of Cambridge, from you; and the secrecy in printing from us both."

* The following characteristic anecdote of Hume, by Lord Charlemont, quoted by Mr Burton from '*Hardy's Memoirs of Charlemont*,' is worth keeping on record:—

"He" (Hume)—"never failed, in the midst of any controversy, to give its due praise to everything tolerable that was either said or written against him. One day that he visited me in London, he came into my room laughing and apparently well pleased. 'What has put you into this good humour, Hume?' said I. 'Why, man,' replied he, 'I have just now had the best thing said to me I ever heard. I was complaining in a company where I spent the morning, that I was very ill-treated by the world, and that the censures put upon me were hard and unreasonable. That I had written many volumes, throughout the whole of which there were but a few pages that contained any reprehensible matter, and yet that for

His irritation, however, quickly subsided; and his grateful sense of Dr Campbell's general candour in dealing with his argument was such as to induce him, on the publication of the 'Dissertation,' to address its author in these terms:—

"It has so seldom happened that controversies in philosophy, much more in theology, have been carried on without producing a personal quarrel between the parties, that I must regard my present situation as somewhat extraordinary, who have reason to give you thanks for the civil and obliging manner in which you have conducted the dispute against me, on so interesting a subject as that of miracles. Any little symptoms of vehemence, of which I formerly used the freedom to complain, when you favoured me with a sight of the manuscript, are either removed or explained away, or atoned for by civilities which are far beyond what I have any title to pretend to. It will be natural for you to imagine that I will fall upon some shift to evade the force of your arguments and to retain my former opinion in the point controverted between us; but it is impossible for me not to see the ingenuity of your performance, and the great learning which you have displayed against me.

"I consider myself as very much honoured in being thought worthy of an answer by a person of so much merit; and as I find that the public does you justice with regard to the ingenuity and good composition of your piece, I hope you will have no reason to repent engaging with an antagonist, whom, perhaps, in strictness, you might have ventured to neglect. I own to you that I never felt so violent an inclination to defend myself as at present, when I am thus fairly challenged by you, and I think I could find something specious at least to urge in my defence; but as I had fixed a resolution, in the beginning of my life, always to leave the public to judge between my adversaries and me, without making any reply, I must adhere inviolably to this resolution, otherwise my silence on any future occasion would be construed an inability to answer, and would be matter of triumph against me."

The spirit in which Dr Campbell, in his answer to this letter, reciprocates the civilities of Hume, is so honourable to its author, and contrasts so agreeably with the general tone and temper of controversialists, that, though it has been often quoted, we cannot resist the impulse to transfer it to our pages.

"The testimony you are pleased to give in favour of my performance is an honour of which I should be entirely unworthy were I not sensible of the uncommon generosity you have shown in giving it. Ever since I was acquainted with your works, your talents as a

those few pages, I was abused and torn to pieces.' 'You put me in mind,' said an honest fellow in the company, whose name I did not know, 'of an acquaintance of mine, a notary public, who, having been condemned to be hanged for forgery, lamented the hardship of his case: that, after having written many thousand inoffensive sheets, he should be hanged for one line.'"

writer have, notwithstanding some differences in abstract principles, extorted from me the highest veneration. But I could scarce have thought that, in spite of differences of a more interesting nature, even such as regard morals and religion, you could ever force me to love and honour you as a man. Yet no religious prejudices (as you would probably term them) can hinder me from doing justice to that goodness and candour which appear in every line of your letter.

"It would be in vain to dissemble the pleasure which it gives me, that I am thought to have acquitted myself tolerably in a dispute with an author of such acknowledged merit. At the same time it gives me real pain that any symptoms of vehemence (which are not so easily avoided in disputation as one would imagine) should give so generous an adversary the least ground of complaint. You have (if I remember right, for I have not the book here), in the appendix to the third volume of your '*Treatise on Human Nature*,' apologized for using sometimes the expressions—"Tis certain, 'Tis evident, and the like. These, you observe, were in a manner forced from you by the strong though transient light in which a particular object then appeared, and are therefore not to be considered as at all inconsistent with the general principles of scepticism which are maintained in the treatise. My apology is somewhat similar. There is in all controversy a struggle for victory, which I may say compels one to take every fair advantage that either the sentiments or the words of an antagonist present him with. But the appearances of asperity or rallery, which one will be thereby necessarily drawn into, ought not to be constructed as in the least affecting the habitual good opinion, or even the high esteem, which the writer may nevertheless entertain of his adversary."

Hume's residence with the Marquis of Annandale constitutes a painful episode in his life. Though unambitious of wealth, he largely shared the love of independence characteristic of the "*perfervidum ingenium*" of his countrymen. The limited patrimonial inheritance of a small Scottish laird's younger son would have proved an insurmountable barrier to the literary career which his tastes prompted, but for the moderation of his desires and the simplicity of his habits. These were so happily adjusted to the narrowness of his means, that, when he had realised the slender fortune of 1,000*l.* he considered himself as in possession of the competency for which he had toiled. Before attaining, however, to this goal of his modest ambition, he was doomed to know and experience, though not with all the bitterness of him who uttered the sentiment, that

"Slow rises worth by poverty depressed."

The anxiety to command ultimate independence made him submit, for a while, to a condition of the most galling bondage,

and we see "a man nourished in philosophy and polite letters," in the prime of his fame and years, stooping to be the keeper of an idiot lord, and subjecting himself not only to all the caprices of lunacy, but to the supercilious insolence of an unmannerly relative of his noble charge, seemingly jealous of the philosopher's ascendancy over the poor remains of mind of the unfortunate marquis.* Shortly before entering upon this duty, Hume had offered himself as a candidate for the vacant chair of moral philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. From his letter to Matthew Sharp, of Hoddam, he appears still to have entertained some hopes of success in the affair of the professorship. His own and the marquis's position are painted *couleur de rose* :—

"I am informed that such a popular clamour has been raised against me in Edinburgh, on account of scepticism, heterodoxy, and other hard names, which confound the ignorant, that my friends find some difficulty in working out the point of my professorship, which once appeared so easy. Did I need a testimonial for my orthodoxy, I should certainly appeal to you; for you know that I always imitated Job's friends, and defended the cause of Providence when you attacked it on account of the headaches you felt after a debauch. But as a more particular explication of that particular seems superfluous, I shall only apply to you for a renewal of your good offices with your nephew, Lord Tinwald, whose interest with Yettis and Allan may be of service to me. There is no time to lose: so that I must beg you to be speedy in writing to him, or speaking to him, on that head. A word to the wise. Even that is not necessary to a friend, such as I have always esteemed and found you to be.

"I live here very comfortably with the Marquis of Annandale,

* To his lunatic fancies the marquis added the *cacoethes scribendi*, and produced some epigrams, of the merits of which Hume speaks approvingly. It were curious to speculate on the philosopher's share in such literary labours, or to what extent he may have aided the marquis in the preparation of his *magnum opus*—a novel which, to gratify his lordship's aspirations after literary fame, his friends were under the necessity of printing, and also of advertising in one newspaper, in order to make him believe that it had been published. The transaction is thus described by Hume in a letter to one of his lordship's friends :—

"You would certainly be a little surprised and vexed on receiving a printed copy of the novel, which was in hands when you left London, if I did not explain the mystery to you. I believe I told you that I hoped that affair was entirely over, by my employing Lord Marchmont and Lord Bollingbroke's authority against publishing that novel; though you will readily suppose that neither of these two noble lords ever pursued it. This machine operated for six weeks; but the vanity of the author returned with redoubled force, fortified by suspicions and increased by the delay. 'Pardie,' dit-il, 'je crois que ces Messieurs veulent être les seules Seigneurs d'Angleterre qui eussent de l'esprit. Mais je leur montrerai ce que le petit A— peut faire aussi.' In short, we were obliged to print off thirty copies, to make him believe that we had printed a thousand, and that they were to be dispersed all over the kingdom."

who, I suppose you have heard, sent me a letter of invitation, along with a bill of one hundred pounds, about two months ago. Every thing is much better than I expected from the accounts I heard after I came from London; for the secrecy with which I stole away from Edinburgh, and which I thought necessary for preserving my interest there, kept me entirely ignorant of his situation.

"My lord never was in so good a way before. He has a regular family, honest servants, and everything is managed genteelly and with economy. He has intrusted all his English affairs to a mighty honest friendly man, Captain Vincent, who is consin-german to the Marchioness. And as my lord has now taken was strong a turn to solitude and repose, as he formerly had to company and agitation, 'tis to be hoped that his good parts and excellent dispositions may at last, being accompanied with more health and tranquillity, render him a comfort to his friends, if not an ornament to his country. As you live in the neighbourhood of the Marchioness, it may give her a pleasure to hear these particulars."

The "mighty honest friendly man, Captain Vincent," turned out to be not what he seemed. The "battles, sieges, fortunes" of the domestic war which he waged with Hume through many weary months, form a chapter in the life of the philosopher more curious than pleasing. Vincent fairly triumphed over the philosophy of Hume, whose feelings we may imagine from the letter written during the progress of the strife to Sir James Johnstone, a connexion of the Annandale family:—

"God forgive you, dear sir, God forgive you, for neither coming to us nor writing to us. The unaccountable, and, I may say, the inhuman treatment we meet with here throws your friend into rage and fury, and me into the greatest melancholy. My only comfort is when I think of your arrival; but still I know not when I can propose myself that satisfaction. I flatter myself you have received two short letters I wrote within this month; though the uncertainty of the post gives me apprehension. I must again entreat you to favour me with a short line, to let me know the time you propose to be with us; for, if it be near, I shall wait with patience and with pleasure; if distant, I shall write to you at length, that you and my Lady Marchioness may judge of our circumstances and situation."

The merits of the quarrel are not very apparent. It is, however, with regret that we find Hume condescending to use fair and smooth words, and to write, "with excessive reluctance, softening and obliging letters" to this Captain Vincent, a man whom, all the time, whether justly or unjustly we presume not to determine, he detested and despised.

We willingly turn from this topic to a more agreeable one. By no quality was Hume more honourably distinguished than by the frank and ever-ready kindness which he displayed in the

encouragement of literary merit. His good nature was, however, sometimes more conspicuous than his discernment. Wilkie's *Epigoniad* enjoys, in consequence of Hume's rapturous laudation and almost paternal patronage, an immortality which that famed epic never could have won for itself. His friendly offices in behalf of the blind poet Blacklock; the affectionate zeal with which he purposed, by a dedication of his '*Dissertations*,' to compensate the author of '*Douglas*' for the ecclesiastical unpopularity incurred by his dramatic tastes and pursuits; his interest in poor Smollett; his kind attentions to Jean Jacques Rousseau, and to many others, whose struggling merit constituted their only claim to his regard, all prove Hume to have been possessed of warm sympathies, and effectually negative Burke's often quoted libel on "the heart of the genuine metaphysician." The steady and uninterrupted friendship that subsisted between Hume and Robertson, men approximating too nearly in their literary pursuits, and diverging too widely in their religious sentiments, to stand in the best relative position for kindly intercourse, is honourable to both. Hume was ever prompt to acknowledge Robertson's merits as a historian. With a thorough enjoyment of literary fame, he exhibited an entire absence of literary rivalry or jealousy, the elements of which, if they existed at all in his disposition, took a national rather than an individual form. He had not attained to the serene height from which Göthe contemplated the progress of humanity, nor acquired the cosmopolitism of feeling that says,—"*Es gibt keine patriotische Kunst und keine patriotische Wissenschaft.*" The following extract from a letter to Gilbert Elliot shows to what extent a superiority to the promptings of individual rivalry may be combined with an amusing intensity of nationality:—

"I fancy our friend Robertson will be able to publish his history next winter. You are sufficiently acquainted with the merit of this work; and really it is admirable how many men of genius this country produces at present. Is it not strange that, at a time when we have lost our princes, our parliaments, our independent government, even the presence of our chief nobility; are unhappy in our accent and pronunciation; speak a very corrupt dialect of the tongue we make use of; is it not strange, I say, that, in these circumstances, we should really be the people most distinguished for literature in Europe?"

How delightful is the playful humour that sparkles in our next extract, which is from a letter written by Hume, then in London, to his friend Robertson in Edinburgh:—

"I forgot to tell you that, two days ago, I was in the House of Commons, where an English gentleman came to me, and told me that he had lately sent to a grocer's shop for a pound of raisins, which he

received wrapped up in a paper that he showed me. How would you have turned pale at the sight ! It was a leaf of your history, and the very character of Queen Elizabeth which you had laboured so finely, little thinking it would so soon come to so disgraceful an end. I happened a little time after to see Millar, and told him the story ; consulting him, to be sure, on the fate of his new boasted historian, of whom he was so fond. But the story proves more serious than I apprehended : for he told Strahan, who thence suspects villany among his apprentices and journeymen ; and has sent me very earnestly to know the gentleman's name, that he may find out the grocer, and trace the matter to the bottom. In vain did I remonstrate that this was sooner or later the fate of all authors, *serius, ocyus, sors exitura*. He will not be satisfied ; and begs me to keep my jokes for another occasion. But that I am resolved not to do ; and, therefore, being repulsed by his passion and seriousness, I direct them against you.

"Next week I am published ; and then I expect a constant comparison will be made between Dr Robertson and Mr Hume. I shall tell you in a few weeks which of these heroes is likely to prevail. Meanwhile, I can inform both of them for their comforts, that their combat is not likely to make half so much noise as that between Broughton and the one-eyed coachman. *Vanitas vanitatum, atque omnia vanitas*. I shall still except, however, the friendship and good opinion of worthy men."

Any attempt to estimate the character and genius of Hume, which should not take account of his historical labours, were essentially incomplete. In the discussion of this subject, the partialities of critics have been as glaringly displayed as those of the historian, whose indulgence of unreflecting sympathies and antipathies has constituted the object of their censure. The following passage, in which Hume himself helps us to a solution of the vexed question, has not perhaps commanded the attention which its significance deserves. To Robertson he writes—

"I am afraid that you, as well as myself, have drawn Mary's character with too great softenings. She was, undoubtedly, a violent woman at all times. You will see in *Murden* proofs of the utmost rancour against her innocent, good-natured, dutiful son. She certainly disinherited him. What think you of a conspiracy for kidnapping him, and delivering him a prisoner to the king of Spain, never to recover his liberty till he should turn Catholic ? Tell Goodall that, if he can but give me up Queen Mary, I hope to satisfy him in every thing else ; and he will have the pleasure of seeing John Knox and the reformers made very ridiculous."

There is more here than meets the eye. Truth will sometimes ooze out in jest. Under a veil of *badinage* we think we can here detect the theory on which Hume wrote history ; a theory essen-

tially false, which consists in starting with an *à priori* scheme of the character and motives of historical personages, and subordinating the evolution of events to the foregone conclusion in the mind of the historian. The result being first determined, to this all facts must bend and adjust themselves as best they may. Certain persons and things—as Charles I and his advisers in particular, and monarchical prerogative in general—are to be made very sublime; while others—as the Roundheads and the right of resistance, or “John Knox and the Reformers”—are to be made “very ridiculous.” The historian, having thus got his cue, like a lawyer who has got his brief, proceeds to display the resources of his dialectic skill in presenting the circumstances of “*the case*” in such combinations, and with such variety of proportion and relief, as may seem most conducive to the effect intended to be produced. Such a plan prepares us to expect, not an impartial history, but an ingenious pleading. To the censure of dealing thus loosely with the facts of history, Hume, it must be admitted, stands exposed in common with almost all the historians who preceded, and the majority of those who have succeeded him.

We do not feel bound, however, to press the charge as involving the moral integrity of the historian. In histories so composed there is not necessarily any deliberate and wilful distortion of truth, though, the artificial bias being once given, facts unconsciously shape themselves in the mind of the historic writer according to his preconceived theorem, a theorem which, however, must from the first have had at least a *vraisemblance*, if not a basis of truth. The head and front of the offence is the showing of the truth only on one side. There is no clear evidence that Hume ever deliberately falsified the facts of history.* He was certainly not impartial; but, at the same time, he was never so consciously biassed as not to remain a thorough believer in his own impartiality.† And his efforts can only be fairly

* The very insufficient data on which Brodie attempts, in a noted instance, to convict Hume of a *suppressio veri*, are ably exposed by Mr Burton, vol. ii, p. 66.

† Madame de Boufflers, the mistress of the Prince of Conti, in a letter to Hume, expressing her high admiration of his ‘History of England,’ says, “Mais quelles expressions employerai-je pour vous faire connoître l’effet que produit sur moi votre divine impartialité? J’avois besoin en cette occasion de votre propre éloquence, pour bien rendre ma pensée. En vérité, je crois avoir devant les yeux l’ouvrage de quelque substance céleste, dégagé des passions, qui pour l’utilité a daigné écrire les événements de ces derniers tems.” This compliment Hume accepts, with the modest qualification, “Perhaps your esteem for the entire impartiality which I aim at, and which, to tell the truth, is so unusual in English historians, has made your ladyship overlook many defects, into which the want of art or genius has betrayed me.”

appreciated by considering the low estate in which history was, and how its office was accounted, at the period when he wrote. It is, in fact, only within the last forty years that history has risen to the rank and dignity of a science. In Hume's days, the work of the historian was regarded as little more than that of plodding compilation, and trustworthy collation. Though Vico had lived and written the '*Scienza Nuova*,' the science was still so new that Dr Johnson's *dictum* truly represented the then popular estimate of the historic faculty. "Great abilities" so runs the oracle, "are not requisite for an historian; for, in historical composition all the greatest powers of the mind are quiescent. He has facts ready to his hand; so there is no exercise of invention. Imagination is not required in any high degree: only about as much as is used in the lower kinds of poetry. Some penetration, accuracy, and colouring will fit a man for the task, if he can give the application which is necessary." It does not appear that Hume himself had formed a much higher ideal of the function of the historian. He seems indeed to have taken up history as an easy task, and as a relaxation from the severer pursuits of philosophical inquiry. The desire to turn to some account the stores of information furnished by the library of the Faculty of Advocates, of which he had been appointed keeper, had apparently no inconsiderable share in prompting him to the work. We would not instance, as an evidence of such light appreciation of the high calling of the historian, the rapidity with which the first volume of the '*History of England*' was composed, for genius and industry can overleap the barriers of time. But the fact is not without its significance, when we find him writing to his friend Adam Smith:—

"I signed, yesterday, an agreement with Mr. Millar; where I mention that I proposed to write the *History of England*, from the beginning till the accession of Henry VII; and he engages to give me 1,400*l.* for the copy. This is the first previous agreement ever I made with a bookseller. I shall execute this work at leisure, without fatiguing myself by such ardent application as I have hitherto employed. It is chiefly as a resource against idleness that I shall undertake this work; for, as to money, I have enough; and as to reputation, what I have wrote already will be sufficient, if it be good; if not, it is not likely I shall now write better."

Not thus does the spirit of the philosophical historian express itself. When Hume wrote history, the philosopher and he parted company. He does not, indeed, seem to have rested his fame on his exertions in this department. In the delightful memoir of his "own life," which would be faultless but for its brevity, he speaks of his '*Inquiry concerning the Principles of*

Morals,' as being, "in my own opinion, of all my writings, historical, philosophical, or literary, incomparably the best." Hume has, however, undoubtedly the merit of giving to history a wider range and more comprehensive sympathies than are traceable in the works of his historic predecessors. He was right in saying that, before he wrote there existed no History of England; but it is more than questionable how far his labours have supplied the *desideratum*. That he brought strong prejudices to the task admits not of a doubt. Not to speak of his political preferences and aversions, the point of view from which he regarded all manifestations of the religious sentiment forced him to contemplate many of the most pregnant events in the history of the human race through a false and distorting medium. All sympathies and emotions transcending the range of his own susceptibilities, Hume considered as abnormal and morbid, as indicating the unhealthy and over-excited action of the imaginative powers. Throughout his History he uses the term "enthusiast" as synonymous with "religionist," and, without the seeming consciousness of implying a reproach, speaks of the Independents and Presbyterians as "fanatics," and characterises the religion of the Roman Church as "the Catholic superstition." Here, it must be confessed, Hume fails to manifest the spirit of philosophy. He commits the grave error of making his own experience the standard of the experience of others;—a principle, by extending which beyond the domain of religion, he would have been equally warranted in pronouncing the raptures excited by the gratification of the musical faculty as but the product of a diseased imagination, on the ground that he himself did not possess an ear impressible by the concord of sweet sounds.

To say that Hume was without religion (unless we commit the solecism of limiting the meaning of that term to "the practice of morality and the assent of the understanding to the proposition *that God exists*"), is only to repeat, in a more qualified form, the statement we have already made of the feeble development in his nature of the sentimental and emotional elements of humanity. In a mind constituted like his, we should no more look to find religious sensibility than we should expect the powers of criticism to be fully developed in an individual of small intellectual endowments. Mr Burton's researches have brought to light a most interesting letter from Hume to Baron Mure, in which the philosopher (in criticising a sermon by Dr Leechman) gives the following exposition of his sentiments on religion, thrown out by way of an objection to devotion and prayer, and accompanied by the expression of a wish that the Doctor would answer it in a second edition:—

"It must be acknowledged, that nature has given us a strong passion of admiration for whatever is excellent, and of love and gratitude for whatever is benevolent and beneficial; and that the Deity possesses these attributes in the highest perfection; and yet I assert, he is not the natural object of any passion or affection. He is no object either of the senses or imagination, and very little of the understanding, without which it is impossible to excite any affection. A remote ancestor, who has left us estates and honours acquired with virtue, is a great benefactor; and yet it is impossible to bear him any affection, because unknown to us: though in general we know him to be a man or a human creature, which brings him vastly nearer our comprehension than an invisible, infinite spirit. A man, therefore, may have his heart perfectly well disposed towards every proper and natural object of affection—friends, benefactors, country, children, &c.—and yet, from this circumstance of the invisibility and incomprehensibility of the Deity, may feel no affection towards him. And, indeed, I am afraid that all enthusiasts mightily deceive themselves. Hope and fear perhaps agitate their breasts when they think of the Deity; or they degrade him into a resemblance with themselves, and by that means render him more comprehensible. Or they exult with vanity in esteeming themselves his peculiar favourites; or, at best, they are actuated by a forced and strained affection, which moves by starts and bounds, and with a very irregular, disorderly pace. Such an affection cannot be required of any man as his duty. Please to observe, that I not only exclude the turbulent passions, but the calm affections. Neither of them can operate without the assistance of the senses and imagination; or at least a more complete knowledge of the object than we have of the Deity. In most men this is the case; and a natural infirmity can never be a crime. But, secondly, were devotion never so much admitted prayer must still be excluded. First, the addressing of our virtuous wishes and desires to the Deity, since the address has no influence on him, is only a kind of rhetorical figure, in order to render these wishes more ardent and passionate. This is Mr Leechman's doctrine. Now, the use of any figure of speech can never be a duty. Secondly, this figure, like most figures of rhetoric, has an evident impropriety in it; for we can make use of no expression, or even thought, in prayers and entreaties, which does not imply that these prayers have an influence. Thirdly, this figure is very dangerous, and leads directly, and even unavoidably, to impiety and blasphemy. 'Tis a natural infirmity of men to imagine that their prayers have a direct influence: and this infirmity must be extremely fostered and encouraged by the constant use of prayer. Thus, all wise men have excluded the use of images and pictures in prayer, though they certainly enliven devotion; because 'tis found by experience that, with the vulgar, these visible representations draw too much towards them, and become the only objects of devotion."

Mixing freely, as Hume did, in familiar and friendly inter-

course with some of the most distinguished members of the Scottish metropolitan clergy, it is to be supposed that he must have occasionally encountered the solicitations of the proselytizing spirit; a spirit which, in very many, if not in most instances, but expresses the natural anxiety that those who are the objects of our affections should be the sharers of our hopes. There is, however, a class of believers, with whom other people's conversion is necessary to help their own conviction. The weakness of their own spiritual persuasions is always seeking support from the faith of others, the absence of which support they resent with an emotion of anger that would seem to imply the apprehension that the objective existence of things unseen was somehow contingent on human assent. The realities of the future world they appear to treat as a question to be decided by the majority; and murmur at the dissent of every heretic as a vote lost. It was the impertinent catechizings of some petulant persons of this class that Göthe is reported to have cut short with the observation, that "he had no objection whatever to enter into another state of existence, but prayed only that he might be spared the honour of meeting any of those there, who had believed it here; for, if he did, the saints would flock around him on all sides, exclaiming, Were we not in the right? Did we not tell you so? Has it not turned out just as we said? And with such a conceited clatter in his ears, he thought that, before the end of six months, he might die of ennui in heaven itself." Without wishing to infer that Dr Blair belonged to this order of weak-minded but well-meaning individuals, we note that Hume's impenetrability to friendly suasion on the subject of religion occasionally stirred the Doctor's spirit at least as much to anger as to sorrow, and Hume writes, begging that, in their intercourse, the question may be avoided. In the letter from which we have quoted above, relative to Dr Campbell's sermon, he says—

"Having said so much to your friend, who is certainly a very ingenious man, though a little too zealous for a philosopher, permit me also the freedom of saying a word to yourself. Whenever I have had the pleasure to be in your company, if the discourse turned upon any common subject of literature or reasoning, I always parted from you both entertained and instructed. But when the conversation was diverted by you from this channel towards the subject of your profession, though I doubt not but your intentions were very friendly towards me, I own I never received the same satisfaction; I was apt to be tired, and you to be angry. I would therefore wish, for the future, whenever my good fortune throws me in your way, that these topics should be forborne between us. I have long since done with all inquiries on such subjects, and am become incapable of instruction; though I own no one is more capable of conveying it than yourself."

The high talents for business, and the assiduity in its performance shown by Hume, in the character first of *attaché*, and afterwards of secretary to Lord Hertford's legation to the French Court, won for him the attachment and esteem of the ambassador. In this sphere of action he was enabled to afford a practical refutation of what he called "the ancient prejudice industriously propagated by the dunces in all countries, that a man of genius is unfit for business." The reception which he experienced from the highest circles of Parisian society was most enthusiastic. During his residence at Paris he was "the observed of all observers." The homage due to letters and philosophy was then and there universally recognised: literary renown was a passport to the most exclusive *coteries*; and the consideration paid to his secretary's genius was no mean aid to Lord Hertford's diplomacy. So high was the regard in which our philosopher was held, that we find even members of the Scottish aristocracy, who at home would have looked upon him either with undisguised contempt or condescending kindness, courting his favour and regard as the means of establishing a footing for themselves in societies where his supremacy was unhesitatingly acknowledged. Thus Blair writes to Hume:—

"This letter will be presented to you by Colonel L——, brother to the Earl of L——; who, going on a trip to Paris, is very ambitious of being introduced to your acquaintance. You will find him a very honourable, good-natured, well-behaved young man, of an amiable disposition and character. As I have been much connected with the L—— family, who were my first patrons in the ecclesiastical way, I was very glad to have it in my power to do them this favour at their desire; and will reckon myself much obliged to you for any civilities you show the Colonel."

In Hume's answer, we think we can trace a soreness of feeling in regard to the social position of literary men in Britain, not unminged with secret triumph that the circles of Parisian society open to him were shut against the Scottish aristocrat, who had only the title of high birth to recommend him. He says,—

"Before I was favoured with yours, I had seen Colonel L——, who waited on me, as is usual with the British, who come to Paris. I returned his visit, and introduced him to the ambassador, who asked him to dinner among seven or eight of his countrymen. You will be surprised, perhaps, when I tell you that this is the utmost of the civilities which it will ever be possible for me to show Mr L——. For as to the ridiculous idea of foreigners, that I might introduce him to the good company of Paris, nothing can be more impracticable. I know not one family to which I could present such a man, silent, grave, awkward, speaking ill the language, not distinguished

by any exploit, or science, or art. Were the French houses open to such people as these, they would be very little agreeable, considering the immense concourse of strangers to this place. But it is quite otherwise. The people are more scrupulous of receiving persons unknown, and I should soon lose all credit with them were I to prostitute my recommendations of this nature. Your recommendations have great weight with me; but, if I am not mistaken, I have often seen Colonel L——'s face in Edinburgh. It is a little late he has bethought himself of being *ambitious*, as you say, of being introduced to my acquaintance. The only favour I can do him, is to advise him, as soon as he has seen Paris, to go to a provincial town where people are less shy of admitting new acquaintances and are less delicate judges of behaviour. It is almost out of the memory of man, that any British has been here on a footing of familiarity with the good company except my Lord Holderness, who had a good stock of acquaintance to begin with, speaks the language like a native, has very insinuating manners, was presented under the character of an old secretary of state, and spent, as is said, 10,000*l.* this winter, to obtain that object of vanity. Him, indeed, I met everywhere in the best company; but as to others—lords, earls, marquises, and dukes—they went about to plays, operas, and —. Nobody minded them; they kept company with one another; and it would have been ridiculous to think of bringing them into French company. I may add General Clarke, who was liked and esteemed by several people of merit, which he owed to his great cleverness and ingenuity, and to his surprising courage in introducing himself. I enter into this detail with you, that people, with whom I am much more connected than with the L. family, may not, at any time, be surprised that I am able to do so little for them in this way, and may not form false ideas of the hospitality of the French nation. But I fancy there will not arrive at Paris many people who will have great claims of past civilities to plead with me."

Hume, though he had little sympathy with the bigotry of scepticism which then characterized the *littérati* of France, mixed freely in their society. The dry humour with which he endeavours to set Dr Blair's mind at rest on the subject of their orthodoxy, is amusing:—

"The men of letters here are really very agreeable: all of them men of the world, living in entire, or almost entire, harmony among themselves, and quite irreproachable in their morals. It would give you, and Jardine, and Robertson, great satisfaction to find that there is not a single deist among them. Those whose persons and conversation I like best are D'Alembert, Buffon, Marmontel, Diderot, Duclos, Helvetius, and old President Henault, who, though now decaying, retains that amiable character which made him once the delight of all France. He had always the best cook and the best company in Paris. But though I know you will laugh at me,

as they do, I must confess that I am more carried away from their society than I should be, by the great ladies, with whom I became acquainted at my first introduction to court, and whom my connexion with the English ambassador will not allow me entirely to drop."

Jean Jacques Rousseau was at this time an exile and a fugitive from France. The publication of his 'Emile' had excited the intolerance of the clergy, who succeeded in obtaining a writ of *prise de corps* against him. To avoid arrest, he had sought refuge at the Swiss Canton of Neuchâtel. Hume's friend, the Earl Marischal, who had been exiled from Scotland for his share in the rebellion of 1715, and had entered the service of Frederick the Great, was then governor of the place. The earl was one who needed not the experience of the misfortunes which had been his lot to teach him to succour the miseries of others; and he not only extended his protection to Rousseau, but with a generous promptitude superadded every aid that the most considerate kindness could suggest. These friendly offices, however, could not prevent the unhappy wanderer from being driven from Neuchâtel by the "persecutions," real or imaginary, which constituted the element in which he lived and moved. Leaving Neuchâtel, he found a temporary asylum first at Motiers Travers, a village in one of the Jura Passes, and subsequently on the Isle of St Pierre in the Lake of Bienné. He afterwards removed to Strasburg, where he seems to have been hesitating about finally taking up his abode in Prussia or Great Britain, when the receipt of a letter from Hume, to whose attentions he had been commended by the Earl Marischal and Madame de Boufflers, offering to procure him a retreat in England, brought him to Paris. It was there arranged that he should proceed to England in company with Hume, who was then about to return thither, in consequence of Lord Hertford's recall. Two natures more opposed than those of Hume and Rousseau it would be difficult to imagine; and it is curious to trace the circumstances under which they were most powerfully attracted only to be most violently repelled. Hume's first impressions of Rousseau are fortunately recorded in a letter to Blair, for which we are again indebted to the redeeming hand of Mr Burton. It is too long for quotation. We subjoin an extract:—

"It is impossible to express or imagine the enthusiasm of this nation in his (Rousseau's) favour. As I am supposed to have him in my custody, all the world, especially the great ladies, tease me to be introduced to him. I have had rouleaus thrust into my hand, with earnest applications that I would prevail on him to accept of them. I am persuaded that, were I to open here a subscription

with his consent, I should receive £50,000 in a fortnight. The second day after his arrival, he slipped out early in the morning to take a walk in the Luxembourg gardens. The thing was known soon after. I am strongly solicited to prevail on him to take another walk, and then to give warning to my friends. Were the public to be informed, he could not fail to have many thousand spectators. People may talk of ancient Greece as they please; but no nation was ever so fond of genius as this, and no person ever so much engaged their attention as Rousseau. Voltaire and every body else are quite eclipsed by him.

"I am sensible that my connexions with him add to my importance at present. Even his maid, La Vasseur, who is very homely and very awkward, is more talked of than the Princess of Morocco, or the Countess of Egmont, on account of her fidelity and attachment towards him. His very dog, who is no better than a collie, has a name and reputation in the world. As to my intercourse with him, I find him mild, and gentle, and modest, and good-humoured; and he has more the behaviour of a man of the world than any of the learned here, except M. de Buffon, who, in his figure, and air, and deportment, answers your idea of a *marechal* of France, rather than that of a philosopher. M. Rousseau is of a small stature, and would rather be ugly, had he not the finest physiognomy in the world: I mean the most expressive countenance. His modesty seems not to be good manners, but ignorance of his own excellence. As he writes, and speaks, and acts, from the impulse of genius, more than from the use of his ordinary faculties, it is very likely that he forgets its force whenever it is laid asleep. I am well assured that at times he believes he has inspirations from an immediate communication with the divinity. He falls sometimes into ecstasies, which retain him in the same posture for hours together. Does not this example solve the difficulty of Socrates' genius, and of his ecstasies? I think Rousseau in many things very much resembles Socrates. The philosopher of Geneva seems only to have more genius than he of Athens, who never wrote anything, and less sociableness and temper. Both of them were of very amorous complexions; but a comparison in this particular turns out much to the advantage of my friend. I call him such, for I hear, from all hands, that his judgment and affections are as strongly biassed in my favour as mine are in his. I shall much regret leaving him in England; but even if a pardon could be procured for him here, he is resolved, as he tells me, never to return, because he never will again be in the power of any man. I wish he may live unmolested in England. I dread the bigotry and barbarism which prevail there.

"When he came to Paris, he seemed resolved to stay till the 6th or 7th of next month. But at present the concourse about him gives him so much uneasiness that he expresses the utmost impatience to be gone. Many people here will have it that this solitary humour is all affectation, in order to be more sought after; but I

am sure that it is natural and unsurmountable. I know that two very agreeable ladies, breaking in upon him, discomposed him so much that he was not able to eat his dinner afterwards. He is shortsighted; and I have often observed, that, while he was conversing with me in the utmost good humour (for he is naturally gay), if he heard the door open, the greatest agony appeared on his countenance, from the apprehension of a visit; and his distress did not leave him, unless the person was a particular friend."

On arriving in England Hume purposed placing Rousseau and the companion of his flight, Thérèse la Vasseur (a woman whose extraordinary ascendancy over Rousseau, considering her utter destitution of every attractive quality, either of mind or person, constitutes a most remarkable moral phenomenon), at board with a French gardener at Fulham. Mr Davenport, a gentleman of fortune in the north of England, kindly interposed, however, with an offer to the philosopher of Geneva of a residence in his country mansion in Derbyshire, which he seldom visited, but where he kept up an establishment of servants. To this place Rousseau accordingly retired, Mr Davenport considerably agreeing to accept from him a board of 30*l.* a year, to reconcile the act of favour to his feelings of independence. In a letter to Blair, Hume, in recounting this change of plan, gives a sketch of the character and temperament of Rousseau, so delicate and discriminating, that its probable familiarity to most of our readers does not deter us from extracting it:—

"He was desperately resolved to rush into this solitude, notwithstanding all my remonstrances; and I foresee that he will be unhappy in that situation, as he has indeed been always in all situations. He will be entirely without occupation, without company, and almost without amusement of any kind. He has read very little during the course of his life, and has now totally renounced all reading. He has seen very little; and has no manner of curiosity to see or remark. He has reflected, properly speaking, and studied very little; and has not indeed much knowledge: he has only *felt* during the whole course of his life; and in this respect his sensibility rises to a pitch beyond what I have seen any example of; but it still gives him a more acute feeling of pain than of pleasure. He is like a man who was stript not only of his clothes but of his skin, and turned out in that situation to combat with the rude and boisterous elements such as perpetually disturb this lower world."

It was in the solitude of this chosen retreat that the "thick-coming fancies" of the "lonely man whose life was a long soliloquy" burst forth in passionate crimination of one of the truest friends whom his wayward humour ever alienated. Mr Burton's researches throw no additional light on the world-famous quarrel between Hume and Rousseau. We could have wished that

Hume had not given to it the publicity which it enjoys. He would have acted a wiser and a nobler part by conforming to the advice of his friend Adam Smith than by yielding to the suggestions of a literary clique at Paris, anxious only for the exposure of Rousseau, by the publication of the correspondence. Of Rousseau's conduct there can be but one judgment. His long letter is but the raving of suspicion stung to madness; his demonstration of the faithlessness of his friend but an aggregation, to use the words of Turgot, of "*sophismes dont une imagination se sert pour empoisonner les circonstances les plus simples et les transformer au gré de la manie qui l'occupe.*" Because Hume had exclaimed in his sleep "*Je tiens Jean Jacques Rousseau*" (a fact, by the way, which the former did not dispute, though he doubted of its being his custom to dream in French), and had one evening after supper partially magnetised him with a too intent gaze, Hume must be in league with Parisian plotters to betray and ruin him. We can readily find an apology for the vehemence of indignation with which Hume pronounces him, on first breaking the matter to Blair, "the blackest and most atrocious villain, beyond comparison, that now exists in the world." But Hume's biographer has not the same "motive and cue for passion;" and we should have been better pleased to observe in Mr Burton a more tempered zeal for the cause of "*le bon David.*" The resurrection of Voltaire's buried *sobriquet* might have satisfied offended justice, without any laboured exposition of the "mordacity" and "black ingratitude" of Rousseau, and of the "deadly injury" which he sought to inflict on Hume. Hume had himself forgotten and forgiven; and most creditable is it to his manly character that his humane feelings and kindly services were not exhausted even by the thanklessness of their object.

In the department of political economy Hume was the *collaborateur* of his friend Adam Smith, to the publication of whose "*Wealth of Nations*" he looked forward with intense interest and the appearance of which, a few months before his death, he thus hails:—

"EUGE! BELLE! DEAR MR SMITH,—I am much pleased with your performance; and the perusal of it has taken me from a state of great anxiety. It was a work of so much expectation, by yourself, by your friends, and by the public, that I trembled for its appearance, but am now much relieved. Not but that the reading of it necessarily requires so much attention, and the public is disposed to give so little, that I shall still doubt for some time as to its being at first very popular. But it has depth, and solidity, and acuteness, and is so much illustrated by curious facts, that it must at last take the public attention."

The letter, from which the above quotation is made, is dated 1st April 1776, when the disease under which Hume had been long labouring was beginning to assume an alarming aspect. He affectionately asks his friend to visit him, that they might together discuss the topics of the work, adding: "I hope it will be soon; for I am in a very bad state of health, and cannot afford a long delay."

The last letter Hume ever penned was to Madame de Bouffleurs, to whom, only five days before his death, he writes:—

"Edinburgh, 20th of August, 1776.

"Though I am certainly within a few weeks, dear madam, and, perhaps, within a few days of my own death, I could not forbear being struck with the death of the Prince of Conti, so great a loss in every particular. My reflection carried me immediately to your situation in this melancholy incident. What a difference to you in your whole plan of life! Pray write me some particulars; but in such terms that you need not care, in case of decease, into whose hands your letter may fall.

"My distemper is a diarrhœa, or disorder in my bowels, which has been gradually undermining me these two years; but, within these six months, has been visibly hastening me to my end. I see death approach gradually, without any anxiety or regret. I salute you, with great affection and regard, for the last time."

A peaceful death closed a peaceful life; and Hume rested from his toils, with the pleasing satisfaction that he left the world wiser and better than he found it, and in full confidence that the coming ranks of humanity would bear grateful testimony that he had, in his day and generation, been a not altogether useless or unprofitable workman in rearing that edifice of Truth to whose structure it is the rare privilege of even a master-builder to bring more than a single stone. The doubts of a wise man are a more precious legacy than the convictions of a fool; and that philosophy will not end in truth which does not begin in scepticism. True purpose is ample atonement for false opinion; and tentative effort, though baffled, is worthy to wear the palm. Hume doubted, that others might believe; and they who are truest to their faith will most honour him for being true to his doubts. He has done his work; and we have entered into his labours. Many were the fields of his endeavour; and in all he has either plucked up a weed of error, or planted a seed of truth. The chaff-grains that he may have heedlessly sown will not grow up; and the true plants, whose roots he may have sought with too incautious touch to disturb, continue still to bless the soil. Forgetting the metaphysician and historian, and remembering only

the wise political economist,—the proto-prophet and preacher of principles to which this nation has just set its seal,—we may, with Mr. Burton, conclude that “to be the first to teach that the earth is not doomed to the eternal curse of rivalry and strife, and to open up so wide a prospect of beneficence, may be an atonement for many errors, and in the eye of good taste may justify the brief assumption of conscious superiority, in which the subject of this memoir indulged, when he desired that the inscription on his monument should contain only his name, with the year of his birth and of his death, *leaving it to posterity to add the rest.*”

R. N.

ART. VI.—1. *The Practice of the Water Cure, with authenticated Evidence of its Efficacy and Safety.* By James Wilson, M.D. 8vo. London: Baillière, 1844.

2. *The Dangers of the Water Cure, and its Efficacy examined.* By James Wilson, M.D., and James M. Gully, M.D. 12mo. London: Cunningham, 1843.

3. *Life at the Water Cure; or, a Month at Malvern: a Diary.* By R. J. Lane, A.R.A., with numerous illustrations; to which is added the Sequel. 8vo. London: Longman, 1846.

4. *Confession of a Water Patient.* In a letter to W. H. Ainsworth, Esq., Editor of the ‘New Monthly Magazine.’ By Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, Bart. 12mo. London: Colburn, 1846.

5. *The Handbook of Hydropathy, for professional and domestic Use; with an Appendix on the best Method of forming Hydropathic Establishments.* By Dr. J. Weiss. Second Edition. 8vo. Madden, 1844

THAT which is called Hydropathy by doctors, and the Cold Water Cure by ordinary men, has recently attracted much attention throughout Europe; and many establishments have been formed in this country and on the Continent for the application of it, within the last few years. As it may be explained, to a considerable degree, in a popular manner, we propose to state briefly what it is, reserving an examination of its merits as a cure until fuller experience has been obtained of its efficacy.

Cold water has a dreary sound to the invalid; he shudders at the proposal to make use of it. The robust will put up with it, perhaps, for washing, but often treat it as little short of poison, if

permitted to enter the stomach. How, they ask, can such a diluent be resorted to by any one above the savage or the half-crazed eccentric, when those potent brethren, ale and porter, the brilliant and numerous family of the wines, and the immortal trio, gin, rum, and brandy, are in existence; not to mention tea and coffee, which may be very well for women and children, but are to be used discreetly by the manly heart? Men, Englishmen too, have been heard of, who do not know the taste of porter. This cannot be credited; though it may be readily believed that many are quite ignorant of the taste of water.

And who was it, they ask, that started this whim of unceasing water-bibbing, and water-scrubbing? No Briton, you may be sure; for though Britannia rules the waves, she never dreamt of drinking them, nor proposed the enormity to any of her sons, save in single pints as a punishment for nautic misdeeds. It was no Briton, they repeat; no one above a German peasant could convert the throat divine into a common gutter.

Such are a few of the obstacles which meet the new remedy in this country; a remedy which prescribes a copious exhibition of the frigid stream, obdurately refusing to allow it to be corrected by a drop of French or even British spirit.

Priessnitz, the inventor of hydropathy, is the son of a small farmer, in the hilly district of Gräfenberg, near Freiwalldau, in Austrian Silesia, where in youth he followed his father's calling. Accidentally noticing the effects of water on burns, &c., he appears to have tried it on his neighbours, for slight ailments, with success. At this period, a waggon went over him, from which he received such severe injuries that his life was despaired of by the village practitioners. He then resolved to try his own plan; and recovered speedily. From this circumstance his fame rapidly extended, and many persons flocked to him for advice, with whom his success was considerable. He now set up as a regular practitioner, confining his medicine to the single ingredient which had cured himself, and discovering the processes, and their effects on diseases, gradually, by repeated experiment. Success of every kind continued to attend him. Invalids of every rank flocked to his bleak abode. Year by year their number increased, and it is now very great in his own village, independently of those in the neighbouring town of Freiwalldau whom he visits, and in the establishments of his disciples in England, France, and Germany. He has attained wealth and consideration, but neither seems to influence him. He still goes on, looking not to the right or left; neither attacking others nor defending himself; but labouring more and more unremittingly in his calling, as if that were the one single thing he had to do upon this earth. Dr Wilson, who

resided a considerable time at Gräfenberg, states, "that he is engaged from six in the morning until ten at night, and has barely had a day's relaxation for twenty years."—*'The Practice,' &c., p. 63.*

Such is an outline of the history of one who is variously characterized as a mischievous quack; a mere empiric; a man of strong natural talent, who, partly by chance, partly by well-directed experiment, has succeeded in discovering a powerful remedial agent, which he has had the skill and perseverance to bring into extensive use.

Among his followers are many regularly educated men, whose respect for his talents, though great, is not unlimited. Their opinion of him is probably similar to that expressed by Dr James Wilson, who first introduced hydropathy into this country:—

"Although he has gone on improving his practice from year to year, and has the advantages arising from long experience, he still sometimes commits palpable mistakes. His knowledge of the effects that can be produced by water is very great, and his general notions about health and disease are very good; but from the want of elementary knowledge and a medical education, his ideas on many highly important points are crude, and necessarily lead to some errors. On the other hand, had he enjoyed these advantages, there is every probability that he never would have brought the water cure to the state of perfection it has attained; at every step he would have been drawn aside by long formed habits of thought and practice, and found not a few puzzling prejudices to contend with. He never feels the pulse, or looks at the tongue, nor does he understand the valuable modes we now possess of examining the heart and lungs: he is also deficient in his knowledge of the diseased states of the brain. His diagnosis is therefore not accurate, and the medical observer at Gräfenberg will not fail to meet with some cases where it will strike him that Priessnitz would act differently if he understood these things, and avoid occurrences, from some of which I have seen him greatly distressed. He, however, does wonders, with his great powers of observation."—*'The Practice,' &c., p. 56.*

The water-cure processes, strictly so called, may be stated to consist of—

1. Water drinking.
2. Bathing, wholly or partially.
3. Covering up, and bandaging with wet cloths.
4. Friction, with wet and dry cloths.
5. Sweating.

Several of these are usually adopted at the same stage; and they are all subject to various modifications suggested by the condition of the patient.

Priessnitz, however, maintains that pure mountain air, and as much exercise in it as the strength will bear, are as essential parts of his system as pure water. He also enjoins attention to diet, and forbids the use of wine, beer, and spirits. Coffee and cocoa are under his ban; and tea is not recommended. Water, or milk and water, are the sole drinks. During the operation of his processes, anxiety and mental labour are, as far as possible, to be avoided.

It may be said that, in many incipient disorders, and in cases of general uneasiness arising from too much work and anxiety, too little exercise, too much stimulating food and drink, and too much medicine, all taken in the impure air of a large city, the mere suspension of work and care for a month or six weeks, great attention to diet, and constant exercise in pure air, would effect a cure in most instances, without the necessity of attributing it to the water treatment. This is true, no doubt. But the cases in question must receive advantage from bathing and external friction, by which the skin is incited to act vigorously and throw out impurities from the system. This, we apprehend, will generally be allowed, whatever opinion may be entertained of the water treatment in positive and long standing diseases.

We shall now describe briefly the peculiar processes of the water system, which, as we have said, are used singly or conjointly, and variously modified, to meet peculiar cases. For delicate persons, the water of the baths is warmed at first, and gradually cooled, as the patient becomes capable of bearing it: in some cases warm or hot baths and applications are used: indeed, in all cases, the processes, when performed under judicious superintendence, are commenced gently and increased cautiously, according to the state of the patient's health.

WATER DRINKING.—The drinking of very pure spring water is enjoined both at meals and at times when it will not interfere with the digestion, especially during exercise before breakfast. The quantity is regulated by the state of the patient, who commences with a small dose. This practice is supposed to clear and give tone to the stomach, to check inflammation generally, to promote the action of the bowels and intestines, and to throw out impurities by increasing perspiration.

THE SHALLOW BATH is a large bath of the ordinary form, with a depth of water of only ten or twelve inches. This is the bath most commonly used, being considered preferable to deeper baths. It is generally used cold, but may be required tepid or even hot. The patient sits in it from two till ten minutes, rubbing himself well, and being rubbed by an attendant, and having water poured over the head when necessary. He is then

enveloped in a dry sheet, and dried as quickly as possible. This bath may be used alone, or after sweating, or the packing sheet,—processes described afterwards.

THE SITZ or HIP BATH is very extensively used in the water treatment. The patient sits in cold water from five to fifteen minutes, and rubs the stomach (which is just above the water) with his wetted hand. It is used tepid at the commencement in delicate cases. It is said to act as a tonic on the lower parts, when taken for short periods. Used for longer periods it is represented to be of great service in removing congestion and obstruction, constipation, and various nervous complaints.

THE WET SHEET BATH is merely a sheet wrung out in cold water and thrown over the patient, who is well rubbed with it, and then dried rapidly in a dry sheet. This very gentle mode of bathing may be employed when the shallow bath could not be used. It is considered preferable to all other kinds of washing, as the body is less exposed. If frequently used, it becomes a powerful stimulant and tonic.

THE FOOT BATH is very shallow, and the feet are to be constantly rubbed against each other in it. It is much used in inflammatory states of the upper parts of the body, and as a cure for cold feet.

Various local baths are also employed, as head baths, elbow baths, &c., as well as the full cold, tepid, and hot baths.

THE DOUCHE BATH consists of a column of water descending from a height of ten feet or more, and is received by the patient on different parts of the body, but not on the head or stomach. It is an old and powerful remedy, requiring to be used with much caution, and where strong tonic effects are desired.

WET SHEET PACKING.—A linen sheet is dipped in water, well wrung out, and placed on a mattress over several blankets. The patient lies on it, and it is rolled round him; the blankets are rolled round him over that; and a feather bed is placed over all. As no heat can escape, the patient feels comfortably warm in two or three minutes, being in a sort of self-formed vapour bath. He remains packed up like a mummy for from half-an-hour to an hour, and then is rubbed in the shallow bath, or with the wet sheet, to give tone to the skin. In some cases the full cold bath or douche bath is used afterwards. This is considered the most important of Priessnitz's discoveries, and is of essential use in the water treatment. It is highly extolled by the practitioners, being compared to a poultice over the whole body. It is stated to be of extraordinary power in allaying irritation, a potent remedy in fever and inflammation (including most of the diseases of children), without causing loss of strength;

and of great efficacy in freeing the system from impurities, and promoting the healthy action of the skin. In some cases it is applied to the stomach only, or to the chest; and in extraordinary cases it may be used tepid or warm.

BANDAGES.—Most of the patients at the water-cure establishments wear constantly a wet bandage called a compress, four or five inches wide, round the stomach. It is formed of several folds of coarse linen, wrung out in water, and prevented from evaporating by an outer covering of Mackintosh cloth. It is a warm bandage, and is considered to have a very beneficial effect on the digestion. This compress may likewise be applied to the chest, throat, joints, &c. Cold wet bandages, in which the water evaporates and produces coolness, are used in inflamed parts, wounds, ulcers, and boils.

SWEATING.—The patient is packed in blankets with a feather bed above, and after sweating sufficiently, is quickly washed and rubbed in a shallow cold or tepid bath to produce a re-action; then dried thoroughly, and sent out for a walk. A more rapid and violent perspiration for extraordinary occasions is produced by seating the patient, undressed, on a wooden chair, under which a spirit lamp is placed, and extending several folds of blankets round him and the chair. These must be drawn tightly round the neck to prevent him from inhaling the heated air. This process is also immediately followed by the shallow bath, or rubbing with a wet sheet; and the plunge bath or douche bath are sometimes used, but not in delicate cases. By this process (which is very extensively used in the water cure) the system is excited to discharge impurities by the skin. It is alleged to be of great service in many disorders.

This is not the occasion, nor perhaps has the time yet come, for a correct appreciation of hydropathy. That it will perform all that its devotees expect is hardly to be credited; still less can we suppose, after the results that have been exhibited, that, as a medicament, it is wholly ineffective—merely acting on the imagination, like bread pills, when not carried too far; and doing mischief by chilling the enfeebled frame, when pursued beyond moderate bounds. In time it will probably be adopted as a branch of general therapeutics. Its professional advocates contend that it cannot be employed at the same time with ordinary medicines; and they neither try nor wish so to employ it. On this head we entertain doubts. Still, the system is so new, and so much remains to be known, that it would not be safe to hazard positive assertion on either side.

One of the disadvantages of hydropathy arises from the case

with which any one can imitate the processes after he has once seen them performed, although he may be thoroughly ignorant of the human frame, and the diseases to which it is subject, and equally ignorant of the cases in which any hydropathic process should or should not be applied. In this country, any ignorant speculator or adventurous bath servant, with sufficient credit to tenant a house and collect a few tin baths, can set up an hydropathic establishment. That much mischief will be done in this way, there can be no doubt: nor can there be a question that the genuine water-cure will get more discredit from the blunders of such quacks than from its own failures. On the Continent, according to Dr Wilson, there are nearly a hundred establishments, but no one is now permitted to form one without having received a medical education. Invalids who are inclined to submit to the water cure had therefore best look before they leap, and ascertain the qualifications of the parties into whose hands they place their lives.

The first work at the head of this article is a pamphlet by Dr Wilson, who suffered long from severe illness, which the first physicians failed to cure. Priessnitz succeeded; and Dr Wilson having remained long at Gräfenberg to complete his cure and study the system, eventually introduced hydropathy into this country. His pamphlet describes the system generally, and includes numerous cases and letters from patients.

The second work is the joint production of Drs Wilson and Gully, both regularly educated physicians, the latter well known in the profession before hydropathy was introduced. Each of them has an hydropathic establishment at Great Malvern. The object of their pamphlet is to remove the apprehensions often entertained, and diligently fostered in some quarters, of the dangers of hydropathy, and to explain the nature of the system.

The third work is a lively gossiping diary, kept by Mr R. J. Lane, the artist, during his residence at Dr Wilson's establishment last year, where he recovered his health after a long period of indisposition. It contains some lithographs and many wood engravings of the beautiful scenery of Malvern.

The fourth work is a eulogistic account of the water cure by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, who experienced great benefit from it, when all other remedies, pursued during several years, had failed to restore his health. The pamphlet was originally a magazine article, and it has been republished separately as a concise and popular account of the new system.

The fifth work is by Dr Weiss, who practised hydropathy with Priessnitz many years ago, and is one of its earliest and ablest

promoters. He was some time physician to the establishment at Sudbrook Park, near Richmond, and has recently returned to Germany. The book is a clear, systematic, and sensible exposition of the water cure.

Since the preceding article was written, Dr Gully has published a large and elaborate work on the Water Cure,* which is, we think, the best treatise on the subject that has yet appeared: though the size of the volume, and the attention required in reading a connected work, may render it less popular than several of the shorter treatises. Dr Gully is a good and practical writer, and as he has designed his book for the non-medical, as well as medical, reader, it contains nothing which the former may not comprehend. We are, however, disposed to consider, that if he had taken more pains with the composition, all that is said might have been as well said in less space.

We are unable to enter at present into a detailed examination of this work; but we may notice its leading principle, namely, that, as regards most disorders, if invalids would give up all habits that are unfavourable to health, and would confine themselves strictly to the quality and quantity of food, air, exercise, sleep, and clothing, that are most calculated to promote health in their respective cases, they would in time recover without treatment by medicine or hydropathy; but that hydropathy, by judiciously assisting nature, and abstaining from irritating the nervous system and digestive organs, hastens the cure materially; while the ordinary medical treatment is very liable to injure these organs, and to render the frame more liable than before to the recurrence of disease. He also maintains that hydropathy does not exempt its practitioners from the most careful study of the human frame and its disorders; for as much skill is required in administering its remedies as those of the ordinary description; and that an ignorant quack may do equal mischief whether he employ drugs or hydropathy. Part I of this work relates to chronic disease in general; its origin, progress, extension, and termination; and deduces from the facts given, that no disease becomes chronic unless the organs of nutrition are affected. Part II, which comprises more than half the volume, gives an account of particular chronic diseases; their pathology and symptoms; and the reasons for the water treatment applicable to each. Part III treats of the mode which the water cure operates; the details of that treatment; the rationale of each process and the circumstances which regulate its application.

We cannot close this paper without saying a word on two mcri-

* *The Water Cure in Chronic Disease: an Exposition of the Causes, Progress, and Terminations of various Chronic Diseases of the Digestive Organs, Lungs, Nerves, Limbs, and Skin; and of their Treatment by Water and other Hygienic Means.* By J. M. Gully, M.D., &c., 8vo. London: Churchill, 1846.

torious and readable books on the water cure by Dr E. Johnson* and Dr G. Balbirnie.† The former is a spirited work, displaying both knowledge and character on the part of the author; though we believe he is not held to be perfectly orthodox by the pure hydropathists, because he considers that medicines may be used advantageously in some cases in conjunction with the water cure. Dr Balbirnie's work contains much useful information for the non-medical reader. These treatises are much smaller and less elaborate than that of Dr Gully. Z.

- ART. VII.—1. *A Letter to the Lord Bishop of St David's.* By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D.; on the Means of rendering more efficient the Education of the People. Murray.
2. *Minutes of the Committee of Privy Council for Education.* Vols. I and II, for 1844.
3. *Dutch and German Schools.* By W. E. Hickson.† G. Luxford, Whitefriars street.
4. *The Elevation of the People; Moral, Instructional, and Social.* By the Rev. Thomas Milner, M.A. J. Snow.
5. *Equity without Compromise; or, Hints for the Construction of a just System of National Education.* By Edward Swaine. Snow.
6. *German University Education.* By W. C. Perry, Professor at Göttingen. Second Edition. Longman.

THOSE who have watched the progress of popular instruction during the last ten years will remember an article in the second publication of the 'Central Society of Education,' questioning the efficiency of the voluntary system, as applied to free schools. The article, which was entitled 'Schools for the Industrious Classes,' was subsequently extensively circulated as a

* 'Results of Hydropathy; or, Constipation not a Disease of the Bowels, and Indigestion not a Disease of the Stomach.' By Ed. Johnson, M.D. Simpkin, 1846.

† 'The Philosophy of the Water Cure.' By Dr J. Balbirnie. Bath: 1845.

‡ An account of the present state of education in Holland, Belgium, and the German States, with a view to the practical steps which should be taken for improving and extending the means of popular instruction in Great Britain and Ireland; reprinted from the 'Westminster Review' (price 1s. 6d.), with a supplement and plates.

pamphlet, and succeeded in awakening attention to the inadequacy of the means then adopted to the end proposed; without however making at the time many converts to the views of the author. It gave a great stimulus to the efforts of school committees, and led to some salutary improvements in modes of teaching, but raised a perfect storm of opposition, both among dissenters and Churchmen, to the Central Society of Education, which only subsided on the premature decease (from consumption) of its active-minded and benevolent secretary, B. F. Duppa, Esq., with whom the Society ceased to exist.

Tempora mutantur. We have lived to see Conservative statesmen quoting the doctrines of Adam Smith, as unanswerable truths, and high Churchmen not only renouncing their old exclusive claims to the education of the people, but borrowing arguments from the 'Westminster Review,' to prove the right of the State, and the duty of its interference, to provide for the children of the working classes a sound system of secular instruction, without distinction of sect or creed.

Upon this subject we find ourselves so fast overtaken by opinion, that it would scarcely be necessary to return to it (unless to offer our congratulations to the reader), but for a continued jealousy among dissenters of all interference, combined with a not unnatural distrust of the growing liberality of their old opponents, and a doubt on the minds of some members of the present administration whether it is yet safe to calculate upon popular support for a measure of national education, really founded upon sound and comprehensive principles, if one should be introduced the next session of parliament.

The latter doubt we may resolve in a few words. It is founded upon the mistaken policy of expediency, which has too frequently marred the best projects of Whig and Tory governments; in striking contrast to the earnest and uncompromising course of the anti-corn-law advocates, whose triumph has been that of singleness of purpose, and energy grappling with difficulties mere subtlety could never have overcome.

It is now too late to build any scheme of popular instruction upon public enthusiasm. The wisest measure of national education the minister can conceive will only be received by those who appreciate it as payment too long deferred of a just debt. It may hereafter be some personal satisfaction to Lord John Russell if he should achieve a great moral object, which his predecessors were unable to accomplish; but the gratitude of a people can hardly be deeply moved by the gift of the alphabet, fifteen years after the hopes excited by the Reform Bill, and a whole generation behind the rest of Europe. National education

will bring no gain to party ; but it may help better motives for well-doing, to remind our friends in office that to neglect the present opportunity of settling this question upon a right basis would embarrass their future position. The demand for popular instruction is no longer met with the cry of "The Church is in danger." The Church has ceased to be a stalking-horse for the designs of leading politicians. The great obstacle to an onward movement has been removed, and with it all reasonable apology for delay. But have we leaders equal to the occasion ? Is there no one to combat with and destroy ignorance but the ex-minister, who put down monopoly ? If so, on what grounds will the new cabinet rest their claims to present or future support. We have reason to believe that Sir Robert Peel was prepared to legislate for the education of the people, upon broad general principles ; and we feel assured that he will outbid his successors in statesmanship upon this question, should they determine upon some temporizing, half-and-half measure, which would leave, at his return to power, the whole subject open for reconsideration, and a final adjustment. Grant that Lord John Russell, in an attempt to legislate for education in a comprehensive spirit, might for the present fail. Would not failure be better than the success of temporary expedients unworthy of a minister, and which the next government would inevitably discard ? But what if the expedients should fail ? Is the new minister prepared to sacrifice both his reputation and his measures,—and is there less danger of defeat in a great struggle when we engage in it with timidity than with resolution ?

In the present case, if there be a want of courage, it will be shewn in a fear of offending not the enemies of education, but many of its sincere although ill-judging friends, who think the whole object is comprised in a slight extension of their own immediate sphere of usefulness. Educational societies have done much, and on this account it is somewhat beyond the powers of the committees and secretaries of these bodies to imagine a state of society which could well exist without them. According to them, all a minister has to do is to place in their hands more money, without inquiring too carefully into its application, and he need then give himself no further trouble about the local or central organization of schools, or the provision required for efficient teachers. This impression may be a very sincere and honest one, and as such we regard it. To magnify our calling is the common weakness ; but if the minister share it, and propose, as a patron of the British and Foreign School Society (hitherto, we cordially admit, one of our most valuable institutions), to build upon that, or some similar foundation, he will stumble at the very threshold of his

undertaking. A society is a rope of sand held together by the zeal of a small knot of individuals, often by the secretary alone, and the elements of which are ready to disperse at any moment upon a change of management. A grant in aid of schools helps voluntary subscriptions for the moment, but in the end extinguishes them. Charity is the creature of impulse, not of method, and impulse cannot be sustained when the need which excited it ceases to be urgent.

This should be well understood at the present moment, for the true policy to be adopted by the legislature hinges entirely upon it. Government may be misled (and we are apprehensive of such a result) by the apparent success which has attended the conditions upon which grants in aid of school-houses have been issued. It appears from the report of Mr Fletcher, that 9,759*l.* voted by the Treasury and Committee of Privy Council, for the erection of school-houses in connexion with the British and Foreign School Society, produced voluntary contributions to the amount of 24,853*l.*; the grants having been made contingent upon voluntary subscriptions in the ratio of about one to three. The money so raised furnishes Mr Baines of Leeds with an argument (although a shallow one) in favour of the voluntary system; but the fact merely illustrates the impulsive character of private benevolence. A large sum is easily obtained by an effort, and this has been again shown, and still more decidedly, by the National School Society; but the difficulty is to get the effort repeated; for it must be borne in mind that the cost of building a school-house is little or nothing as compared with its annual expenses, in the salaries of teachers and cost of implements of instruction, if the school is to be maintained through a series of years in a state of efficiency. We almost doubt whether this building of new school-houses has not been a misdirection of public attention. They look well in a landscape, and a traveller in passing them may reasonably assume that instruction is going on within; but we have sometimes seen more efficiency in Irish *hedge* schools than in some of these fine buildings; and the problem has never been how to find house-room for either teachers or pupils, but how to find teachers worth lodging, and when we have found them, how to supply them with food and clothing. New school-houses may be erected, but the large sum required for the maintenance year by year of efficient teachers throughout the country cannot be raised by annual subscriptions. Public meetings and the activity of canvassers may provide for the education of the thousands, but not of the millions. Other and less precarious resources must be found for *national* education. The necessity of a legal provision for popular instruction is the same as that

for the relief of destitution. It cannot be left to accident ; and the moral condition of the poor is not, in either case, to be raised by almsgiving.

To put this in a clear and forcible light was one of the objects of the paper to which we have referred ; and the argument has so much practical importance at the present moment, that it may be useful here to give the introductory passages in which it is comprised :—

“ Whatever may become of existing free schools (and we honour the motives of those by whom these schools are supported), the working classes ought not to be dependent for elementary instruction upon charity. The very act of sending a child to a charity school (and we call all schools charity schools supported by private benevolence) has a tendency to defeat one of the most important objects of education, namely, the cultivation of a spirit of self-reliance and independence. The charity-school system is a pauperizing system. It produces in the mind, first a painful sense of obligation. But this gradually wears away ; the poor become accustomed to the burden of favours, heaped upon them by the rich, and learn to stoop that the load may be increased ; the value of education ceases to be properly estimated, and the cottager at last adopts the notion that his would-be benefactors are really indebted to him for permitting his children to go to their school.

“ On the mind of children the effect is equally prejudicial. A child at a free school is continually reminded of the gratitude he owes to the ladies and gentlemen who have taken the trouble to provide for his education. When attending public worship, the same lesson is inculcated in charity sermons. At public dinners he is paraded round a room, and indulged with a glass of wine to drink the health of his benefactors. He is taught to sing hymns or odes in their praise ; and, perhaps, he is put into blue or green uniform, and compelled to wear a badge, to distinguish him from other children, and complete his degradation.

“ Thus the very first position in which he is placed in life is analogous to that of a beggar. He is made to feel that he is a receiver of alms, and learns to consider it no shame. The first spark of honest pride (if ever kindled in his breast) dies away within him ; the first exercise of his reasoning powers only leads him to discover that there are other means of getting through the world than by self-exertion, and he becomes a tame, spiritless, nerveless creature. Or, perhaps (for the system sometimes produces a species of reaction, which is equally mischievous), the severity of the discipline, and the pain and the weariness arising from the mechanical drudgery of an ill-conducted school, tempt him to break through all restraint, and to become a vagabond for life.

“ The pauperizing tendency of the present charity-school system, if it continue, will, by and by, render it necessary to bribe every

working man to send his children to school. The bribery principle is already extensively in operation, and is gradually destroying all the schools that have not recourse to the same expedient; good-natured people go round among the poor, inquiring why their children are not sent to school, and are told, it is because they have no shoes, or stockings, or decent clothes. A subscription is forthwith raised for a clothing fund; and the parents are informed that every child who attends school for a certain time, will be furnished with two pairs of shoes, two pairs of stockings, a hat, or cap, and a suit of clothes. Many schools have it not in their power to be liberal quite to this extent, and are obliged to confine their gift to one pair of shoes or a new bonnet once a year. Hence the poor are led to inquire, not which is the best school for their children, but which school will pay them best in this mode for their attendance.

"Were free schools established by government, or by the local authorities of every district, instead of owing their origin to private individuals or committees, education would no longer be considered in the light of either a favour conferred or received. The privilege of sending a child to school would be claimed as a right to which all would be entitled by the laws of their country, and the bribery system would cease with the interference of the often ill-judging friends of the poor.

"Another reason why elementary education should not be dependent upon charity is, that the system has a tendency to perpetuate the distinctions and dissensions of sects in religion. Private individuals cannot, like government, assume a neutral position. Every person attempting to set up a school for the gratuitous instruction of the children of the poor, is immediately identified as a Churchman, a Catholic, an Independent, a Baptist, a Quaker, a Unitarian, or as belonging to some one or other denomination. This leads to the supposition that his object is to propagate the religious opinions he entertains, and hence a disposition on the part of those who hold other sentiments to draw the children away, and to set up an opposition school.

"When a school is opened by Dissenters, the object is immediately supposed to be to alienate the minds of the children from the church, and a school is presently started by some equally zealous Churchman to draw children away from the chapel. Catholics view with jealousy and alarm a school established exclusively by Protestants, and Protestants view with the same feelings the schools established by Catholics. Trinitarians and Unitarians find it impossible to unite even for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic; and thus instead of children being allowed to grow up together, cultivating charity, good-will, and kindly affections for each other, they are early in life separated into hostile camps, and compelled to regard each other if not with hatred at least with suspicion and distrust.

"The appearance of a free school in a village or country town is therefore the signal for the commencement of hostilities between par-

ties of different religious persuasions. It is, perhaps, a school established by a lady who attends a Baptist chapel: the children of parents attending the church may be led astray; and, hence, another school springs up under the auspices of the church, or of some rival sect. At first sight this would appear to be attended with some good, inasmuch as where there would have been but one school, there are now two or more; but this is an error. The result of the competition is often to ruin the resources of both, and to prevent either of the schools being useful or efficient. In a multitude of instances the rival schools destroy each other. The parents are canvassed for their children by each party, and ultimately send them, not to the better school, but to that which is supported by individuals of the greatest wealth and influence.

"The first school is put down; the second flourishes for a while, and then the motive by which it was originated being withdrawn, dies also—or, neglected, falls into decay, and becomes worse than worthless."—*Schools for the Industrious Classes.*

The above facts and arguments, and others of a corresponding import, however unanswerable have hitherto been unavailing. Few have denied the necessity of a legal provision for the better support of free schools, and their present inefficiency has been practically admitted, by the late active exertions of the voluntary societies in establishing schools for teachers; but every plan hitherto proposed for securing education at the hands of the state, and of placing it, not under the exclusive management of irresponsible committees, but under the direction of properly constituted local authorities, assisted by a department of the Home Administration, has been denounced either as an interference with religious liberty, or as a scheme of 'godless education;' and the state of parties, until the late rupture among the Conservatives, has been, on this subject, unfavourable to all progress.

Political difficulties are now removed; and exactly at the right time, when religious intolerance is left to its own defence, we find it exposed to an unlooked-for and overwhelming attack, in the letter which has recently appeared to the Lord Bishop of St David's, by the vicar of Leeds.

Dr Hook was formerly celebrated for what were styled, and not in a liberal sense, 'ultra-church principles;' but he still calls himself both 'a devoted minister of the Church of England' and 'a high Churchman.' We will not inquire into the meaning of these terms, for we get every day more and more perplexed with the modern nomenclature of politicians and divines. A new dictionary is much required, but, without waiting for one, we are enabled to discover that 'a high Churchman' is now a person very much of our own way of thinking upon many important

points. Upon some of them we must give ourselves the pleasure of citing Dr Hook's testimony;—And first upon the incompatibility of civil and religious functions as assumed alike to belong to the office of politicians:—

“Statesmen, as well as others, will always find that it is the part of sound policy, as well as of honesty, to tell the truth and shame the devil. When a suspicion exists that falsehood lurks at the bottom of a measure proposed for our acceptance, repugnance to it is straightway excited. If the state promises what it is quite clear the state is unable to give, then, because its promises are known to be false, a prejudice is excited against its proposals. It is abundantly clear that the state cannot give a *religious* education, as the word religion is understood by unsophisticated minds. The assertion that it is desirable that the state should educate, and that its education must be a religious one, which is, as I shall show, in one sense true, must greatly awaken suspicion when the assertion is made by those who are known to have no religion, properly speaking, themselves. It is suspected that an evasion is intended, and that it is meant to keep the word of promise to the ear, but break it to the hope. There is an instinct in the religious mind, which excites a suspicion that the principle is enunciated merely to silence opposition; and the question at once occurs to the practical English mind (to which religion is not a sentiment, but a reality), when you speak of religion, *what* religion do you intend? The Churchman asks, is education to be based on *my* religion? if it be, I am ready to sacrifice every thing in order to work with the state. But no; this cannot be; for this would exclude a large and influential portion of the community, the Protestant Dissenters. And then comes the question from the Dissenters; will you base education upon Protestantism, or the admission of every species of doctrine and opinion except those which are peculiar to the Church of Rome? This cannot be; because it would lead to the rejection of Roman Catholics. Will you base religion, then, on the Bible, and the Bible only? The difficulty now occurs as to the version to be used, whether the authorised version, the Roman Catholic, or the ‘Unitarian’ version. What, then, is the religion the statesman will give us as the basis of education?”

Dr Hook proceeds to contend against any separation of religion for the purposes of state education into moral and doctrinal, general and special, as practically leading to an indifference to all religion, and as deserving the strongest possible condemnation from Christians of every denomination; but he adds, that the case would be changed if we should be told by statesmen that, “while the state recognises the necessity of a religious education, it can itself only give a literary and scientific

education; and that it will obtain from others a blessing which it cannot confer itself."

"It makes an essential difference whether a part is put for the whole, which is the fact under the systems hitherto proposed; or whether the literary education of the state be declared of itself insufficient, and only one department of a great work. If the state says that it will make provision for literary or secular instruction, calling in the joint aid of the Church and dissenters to complete the education; if it divides education into two departments, assuming one to itself, and offering every facility to those who labour in the other department, a great portion of the objections to which I have alluded will be annihilated.

"Nor can there be any objection on the part of the Church to admit Dissenters to an equality in this respect; because, so far as education is concerned, this question is already settled: the state *does* assist both the Church and dissent at the present time, and, consequently, what I shall presently suggest will only be another application of a principle already conceded."

An explanation of the plan proposed follows, with the prefatory question of what it is religious men of all parties would require before they would submit to the direct interference of the state?

"They would require a recognition on the part of the state of the solemn importance of religious training,—training in what is called special or doctrinal religion. Now, if the state were to establish a school in which literary and scientific instruction only should be given by the master appointed by government, would not this principle be sufficiently affirmed, provided it were required of every child to bring on the Monday of every week a certificate of his having attended the Sunday school of his parish church, or of some place of worship legally licensed, and also of his having attended for similar religious instruction, at some period set apart during the week? Let this, then, be a principle laid down,—that the state might endow schools in which instruction purely literary or secular should be imparted, with due care to impress upon the minds of the children the fact, that this instruction is not in itself sufficient; but that, to complete the system of education, religious instruction is also secured for them, in accordance with those traditions whether of Church or of Dissent, which they have received from their parents.

"To effect this object, there should be attached to every school thus established by the state a class-room, in which the clergyman of the parish, or his deputies, might give religious instruction to his people, on the afternoons of every Wednesday and Friday; another class-room being provided for a similar purpose for Dissenting ministers. Suppose this to be done, in addition to the requiring of the children an attendance at some Sunday school, and I do not ask whether such an arrangement would be preferred to any other by either party, for

each party would prefer having everything in their own way; but I do ask whether there could be any violation of principle on either side? I ask whether, for the sake of a great national object, there might not be a sacrifice, not of principle, but of prejudice on either side?

"Leaving Dissenters to answer this question as they may think fit, I must address myself, through your Lordship, to Churchmen; and I will demand, in the first place, what we shall lose, looking, not to the dignity of the Establishment, which I regard as a question beneath contempt, but to the propagation of Church principles; that is to say, of what we believe to be pure religion and undefiled before God? As to the opportunities of religious instruction, there would be, in most instances, a positive gain, from the fact, that the minds of the children would be better prepared by mental exercise to understand what might be said to them. If we consider what is done now in the way of religious education in National Schools, generally speaking, and if we bear in mind that, owing to the ambition of some of the chief managers of the National Society, which induces them to bring under their influence as many children as possible, the secular instruction is much greater in proportion than the religious, we shall find that under the proposed arrangement there will be an actual gain. By reference to the time-table of the National Society's Central Boys' School, as published in the report, we shall find that two afternoons devoted to religious instruction will afford us more time for that department of education than we possess at present; and the benefit to the children will be great in their being taught to distinguish between their religious and their ordinary lessons. In the religious class-room they will be taught to apply to the good of their souls the information they have received in the school, and wrong impressions may be removed.* Immense, too, will be the gain of throwing upon the clergy that department of education, which, being now regarded as part of the routine business of the school, is too often left to the master only. We have, indeed, merely to refer to the reports of the inspectors to see how very unsatisfactory is the present state of religious education in our day schools."

We remember when certain members of the National School Society did not hesitate to raise the cry of 'infidelity' against every friend of popular instruction who proposed to interfere with their methods, or management, and it is not unlike a just retribution that they should now themselves be put upon the

* It has been objected that a clever master of infidel principles might introduce infidelity in his history, moral philosophy, natural philosophy, or any other subject. But, as will be seen in another place, it is contemplated to allow free access to the schools at all times to all persons, and a master thus abusing his trust would soon be detected. On a complaint to the government he would be removed.

defensive, and dragged to the bar of public opinion for bringing up children in heathenism, and evading the duty of religious instruction, as distinguished from catechism rote work, by throwing it upon the teachers of Sunday schools.

Great exertions were made by the Society that no government inspectors should be appointed to visit their schools who had not first been approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury, that there might be no enemies in the camp; but lo ! Dr Hook quotes the evidence of these very inspectors, so appointed and so approved of by the Archbishop, to shew that "not a twentieth part of our children are tolerably instructed in the liturgy and services of the Church, and that only about one-third have been taught at all what is the peculiar character, and what the meaning, and fitness, and beauty of the liturgy of that Church to which they belong." He then demands, in a tone of very natural indignation—

"Is it not a mere mockery to tell persons that there is a religious education given in our national schools, because the children are permitted to dog's-eat a Bible? Is it possible that a religious education can be given in our national schools, conducted, as the majority of them are, by one master, or mistress, and a set of monitors from ten to thirteen years of age? Is not the education almost irreligious when instruction is given on some important points of theology, and yet no care is taken with respect to spiritual training? For religious education we require more than the Bible, more than the Prayer-book; we require the living soul of the instructor, sanctified by grace, to come into spiritual contact with the soul of the person taught: the educated and religious mind must be brought to bear upon the mind untrained and uncultivated. We require to have general principles applied to individual character; and to say that in our national schools we are giving a religious education until we obtain in each school a master for not more than thirty or forty children, is to assert what is not true. That there are many, very many, national schools, in which the highest religious instruction is given, I know; but we cannot say this of the majority."

The reason of this is presently explained. The National Society, we are told, has no fixed principles. The Church is divided between parties contending, on the one side, that the catechism was drawn up with an especial view of training children in the way they should go; and on the other, that the catechism is trash, and if used at all, is to be used in 'a non-natural sense;' and the Society does its best to steer a middle course, and commits itself to no opinions, which, if expressed, "would occasion the withdrawal of a large number of subscribers." The fourth charge of the Bishop of Chester, and speeches of the

Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, are adduced to show that the National Society is now tolerant of Dissent; that it dispenses with the catechism in certain cases, and that if parents wish to take their children to other places of worship than the Church, they are not refused admission. Upon which Dr Hook observes:—

“With all the deference and respect which are due to such high authority as that which I have given above, I may ask why, if church principles may be dispensed with at the caprice of the clergy, are we to waste our valuable time in raising subscriptions for the National Society, and in erecting schools to be in union with the Society, when what the National Society designs to do would be better done by the state if we would only permit the state to have the control? If the distinctive principles of the Church of England may be dispensed with, whenever it is deemed expedient to do so, in the National Schools, those schools may as well be in the hands of the state as under the direction of the National Society. Give us a theory, and we can argue for it; give us a principle, and we can die for it: but why should we be beggars for a Society which has neither theory, nor principle, nor anything else to kindle zeal?”

It will be objected to the plan proposed, of separate class-rooms for religious teachers of different persuasions, that practically the class-rooms would be abandoned to the religion of the majority, and that the minority would either keep half-holidays on Wednesdays or Fridays, or be taken elsewhere for their religious exercises. The probability of such a result must be admitted, since the antagonism of sectarians often produces personal bitterness; especially in rural districts. The spirit is not extinct which led to the remark, “the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans;” and wherever Churchmen are found who will refuse to employ or enter the shop of a Dissenter, or wherever a Dissenter will cross a street to avoid meeting a Romish priest, it is quite certain the clergyman, the Dissenting minister, and the priest will never agree to co-operate under the same roof, if a barn or a hovel can be found in the neighbourhood for separate religious communion with the children of their respective flocks. Such a state of feeling is happily not universal in this country, but it exists; and its existence is to be attributed to the non-intercourse system, of which schools in the exclusive interests of proselytism have favored the growth. The plan of Dr Hook would not suddenly bring the religious world into a state of universal harmony, but imperceptibly it would do something towards this end, besides teaching children their letters; and whether successful or not in accomplishing this object, it is time we made some attempt to effect it. No

doubt that, in every district where a difference of religious opinion prevails, if a government school were established acceptable to the majority, there would yet be individuals who would prefer a school of their own; but all such persons would remain as much at liberty to establish one as they are now; and dissenters who aim at the separation of Church and State cannot with consistency complain of government if it decline to aid them in promoting the connexion of schools with chapels.

We may here notice some remarks in the '*Nonconformist*,' tending, with the letters of Mr Baines, to confirm our opinion, that the Dissenters generally, with, however, some important exceptions,* have yet to be awakened to a sense of their true policy as adapted to the altered circumstances of the times, and to the real importance of the concessions now made to them, or rather to public opinion, by our influential but once impracticable Hierarchy.

Dr Hook belongs to a party in the Church taking its stand, now, at least, whatever it may formerly have done, upon the same foundation as the '*Anti-State Church Association*,'—the principle that religion is not within the province of government. Between the position taken in his pamphlet that the state ought not to interfere with religious instruction as a part of education, and perfect freedom of inquiry into religious truth, by the abolition of subscription-tests at Universities, or for holy orders, there is but a step. This we should have thought might have been hailed by Dissenters, as some advance towards a full recognition of the rights of private judgment; but it is thus treated by the editor of the '*Nonconformist*,'—on many subjects one of the ablest writers of the weekly press:—

"Concessions to the spirit of the age are so little looked for from some quarters that, when they do come, it is not, perhaps, unnatural to find them engrossing public attention to the utter neglect of those conditions they bring in their train. Dr Hook gives a groat, and takes out a shilling in change; and the press, with rare exceptions, bursts forth in admiring praise of his liberality, either unconscious or heedless of the fact that the long-headed clergyman gains by what he gives. The English of his modest proposal is just this: 'resign all claim to the seven millions a year which the clergy now divide among them, and they, on their part, will resign their claim to cram Dissenting pupils with Church catechisms.'"[†]

* We notice with much satisfaction an able pamphlet by Mr Swaine, a member of the Congregational Board; and the sound opinions represented by our contemporary, the *British Quarterly*. The '*Universe*,' a new weekly journal, supported by members of the Society of Friends and philanthropists of other denominations, has also, we are glad to see, shown itself superior to sectarian prejudices.

† '*Nonconformist*' of July 22, 1846.

'This is unfairly put, for it is neither stated nor implied in any part of Dr Hook's pamphlet that his liberal scheme of education should be made *conditional* upon the abandonment on the part of the public of Church revenues to Church purposes. Dr Hook incidentally makes use of an argument, addressed to the heads of the Church, which might very well come from the lips of a Dissenter. He says (in effect), "we cannot claim protection for our own property, if we are always ready to take the money of other people; let us therefore give up the notion of putting our hands into the pockets of the public under the plea of religious duties as connected with education; duties which, if we do not interfere with the proper functions of the schoolmaster, may be otherwise provided for from our own resources." So far, surely, good. If we have hitherto been fleeced, it is not amiss to be allowed to keep what we have left, and by and by, perhaps, we may be enabled to recover back a portion of that we have lost. When the proper time comes we shall have something to say about Church property as a corporate trust;—the light in which it is regarded by Dr Hook: a trust we consider held for a nation, and with which, we submit, the nation may deal. But we are mistaken if an inquiry into this subject can be judiciously raised now, and we must take leave to doubt altogether whether it belongs to the especial province of a leading organ of Dissent. Let the 'Nonconformist' clearly define its object. Is it engaged in a struggle for loaves and fishes, or liberty of conscience? If chiefly for the latter, there should be no hankering after "the flesh-pots of Egypt!"

Moreover, if the Dissenters contemplate insisting, either in the name of a common Christian faith, or as members of a civil community, upon a joint interest in the property held by the Church, let us draw their attention to the capital mistake to which some sections of them stand committed by their leaders, in *the agitation against Church rates*. If parish churches ought not to be kept in repair by parishes, to whom do they belong? To whom in such case can they belong, but to the Church as a corporation, distinct from the nation? And so then after all, and upon the principles of the 'Nonconformist,' as well as those of Dr Hook, the Church *has* inherited property, of which it may honestly and fairly claim the exclusive possession.

We have never adopted the reasoning which has driven men, whose scruples we yet respect for their honesty, upon the horns of this dilemma. The refusal to pay Church rates for church repairs was a blunder from the beginning. Our quarrel is with laws, not with bricks and stones,—silent and venerable memorials of the past. The parish churches of Eng-

land, in which our forefathers knelt; the graveyards in which their bones lie mouldering, belong to *us*, the people of England: and for what miserable amount of pence to be saved, or appropriated, shall we resign to a corporation or episcopal sect our *national* rights in Westminster Abbey, or the cathedrals of St Paul's and Canterbury?

Buildings may have been hallowed or desecrated by the use to which they have been applied, but, they are innocent of moral agency. Religion has no quarrel with spires and belfries. Regarded as property, and *our* property, we injure ourselves by refusing to uphold churches, without defeating intolerance. Let us support the old temples of worship, but demand free worship. Why should the house of prayer be made the monopoly of those who will pray only in certain forms? And what in the nineteenth century have we to do with the religious tests of the middle ages? Why should the divine not be as free to inquire humbly and reverently into God's truth, as the professor of science into the laws which govern the world God made? We say to the Dissenters pay Church rates, but in paying them *claim your own*. Claim the right to worship under the roof which sheltered your ancestors, and to worship there in your own way, whenever the exercise of such right will not interfere with the equal rights of others. Claim a voice in the appointment of the clergy, and demand the abolition of subscription, that their judgment may be unfettered, and the clergy at liberty to teach that which they believe, whether or not the truth square rigidly with the text of act-of-parliament creeds. This would be an object worthy of that moral courage which has always characterised Dissent, but which mis-directed aims have often made abortive. A struggle in such a cause would rapidly win the sympathy of all good men, in or out of the church; and in these days the struggle would not be a long one. It would end not in the triumph of sectarianism, or of an establishment, but in a national moral triumph. A triumph over those who would enslave the human intellect at the very footstool of its Creator. England would become, not perhaps one in mind, but one in heart. The people of England would be the church of England, and the church would mean an enlightened and united religious community.

To the last measure of national education proposed by government, the Dissenters had reasonable ground of opposition. It was based on the principle of toleration only, not that of equal citizenship. Dissenters were to have been permitted to withdraw their children from the catechism classes, but the Church was to have retained a preponderating influence in the appointment of schoolmasters, and the schoolmasters were to have taught

divinity, besides reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the use of the globes. The bill was a compromise, and it was thought one which would be accepted as a peace-offering from the Church. It was received as a fire-brand; and the experiment, on the part of its promoters, will not be repeated.

In the plan proposed by Dr Hook, the power of appointing schoolmasters would be vested in boards of management, "open to all persons without any religious disqualifications whatever:" the boards to be of a mixed character "so as to be void of political or sectarian bias." Upon the mode of constituting these boards, and the question of funds, he makes the following observations:—

"I must remark that one of the chief objections which is felt by practical men to lie against the measures hitherto proposed for state education is this, that the local management would devolve, in this country, upon persons most incompetent, generally speaking, to superintend the education of the people, if the funds being raised by parochial taxation were placed under the control of parochial representatives. In towns, if the superintendence of the education were to be assigned to the municipal corporations, there would at elections be endless disputes and controversies between Churchmen and Dissenters, Whigs, Conservatives, and Radicals, and the triumph of either party would act detrimentally upon the schools. Any one who is conversant with manufacturing towns will bear witness to the truth of what I now say, unless he be entirely blinded by his prejudices. That a local fund would be necessary, and local superintendence expedient, I fully admit; but we should make the locality as extensive as possible, and endeavour to obtain as superintendents persons removed, as much as possible, from the littleness and disputes of local politics.

"Now, it seems to me, that instead of charging the local fund on the parochial assessment, we should rather raise it from a county rate, to be granted by the magistrates at the quarter sessions. By the county magistrates certain school districts throughout the county might be defined, and for each district a Board of Management should be formed, the functions of which would be to elect and dismiss masters and mistresses, to provide for the regular visitation of schools, to settle and to decide whether or not in any particular school the school pence should cease to be received as part of the master's salary, to apprentice the pupil teachers, to purchase books, apparatus, &c., to attend to the repair and ventilation of the school-rooms, and to make provision for their general management in all respects."

This part of the scheme has not been carefully matured. County magistrates are as little free from political bias as the members of town councils. It is notorious that political bias in a multitude of cases has been the sole qualification of country

gentlemen placed upon the commission; and some little sectarian bias may fairly be assumed in CLERICAL magistrates. The public would never listen to a proposition for entrusting to such hands the nomination of School Committees, and the past management of county rates has not given such satisfaction as to induce rate-payers generally to resign willingly to any further extent the control yet left to them over their own funds. Moreover, it is a constitutional axiom that representation should be co-equal with taxation, whether the taxation be for general or local objects; and the tendency of our social reforms is to lessen, not to increase, the powers of irresponsible administration.

Local government, however, in this country, is made up of such discordant elements that the difficulty will be great upon any plan, likely to be adopted, of providing a suitable organization for popular instruction. We have in England no uniform system for any object of local government. The machinery of the Poor-law Amendment Bill was the first approach to it, and that has not been rendered universal. The provisions of the Municipal Reform Bill applied only to large towns (not even to the whole of them), and excepted the metropolis. We are governed by local acts, framed upon opposite principles of legislation, and of which the name is Legion. Churchwardens and overseers having practically been found unequal to the multifarious business thrust upon them, nothing better has occurred to our legislators, when the necessity of some improvement has become urgent, than to nominate a separate staff of officers for every separate branch of local administration; and so we have guardians, registrars, assessors, highway surveyors, paving, lighting, and sewage commissioners, and a host of other functionaries, whose duties, if consolidated and efficiently directed, might be discharged with a saving to the public burdens, equal or nearly so, to the full sum required for the education of the whole people of Great Britain and Ireland.*

* The following is an extract from the valuable report of Mr Coode (late assistant secretary to the Poor-law Commissioners) on 'The Local Taxation of England and Wales':—

"Putting out of consideration the taxes, and various modifications of detail created by local and special customs, or by local acts of parliament, there is found in the common law, and the general statutes, authority to impose and levy for about two hundred various and imperfectly defined purposes, at least *twenty-four different local taxes*, a large portion of which would, if the law were to be carried into effect according to its intention, be levied separately and distinctly in every district, some of them permanently, some occasionally, and many of them for the purpose of raising sums of money quite insignificant in amount. The definitions of the persons on whom the taxes are imposed often vary without apparent cause, and sometimes are inconsistent with what is generally supposed to have been the intention of the legislature; the definitions of the property in respect of which the

We see but little in the statesmen who patronize waste at Mansion-house festivities of an earnest desire for the redress of local abuses, or indeed of any appreciation of the advantages which might be secured for the public by an uniform and comprehensive municipal system, based upon sound principles of representation;—a system not narrowly restricted, as under the poor-law, to functions attractive only to the cupidity of jobbers, but embracing every object connected with the moral, social, and physical welfare of a community which could worthily engage the attention of its best men, and for which its best men would voluntarily come forward, if intelligence and integrity could find in a local sphere a field of usefulness. The day, however, will come when the true theory and the province of local representation on the one hand, and centralized representation on the other, will be better understood than at present.

In the meantime, the plan of organization which seems open to the least objection, is that of the new Highway Bill introduced during the late session, but deferred. This bill proposes to empower the rate-payers in every parish to elect a way-warden, or in large parishes two or more *way-wardens*, to meet in district boards, for the regulation of the highways, in the same manner as boards of guardians for the relief of the poor. A similar arrangement, if we substitute *school-warden* for way-warden, and divide the country into school districts, corresponding in population and extent with the unions, would give us the local machinery required, and the best guarantee that appears to be attainable against a mal-administration of local funds in the name of education. With the school-wardens as rate-payers and as the representatives of

taxes are assessed being still more various, and involved in still more frequent difficulty. Some of these taxes admit, in the process of their imposition and enforcement, of a great latitude of discretion, others of none; some of them are subjected to an illegal check or remedy, some in very cumbrous or expensive ones; while, with regard to others, complainants are embarrassed by the multitude of the facilities for litigation. Again, other taxes are incapable of being levied if resisted; others are only to be levied with great difficulty and cost; others enforced by most stringent, vexatious, and extraordinary means. In some cases there is entirely wanting the protection involved in the accountability of the officers who impose the tax, or collect it, or disburse it; in some there are partial protections, but there is not one case of an efficient protection.

"The execution of this multifarious and discordant mass of law is confided to a body of not less than 150,000 officers, the greater part of whom are unpaid, little responsible, and engaged annually, and who are nevertheless intrusted with the imposition of not less than twelve millions of pounds sterling, in England and Wales, and with the application of this vast amount of money."

We highly approve of the resolutions adopted August 10, on the motion of Mr Hume, for the consolidation and codification of local acts. Those resolutions, however, cannot be fully carried out without creating *an uniform local organization*.

rate-payers, would rest the power of levying and regulating the amount of a school-rate, proportioned to the means and exigencies of the district; * and with a minister of public instruction and a government department for education would rest the application of funds voted by parliament for the erection of normal schools, or as grants in aid of school-rates when the burden would fall unequally.

This explanation will assist us in exposing the sophism upon which, in the place of argument, we find the opponents, among Dissenters, of national education now chiefly rely, and which is thus set forth by Mr Baines in the '*Leeds Mercury*':—

"If the education of children ought to be in the hands of the state, who shall say that the continued training of youth and the adult in religious knowledge, upon which private virtue and the public welfare so mainly depend, ought not equally to be in the hands of the state? And where, acting on these principles, could you consistently stop? Would not the same paternal care which is exerted to provide schools, schoolmasters, and school books, be extended to provide mental food for the adult, and to guard against his food being poisoned? In short, would not the principle clearly justify the appointment of the ministers of religion, and a censorship of the press?"

The fallacy here lies in a false use of the word *state*, which, the reader will observe, is employed in the sense of '*despotism*,' not that of '*commonwealth*.' Mr Baines assumes '*government*' to mean something alien from and independent of the community at large, and then asks triumphantly—Will you, the people, place your lives or liberties at the disposal of such a power? Why, no. We prefer a voice in the making of our own laws, and think that an executive composed of public servants is better than one of absolute masters. The argument might apply to Turkey, but can hardly be held valid in a country where, however defective the machinery of popular representation, public opinion makes itself respected, and the people do, in a practical and *bond-fide* sense,

* In the election of school-wardens we should propose to go a step beyond the provisions of any bill yet applied to local government in this country, in recognizing the principle (and it is not a new one) that the opinions of the *minority* should be represented as well as those of the majority, although the majority must of course govern. It is the neglect of this principle, essential to a just system of representation, which occasions the extreme violence of party contests at local and even parliamentary elections to which Dr Hook refers. A minority will not submit to be utterly crushed without a struggle. The principle of *equal representation*, as contra-distinguished from that of the representation of a majority only, is adopted in many cases by literary societies and charitable institutions, where every candidate is elected who secures a given number of votes, although not a majority in the aggregate.

manage their own affairs. Mr Baines denies that it is the duty of a *government* to train the mind of the people; but let him drop the word 'government,' and tell us what is the duty of a well-ordered and self-regulated community. Is a parent under no social obligation to develop the faculties of his child, and lead it in the path of good citizenship? and if otherwise, is not the neglect of such duty an offence against society? Can, indeed, a community be *safe* in which such offence is committed upon a large scale, whether wilfully or from the ignorance and helplessness of its poorer members? Assuming the latter cause to be in operation, is it not the duty of the strong to help the weak? And if the strong refuse such aid from cupidity or selfishness, should not the stronger (that is the public) enforce it, for the common welfare?

We are not at all embarrassed by the extreme conclusions which Mr Baines would draw from the same premises. We have already contended for the right of a community to appoint its own ministers of religion, as contradistinguished from the claims of an ecclesiastical corporation, and we admit of no limit to such right but the broad principle of utility into which all *right* must ultimately be resolved; for *right* means nothing but *equal justice*, and justice—*goodness*, or that rule or policy which is best for all.

The extent to which instruction should be carried, whether for religious or secular objects, is dependent not upon the right of a community to do that which is best for the community, and to do it in the most efficient manner, but upon the question of what *is* best. Is it best for the peace and happiness of a community that honest men, differing upon religious subjects, should agree to differ, or to make laws the arbiter of opinion? Is it best, in education, to train the mind to a free exercise of the powers God has bestowed, or to engage in the insane attempt of past ages to make all men think alike upon controversial topics? Are the interests of truth better promoted by perfect freedom of discussion than by fetters or restraints upon the expression of opinion? If not, what good reason against a censorship of the press will Mr Baines assign?

Our test is the same for the distinction to be drawn between elementary instruction, and classical learning. The arts of reading and writing, it will be agreed, would be of some use to our peasantry: prove that the knowledge contained in a Greek lexicon would be of equal benefit, and give it them, if you have the means. Teach every agricultural labourer Sanscrit, if you have the means of doing so, and can prove it to be as indispensable to him, in the sphere in which he will move, as a correct knowledge of his mother tongue; but again we say, first *prove your case*.

The sophism of the 'Leeds Mercury' we find thus restated in the 'Patriot':—

"A censorship of the press naturally and consistently goes along with a censorship of education and of oral teaching, under the parental despotisms to which we are referred as models of government. We are prepared, on the contrary, to maintain that for governments to claim the right of prescribing or controlling the instruction of the people is an intolerable usurpation. The power of government is the power of the sword. What it ordains it must enforce. The very principle of government, the sanction of all laws, is compulsion. This applied to teaching is tyranny; a clear proof that teaching does not come within the legitimate power of government."

A clear proof only of bad logic. A boy wishing to play truant is obliged by his parents to attend school. This is compulsion. But compulsion applied to teaching is tyranny! Tyranny is indefensible, and therefore teaching does not come within the legitimate province of parents. Q. E. D.

The theory—that government is only the power of the sword, (the theme again of much eloquent verbiage, which has since appeared in the 'Eclectic Review') belongs to that pseudo-patriotism which obtained for a somewhat violent and unreflecting class of radical reformers the appellation of "Destructives;" i.e. men presumed to be opposed to all government, bad, good, or indifferent. And if government were really nothing more than the power of the sword, we should be inclined to assist in getting rid of it altogether, and would give in our adhesion to the doctrines of this school. Reformers, however, in a higher sense of the term, who have not only aimed at the redress of abuses, but have studied the reconstruction of the social edifice on sound principles, know that intimidation is but a subordinate function of government, not the chief. A government legitimately constituted is the national executive, appointed to carry out the national will; in fact, the people, themselves, acting by agents, where they cannot act in masses; as in a vessel, where, with the common consent of crew and passengers, one man is placed at the helm. A government not this, is an usurpation; and there would be no inconsistency or false philosophy in an objection to national education, on the ground that the executive of this country is less that of the nation than of the aristocracy; but we are replying to an assertion that *no government* is to be trusted, which is tantamount to the proposition that a nation cannot trust itself, or is incapable of self-organization for national objects.

All who object, and not unreasonably, to increasing the powers of the public executive in the present unsatisfactory state of our re-

presentation, should take the proper steps to secure a popular *local* executive in each of the school districts to be appointed. If the district boards be rendered efficient, there will be little danger to education from abuses of centralization. The difficulties we anticipate, from what we have seen of school committees and boards of guardians, do not lie in that direction; but we are quite ready to join the friends of the voluntary system in protesting against any restriction of books, or methods of instruction, or limitation of sciences to be taught, or arbitrary appointment of teachers, should it ever be proposed to vest such powers in a central department of home administration.

We pass on to another objection, often refuted, but still reiterated: one, however, we should scarcely have expected to meet with in a leading organ of Dissent. Returning to the 'Nonconformist' we find the following:—

"We affirm that the origin of the evil which preys upon our social system, threatening it with ultimate disorganization, is *not* the ignorance of the labouring classes, and that secular education, however abundantly provided, is *not* the appropriate cure. The fact of that ignorance we do not deny;—the deplorable extent to which it prevails we would not conceal;—the evils, social, moral, and spiritual, which it either originates or aggravates can hardly be painted in hues too sombre;—but, closely examined, it will turn out to be a *symptom* of something more dreadful than itself,—POVERTY AND NUMBERS, each acting upon and aggravating the other, constitutes the *root of the evil*; and this not the most perfect educational machinery which the wit of man can devise will subdue, or to any appreciable extent ameliorate."

The extravagant position here taken affects, it will be seen, not merely 'State Education,' against which the argument is specially directed, but the education of the working classes generally, in whatever form they may be taught. It used to be held that Sunday Schools, British Schools, National Schools, Infant Schools, and the cheaper class of private schools, did something, however imperfectly, to improve the condition of the labouring population, but, strange to say, the fact is here denied, for, says the 'Nonconformist,' "the most perfect educational machinery the wit of man can devise" will not touch the root of the evil. This is proving too much, and more than was probably intended; for it will not be questioned that prudential habits ameliorate the evils of poverty, or that the formation of them belongs to a "perfect educational machinery." And obviously it is not in the power of any writer to demonstrate that the condition of the working classes is not at this moment better than it would have been had the education of the poor been wholly

neglected from the time when Bell and Lancaster commenced their benevolent exertions. But, says the editor of the 'Nonconformist,'—

"Supposing the physical condition of the poor to remain what it is, would a legal provision for the education of their children be available just where it is most needed? How are the extremely destitute to profit by it? When your whole apparatus is complete, and the government school ornaments every district, can we calculate upon its being filled with scholars from the really needy classes. Driven into huts, cellars, and holes, the utter want of accommodation in which renders personal cleanliness all but impossible; protected from absolute nakedness by mere rags and tatters,—employed as early in life as possible, in some duty which directly or indirectly adds a mite to the scanty means of subsistence, in short turned to account by hapless necessity to make some compensation to their wretched parents for the offence of coming into the world at all,—how will children of this class, the most prolific soil for brutality, vice, and crime, feel the effects of a 'comprehensive scheme of national education.' It will not reach them! Their parents have sunk too low in the social scale to be able to afford education for their offspring, even when offered them for nothing.*

The above passage exposes a total misapprehension of the difficulties which really interfere with the education of the working classes;—difficulties sufficiently serious, and not to be removed by an exaggeration of trifling obstacles, or obstacles wholly imaginary.

Extreme destitution is not an obstacle to education. A nation has only to *will* it, and it can provide at once suitable asylums for the deserted children of our streets. It has already done so to some extent at Parkhurst, and in the Industrial School at Norwood; and it is part of the object now in view that in every Union there shall be a similar establishment to the latter, but upon a yet more perfect model. Without, however, such asylums, it is not in the poorest districts that popular instruction is found to be the most impracticable from the force of circumstances, where the necessary funds have been provided. The greatest resistance is not where there is the greatest poverty, but where the labour of children has the most pecuniary value. Thus, in Ireland, where "rags and tatters" are no metaphor, the schools opened by the aid of the Board of Education are universally better attended than in England, and often crowded; while, in the factory districts and the collieries, experience has proved that parents earning high wages will send their youngest child to the mills and mines instead of to the school, and, in fact, do so at the

* 'Nonconformist' of Wednesday, Aug. 5th, 1846.

present moment when they are not prevented by the law. The tales told by the Children's Employment Commissioners were no fables. We have seen with our own eyes young *Trappists* of five years of age, employed in the dark galleries of a coal mine, whose parents were able to earn thirty shillings weekly, and who applied the wages of their children to the purchase of drink. We admit that the evil in this case is only to be checked by compulsory laws, and wherever there is demoralization it is by such laws alone that society can protect itself, or save the helpless victims of ignorance and selfishness.* Compulsory education, however, is not needed for the many. The condition of the great body of the working classes is not that of extreme destitution on the one hand, nor of demoralization with high wages on the other. Multitudes would be thankful for good schools, if they were provided, who are able to assist in supporting them; but a good school to the inhabitants of a village is as an university to the inhabitants of towns: it must be founded with higher aid than the humble fees of the first pupils or students who are to profit by the instruction given within its walls.

But the argument of the 'Nonconformist' has yet another application. It is partly founded upon the old Malthusian objection,—or rather the objection of those who have from time to time professed without thoroughly understanding the principles of Malthus,—that the possibility of any permanent improvement in the condition of the working classes is a visionary hypothesis.

"Poverty has given an impulse to population; for human fecundity is proved to be proportioned to human wretchedness; and this unnatural increase of population has of course increased the poverty; and the action and re-action of the one upon the other is driving us to the very brink of ruin. How is this downward motion to be stayed? By government schools? You might with equal reason attempt to purify Saffron Hill by sprinkling it with rose water, or attempt to stop a galloping consumption by dressing the victim of it in silks and velvets."

There is no doubt of the fact that the number of births in a

* 'The young girl, A.B., has been prevented from being sent to the Dean Bank Institution by her depraved mother, who withdrew her consent. Her mother arrived here the day previous to the girl's liberation with two squalid, sickly, ragged children. Her own appearance was as if vice had been personified. She was much under the influence of drink, and both her eyes blackened. A more depraved and profligate woman I have never seen. All the reasoning of Mr Trotter (the sheriff substitute) and myself was of no avail with her, to allow the girl to go to Edinburgh. It is a subject of regret that the law does not permit the separation of children from depraved and profligate parents.'—'Eleventh Report of the Inspectors of Prisons.'—p. 39.

wretched population exceeds the common average ; and, without following Malthus in all his positions, it must be allowed that wherever there is an excess of births, in circumstances unfavourable to the full development of the resources of a community, there is a corresponding increase of misery. The cause of such excess, however, is usually traced, not to any difference in fecundity between different classes, but to early marriages. Poverty is not necessarily reckless, but ignorance is improvident ; and the number of early and improvident marriages, or the dissolute habits which lead to similar results, will be found to bear a tolerably exact proportion to the ignorance of a population, or its state of moral and mental cultivation. In Ireland we find a peasantry marrying, not only without thought for the morrow, in a literal sense, but sometimes without a provision for the next meal. In Scotland we may observe marriages made with greater prudence, and a better instructed peasantry. In the manufacturing districts, again, we see young men and women marrying almost before they have ceased to be children ; and this, not from the recklessness produced by poverty, as all men know who have been made acquainted with the working of the system from personal observation, but in consequence of the too early independence and emancipation from parental control produced by the demand for juvenile labour.

From whatever cause, it is an incontestible fact, that among the poor more children are brought into the world than can be adequately cared for with the slender means of their parents, and that the result in some districts is a wretched, sickly, and short-lived population. The evil of such improvidence does not, perhaps, exist to the extent assumed ; for, after all, the progress of the people of this country is obviously not downward, but upward ; but it exists to an extent sufficiently grave to call for a serious investigation of the remedy ; and this leads us to ask whether it is not trifling with an important subject, and in fact almost a contradiction in terms, to assert that the cultivation of the moral faculties and judgment has no tendency to check improvidence, whether shown in imprudent marriages or in other ways ; and that the dissemination of knowledge has nothing to do with a prevention or removal of the causes generally which limit the means of subsistence to the individual or to society ?

If the root of the evil be "poverty and numbers," is there any other way of laying the axe to that root than by diffusing a knowledge of the fact, and the causes which have led to it ? If not, how are we to extend this knowledge to the parties most interested, but through the usual channels of information ? And if those channels will not reach the minds of the poor, from their

ignorance of the very elementary principles by means of which knowledge is conveyed, is not the removal of such an impediment an indispensable step to the attainment of the object we have in view?

Why, if there be no advantage in teaching the poor to read, of what avail are dissertations addressed to them by the 'Nonconformist' on the enclosure of commons and the inequality of indirect taxation? Remove poverty? But how is poverty to be removed without removing the ignorance which places poverty at such a disadvantage in its struggle with capital, that the struggle is hopeless?—a disadvantage which did not exist in former days, when, with less intelligence in the higher classes, there was practically less difference between them and the lower than now, because less inequality of mind. Grant all that can be said of the difficulty of effecting the object by education, is it correct to imply that we have any choice of remedies? Must not the knowledge of an evil precede its cure? Will it help the poor to leave them without the knowledge of their true position, or the means of acquiring that knowledge? Is wealth to be poured into the lap of poverty, or poverty to bestir itself for its own benefit? And, if the latter,—should poverty be taught to bestir itself in the right way? or shall the direction of its efforts be left, as heretofore, to accident?

The effects of education, directly and indirectly, in removing or mitigating the class of evils traced by the 'Nonconformist' to "poverty and numbers," were explained in the report of one of the Hand-loom Inquiry Commissioners, from which the following is an extract:—

"First, there are no means of facilitating the transfer of labour equal to the growth of intelligence among the people. Ignorance believes itself to be fated to remain in the spot where it was born, and to follow throughout life the occupation to which it was bred: its vision is confined to a narrow circle of observation, beyond which it is afraid to move. Hence it is that thousands, who might better their condition if they would rouse themselves to make the effort, only do so when driven to it by extreme necessity. This is the case among a large class of weavers. There are multitudes whom no evidence of the decaying state of the trade will induce to quit the loom, nor will they do so until want overtakes them in its most frightful form. A man accustomed to reflect on his position, and who has read of, or noted in his experience, the many resources of which industry and ingenuity have availed themselves in similar circumstances, does not wait to be overwhelmed in the common storm, and finds, in time, a port of refuge. This is one reason why the weavers now appear as a body less intelligent than those of former years. The educated portion have left the trade; those among them

who have not done so are either in good circumstances, or the old, to whom the idea of change comes too late. I have conversed with many of this class,—men who, having enjoyed the benefit of instruction, have appreciated its advantages, and given it to their children. *Their children had not been brought up to the hand-loom.* From all I have seen, I am led to believe that one-half, or perhaps the majority of, weavers of plain fabrics, even in this country, are either Irish, or persons descended from Irish parents, and they constitute the least-educated part of the community. I omit from consideration the case of the secretaries of weavers' associations, and the members of their trade-committees, often men of superior ability, but who, being supported partly by contributions from the general body, follow rather the profession of solicitors than the trade of hand-loom weavers.

"Second, the tendency of education to foster a spirit of enterprise is favourable to *emigration*, in circumstances in which emigration may be viewed as the best remedy for a redundant labour-market. And here I think it important to observe, that emigration is not a remedy for the distress of the most destitute class, or of those who are lowest in the scale of morals and intelligence. Such persons consist chiefly of those whom it is most difficult to help, because incapable of helping themselves; and the helpless here would be equally helpless abroad. Parish paupers sent to America have pauperized the United States to such an extent, that the authorities of New York now refuse to allow them to land without security being given that they shall not become chargeable to the city. Men given to occasional habits of intemperance have become confirmed drunkards in countries where spirits are almost as cheap as water. The transportation of the vicious and criminal to New South Wales has created there a population more demoralized than in any other part of the world; and weavers of sickly frames and broken-down constitutions, landing at Montreal, in Lower Canada, have speedily sunk under hardships with which they were unable to contend, because of a kind for which they were not fitted. Young men and women in the prime of life are the only class among whom emigration should be encouraged, and, to fit them for it, it is necessary that they should be trained in habits of industry, sobriety, and frugality; they require to be made acquainted with the nature and capabilities of the country to which they are going, and to be put in possession of a fund of general information, which may be useful to them in the new and unforeseen circumstances in which they may be thrown. The emigrant should not be a person sent out of the country in a desponding spirit, careless of what becomes of himself, but one animated with hope, full of confidence in the prudence of the course he is pursuing, and with a little capital formed out of his accumulated savings, which, in a new country, will give him time to look about him.

"Improvvidence exists in both extremes of society, but the tendency of education to check it among the poor is greater than it is among

the rich, for the following reason: the rich man has a fortune to spend; he has not, therefore, the same motive for economy with one who has his fortune to make. Education strengthens this motive in the poor man, by inspiring him with the wish to improve his condition, and by suggesting the means by which that object may be attained. It has been objected to education that it makes the poor dissatisfied with their condition: this is not an evil but a good, when education is carried far enough to show the remedy. The misfortune of the Irish cottier is, that he is too content with his situation, too content with the rags which an English beggar would not pick up in the street, too content with his potatoe diet, and the filth which accumulates in his cabin by sharing it with his pigs; and hence when in England, earning perhaps 18s. per week as a bricklayer's labourer, his condition, in a cellar in St Giles's or Saffron Hill, scarcely seems changed for the better. To raise him in the social scale, the desire of decent comforts must first be awakened in his breast, and this education has a tendency to effect.

"There is no part of the whole world in which money, in the shape of wages, circulates to so large amount, in proportion to the population, as in Lancashire. And it is a striking evidence of the low state of education in that county (using the word "education" in its proper sense), that habits of saving exist among the Lancashire operatives to a less extent than among the ill-paid labourers of the counties chiefly agricultural. Thus, in Devonshire, where a farm labourer receives but 9s. per week, the number of depositors in savings banks is, in proportion to its population, more than four times greater than in Lancashire.

Depositors of sums not exceeding £20 to November 20, 1837.

DEVONSHIRE.		LANCASHIRE.	
Depositors.	Population, 1831.	Depositors.	Population, 1831.
20,410	494,478.	19,807	1,336,851

"Although the number of depositors in savings banks throughout the country is steadily, but slowly, on the increase, how much remains to be done in improving the habits of the people may be inferred from the following comparison between the total number of depositors, and the number of heads of families in the United Kingdom, making whatever allowance may be deemed necessary for the number really too poor and destitute to put by a single shilling from one month to another.

Heads of families in the United Kingdom (from the Population Returns of 1831)	
Total number of depositors in savings banks, excluding societies and charitable institutions, November 20, 1837	4,799,241
	624,560

"Further, education would diminish the number of early improvident marriages. Nothing is now more common among the working classes, especially in Ireland, than for a young couple to marry when they are obliged even to borrow the money to pay the marriage fees. The state of misery in which they find themselves, in a few years,

with a family of young children, whom they are unable to support, is but the consequence of their own imprudence. Ignorance and improvidence are companions, and the earliest marriages are among those who sign their names with their own mark. But for early and improvident marriages, population would not, as in Ireland, outstrip the growth of capital. Education would, undoubtedly, check the evil. A young couple acquiring, from reading or from observation, the idea of bettering their condition, would postpone their union till they had a certain prospect before them of success in the pursuit they intend to follow. A young man, accustomed to a certain degree of comfort in his father's home, will not (if he has been taught to think at all of the future) marry to sacrifice those comforts, by expenses he would be unable to meet. Hence marriages are always later among the middle classes than among the working classes, and latest of all, perhaps, among the most educated part of the community, those who follow the profession of the law. I believe, that among barristers a greater number of persons lead a single life, or marry late, than among any other class.

"It is to education we must look for the cure of intemperance, the vice to which the working classes of the United Kingdom are the most addicted. Although I am satisfied that good would result from putting beer-shops and spirit-houses under a stricter system of police surveillance than at present, I am of opinion that the habit of drinking to excess will never be put down by other than moral agency. Human nature requires and will seek after some kind of pleasurable excitement to relieve the monotony of a life of labour. The slave requires it and will have it, or he dies, and so escapes his task-master. We have not the power to withhold, if we desired it, every means of enjoyment, but we have the power to determine the form it shall assume. The question, then, is simply this, whether we shall enable the people to appreciate, and place within their reach, rational pleasures, or allow them, while in a low moral state, to choose for themselves their own sources of gratification, knowing that while in that state their standard of enjoyment will be governed by mere sensual or animal propensities.

"In the case of the middle and higher classes, books and an improved tone of conversation have to a great extent superseded drinking. No gentleman now considers it his duty to intoxicate his guests to prove his hospitality, as was once the custom throughout England. Why should not education work a similar reform in the manners of the poor? A day-labourer, who could be made to take pleasure in reading, after work, to his family of an evening that admirably conducted periodical, 'Chambers' Edinburgh Journal,' would not be easily led to muddle his intellect with spirits in a public-house, or to spend all his earnings in a beer-shop. But, with reading, other means of innocent and pleasurable relaxation might be taught the people, if education were properly directed. In some of the states in Germany, intemperance, as a means of enjoyment,

has almost entirely disappeared by the simple expedient of causing every peasant's son to be instructed in the practice of choral music.*

We need not further pursue the inquiry into the utility of education as a means of bettering the condition of the poor. The subject is one on which vague notions have been entertained by both friends and opponents, but we find the few who would contest the principle upon philosophical grounds admitting, almost in the same breath, the benefit of popular instruction, by eulogizing the efficiency of the voluntary system. And, practically, there is scarcely any other question at issue. Politicians and economists concede the abstract proposition. Its application depends upon the failure or success in obstructiveness of the parties, whether Dissenters or Churchmen, who would keep the tutelage of the nation in their own hands.

The question, however, cannot in strict terms be correctly described as one between the friends of the *voluntary* system and the advocates of "state education." We believe, that, if the whole people were polled to decide the controversy, the *free choice* of the vast majority would be in favour of *not* leaving the education of the working classes to benevolent associations, but of forming an efficient national organization for the object. Educational societies belong to a voluntary system only as regards their own willingness to take upon themselves the prerogative of teaching; the people are *involuntary* or quiescent recipients of whatever is done for them, whether it be much or little, because themselves impotent to act as a nation, through the defective machinery of our local administration.

The efficiency of the educational societies is of course a question of comparison. They have undoubtedly effected much good; but, unhappily, by that continued proclamation of their own merits at public meetings and through the press, which is necessary to their financial existence, they fill the public ear with an impression that much more has been accomplished, or is accomplishing, than, upon a sober inquiry, would appear to be borne out by the facts. After reading the report of an educational meeting at Exeter Hall, or at the Sanctuary, Westminster, it is really startling to learn, from the returns of the registrar-general, that, after all the benevolent exertions made in the name of popular instruction, during the last forty years, *one half the adult population of England and Wales is composed of persons unable to write their own names.*

* Report of W. E. Hickson, Esq., on the Condition of the Hand-loom Weavers, August 11, 1840. No. 639.

We may infer that the proportion is greater than one half in the case of the aged, for it is nearly that in the young men and women who but ten or fifteen years ago were presumed to be under the direction of the National and British and Foreign School Societies. The returns state that out of 735,788 persons married during the years 1839, 1840, and 1841, 303,836 signed the marriage register with a *mark* only.*

This is our answer (and we need not make any other) to the statement of Mr Baines that gratuitous instruction is conferred by 300,000 teachers in Sunday schools, to *two millions* of scholars. Sunday schools have their moral and religious uses, but for secular instruction are wholly inoperative; and as to the efficiency of the day and evening schools, to which Sunday schools have led, since the time when they were first set on foot by Mr Raikes, it is sufficient to repeat the fact, that one half the adult population of England and Wales is composed of persons unable to write their own names.

Since 1839, however, the operations of the Educational Societies have been largely extended. The prospect of "State education" led the committees of those bodies to strain every nerve to occupy the whole field, that there might be no case for interference. The National School Society, moving heaven and earth to accomplish its object, raised by donations, in aid of a special fund, 151,985*l.*,—an unprecedented sum, obtained by an unprecedented effort, but yet an amount so utterly insignificant as compared with the need, that it has only served to demonstrate the absolute folly, if not madness, of depending upon such resources or such instrumentality for the education of a nation.

The reader will bear in mind that the interest only of this sum of 151,985*l.* (about 6,000*l.*) would be available for the *annual* charges of schools, if so applied, and that such interest, divided among all the parishes of England and Wales, would give but a

* In the whole of England and Wales, among 367,894 couples married during three years, it appears that there were 122,458 men, and 181,378 women who either could not write at all, or who had attained so little proficiency in penmanship that they were averse to the exposure of their deficiency. The numbers so subscribing the marriage register in each year were,—

Year ending 30th June.	Number of marriages.	Persons affixing marks.	
		Men.	Women.
1839 . .	121,083 . .	40,587 . .	58,959
1840 . .	124,329 . .	41,812 . .	62,523
1841 . .	122,482 . .	40,059 . .	59,896
	367,894	122,458	181,378

—Porter's 'Progress of the Nation.'

few shillings to each parish.* However, supposing it possible that the efforts recently made could be sustained, so that, for every new school-house built, a Government grant of 120*l.*, or a similar sum from the "special fund" of the National School Society, would suffice, in aid of local subscriptions, the disproportion of the wants of the country to the means of supplying them by the present system has been shown by Dr Hook in a very simple calculation :—

"The parliamentary grant of 1845 was 75,000*l.*, being more than double the average annual grant since 1833. If 625 schools may be annually built with the aid of this grant of 75,000*l.*, accommodating 93,750 scholars, *these numbers only represent one-fourth part of the annual permanent increase of the population, which proceeds at the rate of nearly 365,000 in the year.*"†

The moral state of a community thus neglected might be gathered from these data, without referring to statistical returns for the fact that crime is increasing with the growth of population. It may not be true, and we do not think the evidence bears out the statement, that crime increases in a greater ratio than population, for offences against the person undoubtedly diminish, while many of those against property belong to a class which were formerly not recognized as offences, or which generally

* A list of the parishes in each county of England and Wales will be found at page 3 of the 4th Report of the Poor-law Commissioners (8vo. edition). The total number is 14,490. The sum of £6,000 divided annually among them, would therefore allow 8*s.* 4*d.* for the support of a schoolmaster in each parish.

† Mr Baines, in his third letter to Lord John Russell, thinks he replies to the above statement by showing that the increase of population referred to includes the whole of the United Kingdom; which rather strengthens than weakens the case; for, neither in Ireland nor Scotland could private subscriptions be collected to an extent sufficient to build 625 school houses, with the otherwise inadequate grant of 75,000*l.* Mr Baines then proceeds to commit the extraordinary error of supposing that the annual increase of 201,457 in the population of England and Wales is an increase alike in the number of the old, the middle-aged, and the young, which, he says, must be divided by 8, to give the number of *children* requiring instruction,—reducing it therefore to 25,182. It is almost a waste of time to meet such assertions, for it is a self-evident proposition, not requiring a moment's reflection, that, when an increase of population cannot be traced to immigration, it must arise from an excess of births over deaths, and that *the whole increase* must be in the numbers of the *juvenile* part of the population. Accordingly, the returns of the Registrar-General for England and Wales inform us that the excess of births over deaths (for the years 1839, 1840, and 1841; see the fifth Report, page 9) was 154,858 annually; to which we have to add the births not actually registered, and the children of Irish and Scotch parents continually flocking to our manufacturing towns.

escaped prosecution; but were the ratio of increase greater than it is, what ground would there be for astonishment? Are not the *temptations of property* daily increasing with the growth of capital? and what are we doing to diminish their influence upon the poor and ignorant? Mr Porter has shown that the proportion of crimes committed by the ignorant to that of crimes committed by the instructed classes, is equal to nine-tenths of the whole;* but what steps have we taken to profit by the obvious conclusion?

A fearful narrative in the newspapers of crime committed with violence produces sometimes an extraordinary excitement; and yet do we need police reports to tell us that society fosters in its bosom wolves in human form? or that, side by side with the highest civilization the world has seen, there still exist the hordes of barbarism;—beings to whom civilization has taught nothing but its vices;—degraded by animal propensities to a level with the brute creation—lower than the savage, because without the virtues found among the qualities which characterize Indian tribes in their state of wild freedom?

The responsibility of perpetuating these evils by an inconsiderate and senseless opposition to all plans of education that may emanate from government, is placed in a strong light by the

* In the six years comprised in the returns for England and Wales (from 1836 to 1841), out of 143,691 persons committed, and whose degrees of instruction were ascertained, the great proportion of 129,441, or more than 90 in 100, were uninstructed persons; while only 676 persons had enjoyed the advantages of instruction beyond the elementary degree, and only 13,474 had mastered, without advancing beyond, the arts of reading and writing.—‘Progress of the Nation,’ p. 102, vol. iii.

The following examination of a prisoner, showing the connexion of ignorance with crime, is from the eleventh report, which has just appeared, of the Inspectors of Prisons.

“W. G., aged 24.—I live near Tain, and am a fisherman. I am in prison for assaulting a woman named M—— M——; she is about sixty years old. I assaulted her because she was bewitching everything I had. She prevented me from catching fish, and caused my boat to be upset; the other fishermen said that they should have no chance of catching any herrings while I was with them, and they would not let me go out with them. M—— M—— is known by all in the neighbourhood to be a witch; she has been seen a hundred times milking the cows, in the shape of a hare, though I never saw her do so myself. People believe in my neighbourhood that if any one gets blood from a witch she can do them no more harm; and that is the reason that I cut M—— with my peckknife; but I held the knife so that it might go into her as short a way as possible. All I wanted was to get blood. I was not the first person who wanted to draw blood from her. Those who advised me to cut her told me that if I did not she would drown me and the rest who were in the boat with me, as sore as any man was ever drowned. It is hard that I should be put in prison, for the Bible orders us to punish witches; and there was not a man on the jury who did not know M—— to be a witch.”

Rev. Thomas Milner, in his recent treatise (an excellent work) upon 'The Elevation of the People, Moral, Intellectual, and Social.' He shows that after the successful opposition of Dissenters to the educational clauses of the factory bill (against which the signatures of petitions amounted to 2,068,059), the serious obligation incurred of providing for the education of the working classes independently of the state was admitted, and must now be the more strongly felt. The Wesleyan Conference said, at the time, in their annual address, "we must exert ourselves to the utmost of our power for the instruction of the people on a better system, or we incur the guilt of depriving them of instruction altogether; neither giving it ourselves nor allowing it to be given by others." The whole body of Wesleyans, accordingly, and Dissenters less closely connected with the Church than the Wesleyans, and the Church itself, *have* "exerted themselves to the utmost of their power," and with the knowledge now of their own weakness, if they refuse to allow to be imparted the instruction they are unable to communicate, the guilt will be the greater, for they will sin with their eyes open.

We have given our opinion of the kind of local organization required for National Education, and it may be desirable, before we conclude, to glance at the duties of government in superintending the provisions of the measure to be carried out, and the executive machinery required for such supervision.

Upon these heads we shall briefly observe, first, that it is extremely important in the creation of any *permanent* department for educational objects that it should be so constituted as to be independent of political changes.

The reason is that the moral influence of any such department with the nation would be impaired by the *slightest* suspicion of a political bias being given to the work of instruction; and that a department without stability—doing and undoing—could never arrive at a state of efficiency. There is an advantage, however, not to be lost sight of, in the present constitution of "the Committee of Council for Education," as a temporary arrangement. The committee is composed of five members of the cabinet for the time being, and is, therefore a *lay* board. If any other board were appointed, it would be necessary for government to place upon it one or more of the heads of the Church, and so embarrass itself with both Catholics and Dissenters, or to prepare for another "holy war." While, however, bishops, archbishops, or cardinals, have no seat in the cabinet, and the committee is composed only of ministers, the question does not arise; and we would say, by all means let it be left in abeyance, till we have

laid securely the basis of the edifice we are about to construct; and on broad as well as solid foundations.

The official staff of the Committee of Council for Education appears to be as follows:—

A Secretary (J. P. Kay Shuttleworth, Esq.).

Chief Clerks (six, of various gradations).

Supernumerary Clerks, four.

Advising Counsel for school deeds.

Architect for school buildings.

Eight Inspectors (five for Church of England schools; one for the schools of the British and Foreign School Society; two for Scotch schools).

The duty of the inspectors is to verify the fact that the government grant has been applied as intended, and to report minutely upon the amount of instruction given. How inadequately this duty is at present discharged we may glean from the fact that the number of schools liable to inspection is so great, as compared with the number of inspectors, that no school can be visited more than once in two years. Inquiries into the general state of education have, therefore, necessarily been postponed from this cause.

This parsimony is repeating, and upon a larger scale, the error committed by the legislature in the case of the Poor-law Amendment Bill, of which error we are now reaping the lamentable fruits. To prevent abuses of patronage the Assistant Commissioners were restricted to a number so few, as compared with the number of unions, that the appointments made became all but useless as a check upon local abuses; and now we have the local abuses charged against the system.

It would be well if reformers would seek to impress upon the public mind the axiom that without providing for an efficient audit, examination, inspection, or supervision, there can be no practical responsibility in the case of any office of public trust. Popular election alone is no guarantee. A good servant is spoiled by the negligence of an indulgent master.

The superiority of the Dutch primary schools to those of all Germany rests entirely upon an efficient system of inspection. In Holland, instead of eight inspectors of schools for a population of 18,844,000, as in Great Britain, there are seventy inspectors for a population of only two millions and a half! The ten provinces of Holland are divided into seventy school districts. To each district there is a school inspector. Thus, in the province of Guelderland there are ten school districts and ten inspectors. The inspectors of each province meet periodically as a district or provincial board. In this capacity they report to an inspector-

general at the Hague upon the state of education in their respective provinces, and *sit as examiners* conferring degrees; or, in other words, granting certificates of competency to candidates qualifying for the office of schoolmaster. The importance of the latter function cannot be too highly estimated; and we notice it here for the purpose of adding our conviction, and as emphatically as we can express it, that, without a similar provision for ensuring intelligence in the teacher, any scheme of national education that may be adopted will prove all but worthless.

It is idle to talk of the fitness of parochial authorities to test the ability of a schoolmaster to be elected, or of their freedom from jobbing influences, and yet it is obvious that the patronage of local appointments must be given to local bodies. The difficulty is met by restricting their choice to candidates whose competency has been already proved.

In Holland it is with schoolmasters as with our surgeons; before a candidate can receive a government appointment, however humble, he must produce a certificate to show that he has passed an examination; and this is not always a light matter; *four examinations* are required for the highest class of schools. For a Board of Examiners, it is impossible to imagine a class of persons better suited than those who have continual opportunities of acquiring the needful judgment, by passing from school to school, and observing the different results of the methods and conduct of different teachers. Securities are, however, required for the appointment of efficient inspectors. They should be competent to decide on the literary qualifications of candidates without suspicion of sectarian or political partiality; and there are various arrangements by which this might be accomplished.

In Holland, the government is too independent to require to purchase votes, but in France we have observed that a school-inspector is always the friend of a deputy voting with the minister, and at home we must not expect to see, in every case, that overscrupulousness of selection, which, in a nicely-balanced state of parties might risk the loss of a majority. Here again we think the securities might be found in a *restriction of choice*. Suppose inspectors to be selected from a list of tried men, or not to be chosen at all, but the tried men to be appointed in an order of seniority, as vacancies offered, it is plain the patronage of a minister could not be abused to objects of state-craft. The only question that arises is how such a list of tried men is to be formed.

All writers upon education of established reputation concur in the necessity of placing the profession of the teacher, in regard to remuneration, upon an equal footing with other kinds of skilled labour, or professional employment; and, to

this end, it is necessary, as a stimulus for self-improvement, that there should be not only reasonable salaries for village schoolmasters, but *grades of reward* for honourable ambition, as in the law.

We would graduate our scale in such a manner that a youth commencing life as a junior assistant in a village school might, in the vista of years, have before him the prospect of possibly ending his career as the head of an university, with a seat in the legislature of his country; rising from one step to another by merit, and by merit alone; and we would make the office of inspector one step in the ladder of promotion.

The position of an inspector of schools is not more favourable to a correct judgment of the qualifications of a schoolmaster, than that of a schoolmaster to a knowledge of the duties of an inspector, and the best inspectors would obviously be those who could not only detect a fault, but correct it. In fact, an inspector should be a person qualified to act as a normal-school teacher; that is, one familiar with the best methods of instruction, and able to illustrate or practically explain them to the master and managing committee of a local school, whenever required to do so.

Following out this principle, the natural grades of employment would be the following:—The best village schoolmasters to be promoted to a higher class of schools in towns. The best town schoolmasters to be made the directors of normal schools. The best normal school teachers to become school inspectors, and school inspectors to become heads of colleges, or members of government departments.

We would appeal from Mr Baines, and the advocates of the voluntary system, to the teachers employed in free schools, and the members of the new 'College of Preceptors,' for an opinion upon the comparative value of the two plans of popular instruction now before the public. The interests of the educator are those of the whole community. Would those interests be promoted by such an organization as we have described, or shall we leave them dependent upon the most precarious resources for the payment of narrow stipends, upon which teachers now starve,*

*Some of the masters, after their six hours of daily school, teach a night school for two and a half or three hours. In two of these cases they confessed that it was beyond their strength; but that without it they could not get a livelihood. At one school in the West Riding of Yorkshire, the mistress assured me, with a burst of tears, that she and her husband, with five or six children had, at times, been sorely pinched for food; that they did not like to tell the clergyman, or Mr —, a school trustee and manufacturer

until the sky falls to demonstrate the inutility of "State education," or a new manna of benevolence descends from the clouds?

We had intended to conclude with an analysis of the reports of the eight inspectors already appointed,* but we have exceeded our space. We will remark only that the five inspectors of schools, in connexion with the National School Society, appear to have set about the task assigned them with a disposition to discharge their duty with honest fearlessness, but that the report of the inspector of British schools, as far as it affects their "internal life and being," is, at present, "deferred."

Mr Fletcher revels in statistics, and delights us with an eulogy upon the amiability and assiduity of the members of local school committees, but is silent upon the efficiency of the instruction communicated through their benevolent, but sometimes not wisely directed, efforts. Moreover when he describes, as at Wigton, a British school held in the cellar of a chapel, and included in the same trust deed, he offers no remark (while condemning the cellar) upon the incompatibility of such arrangements with that freedom from sectarian influence which is claimed generally for the schools of the British and Foreign School Society.

Upon this head we confess our disappointment that more information is not given. With whom are we combating? With those who would honestly and fairly establish *public schools* like those in the Borough-road, or *infant congregations*? Stand aside, Edward Baines, and Richard Burgess, honorary secretary to the Diocesan Board of London. Behind you appear our real opponents, whether under the banners of the church or of dissent:—not the friends of either public liberty or educational progress, but the united forces of ISM.

in the place, for 'they had always been so kind to them, and done so much for them.' This school was in bad circumstances, from the conduct of a master who had left suddenly and much in debt."—*Report of the Rev. F. Watkins.*

* The rather as, in the first instance, and until the organization of education be complete, these appointments must necessarily be left to government without any limitation of patronage; and as public opinion is therefore the only possible *present* check upon the nomination of inefficient inspectors. Government reports, however, upon all subjects, are now becoming so voluminous, that it is almost physically impossible to bestow upon them the attention they deserve, in the form in which they are now published. It is much to be regretted that there is no daily official publication, like the French '*Moniteur*,' in which each report could appear as presented, instead of waiting to be buried under an accumulation of other papers, appearing *en masse*.

ORIGIN OF INFANT SCHOOLS.

* * * From the close connexion of National Education with Infant Schools (for day schools for the poor can only embrace children below a working age), we take this opportunity to correct some mistakes in circulation about their present state and origin. Abroad, the first infant school of a character superior to our common dame schools was established about the year 1780, by J. F. Oberlin, pastor of Waldbach in the Ban de la Roche, a mountainous canton in the north-east of France; and we may here observe, that it is in France we still find the best examples of infant school management.* Somewhat later, Pestalozzi and De Fellenberg commenced their labours, for the improvement of popular instruction generally;—followed in England by those of Joseph Lancaster and Dr Bell. Joseph Lancaster began his career as an educationist in the year 1798, at the age of eighteen, when he opened a school for ninety children, in the house of his father, and taught many of them free of all expense. In 1805, the king and several branches of the royal family, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Somerville, and other noblemen were among the number of his patrons. The subject had then begun to excite the attention of all friends of the working classes, and, amongst others, of Robert Owen, whose thoughts upon early education were published in 1812. Fifteen years afterwards, when the fame of New Lanark induced us to make an excursion to that part of Scotland, we found the magnificent school-rooms there erected ascribed less to Robert Owen, as one of the partners in the firm, whose liberality, great and meritorious as it was, had supplied the funds, than to the missionary labours of Joseph Lancaster. The system of instruction in operation for the elder children was in part that of Lancaster, and in part the Bell or Madras system, which Robert Owen held to be the better of the two for teaching reading.

The methods adopted for the younger children grew out of circumstances. There was, in the first instance, no especial intention of forming an infant school, but the youngest child able to walk was to be admitted, on the principle that education should begin from the cradle. That this part of the experiment did not utterly fail, as many similar attempts had failed, and end in the dismissal home to their mothers of all the little children, may be attributed to the happy accident of a teacher having been found for this branch of the establishment with the patience, tact, and inventive faculties required for a novel position. James Buchanan succeeded in a task under which all common-place schoolmasters, wedded to old methods, would have broken down. He found out the art of winning infantile attention,—amused while he instructed his little classes with pictures and objects, instead of books, and made them happy. His success was complete, and the New Lanark children, in great part at least, through his exertions, became an object of attraction to tourists. Thousands visited the place from curiosity; amongst whom were some of influence and station, who became desirous of seeing similar

* The infant schools of Paris are placed by the municipal council under the general superintendence of Madame Millét, to whom an introduction should be obtained. Madame Millét, who is a lady of superior qualifications, will conduct the visitor to schools in the Faubourg St Antoine, which might serve as a model for the best under the direction of the Home and Colonial Infant School Society. The monitorial schools of Paris are scarcely equal to those in the Borough-road, although of greater average excellence than our monitorial schools generally.

establishments in England. Henry Brougham, Lord Lansdowne, John Smith, James Mill, Mr Wilson, and others, formed a Committee in 1818, for this object. They opened an asylum for infancy in Brewer's Green, afterwards removed to Vincent square, Westminster, and borrowed James Buchanan of Mr Owen to conduct it. Subsequently they (or rather Mr Wilson) established another in Spitalfields, of which Wilderspin was appointed master, at the instigation, and upon the recommendation, of James Buchanan. Wilderspin knew nothing of infant-school training but what he learned in Vincent square, or from the evidence of Robert Owen.* His own claims to originality rest upon nothing but the modifications he has introduced into the system, some better and some worse than those of his predecessor, and upon a wire-drawn distinction between infant schools and infant *asylums*. He re-introduced and gave the name of 'Arithmeticon' to an instrument described by Mr Friend, in a work on arithmetic, fifty years ago; but besides this has done little, compared with Miss Mayo and others, to raise infant school education to what Chambers describes as 'the science it now is,' although a science it is *not* to this day. Wilderspin was never skilful in the organization of a school, but he was a good gallery teacher, and a good missionary. His chief usefulness has consisted in his great zeal and activity. These having brought him into notice, he was one time made superintendent of the model schools of the Irish Educational Board in Dublin; but his qualifications were found of too humble a character to allow of his retaining the appointment. We should scarcely be disposed to mention this but for his letters in the 'Times' of August 8,

* The following description of the schools at New Lanark was given by Robert Owen to a Committee of the House of Commons, when examined by them in June, 1816:—

"The children are received into a preparatory training school at the age of three, in which they are perpetually superintended, to prevent them acquiring bad habits, to give them good ones, and to form their dispositions to mutual kindness, and a sincere desire to contribute all in their power to benefit each other. These effects are chiefly accomplished by example and practice; precept being found of little use, and not comprehended by them at this early age. The children are taught, also, whatever may be supposed useful, that they can understand; and this instruction is combined with as much amusement as is found to be requisite for their health, and to render them active, cheerful, and happy, fond of the school and of their instructors. The school in bad weather is held in apartments properly arranged for the purpose; but in fine weather, the children are much out of doors, that they may have the benefit of sufficient exercise in the open air. In this training school the children remain two or three years, according to their bodily strength and mental capacity. When they have attained as much strength and instruction as to enable them to unite, without creating confusion, with the youngest classes in the superior school, they are admitted into it; and in this school they are taught to read, write, account, and the girls, in addition, to sew. But the leading object, still, in this more advanced stage of their instruction, is to form their habits and disposition. The children generally attend this superior day school until they are ten years old; and they are instructed in healthy and useful amusements for an hour or two every day during the whole of this latter period. Among these exercises and amusements they are taught to dance; those who have good voices, to sing; and those among the boys who have a natural taste for music are instructed to play upon some musical instrument.

"Those children who are withdrawn from the day school at ten years of age, and put into the mills, or to any other occupation in or near the establishment, are permitted to attend, whenever they like, the evening school exercises and amusements, which commence from one to two hours after the regular business of the day is finished; and it is found that out of choice, about 400 on an average attend every evening."—Commons Reports. Education' (1816) Page 240.

Mr Owen added the following statement of the number of children at that time attending the schools:—

Ages.	Number of Children.
3 to 7 years	269
8, 9, and 10 years	175
Total	444

which practically deny the obligations of the country to his own early patrons. As a promoter of infant schools, and the agent of their promoters, Wilderspin has well earned the pension he receives. It was a mistake of the minister to call him their founder; a mistake which Wilderspin should himself have hastened to correct. We do it for him, because the right man, as far as England is concerned, is not here to claim his right,* and because there is a quiet order of merit which wins our respect by not obtruding itself; a quality in those who are only seen by the public when pushed forward by others, and it is one which belongs to James Buchanan.

ART. VIII.—1. *Report of the Committee of the House of Commons upon the Andover Union.*

2. *Annual Reports of the Poor-law Commissioners.*

3. *Report of the Railway Termini Commissioners.*

A GREAT object again frustrated,—the improvement of the metropolis,—renders it our duty to offer a few comments upon the Report of the Railway Termini Commissioners; but an object of still higher moment—one indeed of national importance—frustrated by the Commissioners entrusted with the administration of the Poor Laws, induces us chiefly to confine the subject of this paper to the principle involved in public appointments, as made in this country and abroad.

Travellers have noticed a striking difference in the results of what is usually included, by superficial inquirers, in the common phrase “continental despotism.” Thus, in the absolute government of Russia, corruption prevails in every branch of the administration; justice is notoriously sold to the highest bidder, and the bribery of custom-house agents is supposed to exceed the amount of revenue they collect. In Prussia there is, for the most part at least, an honest administration of the law; and every government functionary, from the highest to the lowest, is a man of education of more than the general average of talent. In neither country does representation, in our sense of the word, exist; but in the one, despotism is endurable, while in the other, it is intolerable and detestable. What makes the difference? Not any

* James Buchanan left this country about six years back for the Cape of Good Hope. As a Moravian, or Swedenborgian, teacher, he was opposed by the Church, and his school, which is now extinct, never on that account had a chance of success in the neighbourhood of the Sanctuary,—the head-quarters of the National School Society.

dissimilarity of character in the monarchs of the two states, but rules relating to candidates for public offices existing in the one case, which are unknown in the other.

The jurists of Prussia have contrived to surround their monarch and his ministers with such a system of *checks*, that the promotion to office of the absolutely incompetent, from the caprice of favoritism, or the influence of nepotism, is almost impossible. The checks consist in the regulations which prescribe a formal course of studies, and numerous examinations to all candidates eligible for nomination;—examinations purposely rendered sufficiently severe to shut out from civil employment any young man of indolent and dissipated habits, who might otherwise presume, and presume successfully, upon his family connexions. It is true the king can break through these checks, and sometimes does so, by placing in office a creature of the court; but this happens rarely, from the difficulties interposed by the officials of every department in the state, the whole body of them making common cause against the innovation. We know not any act that would have excited so great a commotion in Prussia, as that of the appointment here, by the late government, of a major of dragoons (the brother of Sir James Graham) to the office of Registrar-general of births, deaths, and marriages. Not but that a military officer may sometimes be well qualified for a civil department, but against such qualification there is always a fair presumption, and in Prussia such an appointment would have been regarded, not only as inverting the order of nature, but as an act of gross injustice to candidates qualified, by special training, and services in a subordinate capacity, for the duties of the chief of a department.*

The system would work better, if the examinations required more science and less Greek; but it is yet a valuable bulwark against the evils of absolutism, and a more efficient check upon abuses of patronage than any that exists in this country; not excepting that which we have, and which the Prussians have not,—a free press.

The attacks of the press upon government appointments are usually tinged with party bias; and being received by the impartial with distrust, their effect is almost wholly confined to party annoyance. How little has the press yet done to remedy the unfitness of many of our stipendiary and unpaid magistrates,

* A registrar-general in Prussia must have studied three years at a university, and subsequently have passed three examinations before as many different commissions,—in law, police, political economy, finance, statistics, &c.; first as *auscultator*, next as *referendar*, and last as *assessor*. It is only those who rank as *assessors* that become chiefs of departments.

whose proceedings fill the police columns of our daily newspapers, and frequently excite astonishment !

The public have become accustomed to see all politicians alike dispose of place with a view to party objects, or private interest ; and the press has yet to discharge the duty of showing that whenever, and by whomsoever, such objects are made of primary consideration, and individual merit or aptitude for special duties entirely disregarded, the public interest is betrayed.*

Until a very recent period all the popular elements of the British constitution were insufficient to enable a man of talent to rise to any high post of civil employment, without the patronage of the aristocracy. If a clever man of unknown parentage entered parliament, and forced his way to office, it was through the pocket borough of a peer. If a curate rose to a bishopric, it was by commencing life as the tutor or the chaplain of a nobleman ; and from time immemorial it has been the understood rule, that, after providing for the junior branches of a noble family of parliamentary influence, the private secretary, or the family solicitor, had a rightful claim to the next best piece of preferment which might fall within the gift of a minister.

This doctrine has been somewhat shaken by the Reform Bill, but it is still maintained in influential quarters, and it was held and acted upon in 1834. It was the recognition of such claims by the Spencer family, as superior to every other, that led to the appointment of Mr John George Shaw Lefevre, first as an Under-Secretary of state, and next as one of the three Poor-law Commissioners, named upon the passing of the act.

Mr Lefevre is an estimable man, but, as he would now probably himself admit, not of that firmness or decision of character which was required for a trying position ; one from which he was subsequently glad to escape, by exchanging his onerous responsibilities for a less valuable appointment in the Board of Trade. As a Poor-law Commissioner he had everything to learn. Those who had collected the evidence and contrived the plan of reform which the legislature had sanctioned, were necessarily his teachers, and the popular Lord Althorp, with all his real integrity of character, and somewhat democratic tendencies,

* The following passage, says the historian of British India, speaking of the Mahomedans, describes a correct mode of thinking, whatever disagreement may have been found between the rule and the practice :—

“ It is incumbent on the Sultan to select for the office of Comzee, a person who is capable of discharging the duties of it, and passing decrees, and who is in a superlative degree just and virtuous, for the Prophet has said,—‘ *Whoever appoints a person to discharge the duties of any office, whilst there is another amongst his subjects more qualified for the same than the person so appointed, does surely commit an injury with respect to the rights of God, of the Prophet, and the Mussulmans.*’ ”

could see no moral incongruity, and nothing incompatible with the public interest, in placing the pupil above the master.

Mr Frankland Lewis was indebted for his appointment by a reform ministry, to his Tory opinions and connexions; strange as this may appear. The object was to conciliate the opposition, and obtain conservative support for the measure out of doors (another instance of the failure of a compromising policy of expediency). Besides this qualification, Mr Frankland Lewis enjoyed that of the dignified personal bearing which suffices for a chairman of committees or of public meetings, when the business is one of ordinary routine.

Unfortunately in this case the business was not one of routine, but of the very opposite description, consisting of an overwhelming multitude of new details, all requiring reflective caution; every step involving the application of a principle.

How far Mr Frankland Lewis was fitted, under such circumstances, to act as a senior commissioner, and to give a consistent direction to the new law, may now be inferred from his late examination before the Andover Committee; but the same knowledge might and ought to have been gathered by Government from the debates of the House of Commons, where Mr Frankland Lewis had declared himself in terms of general hostility against the principle of any poor law whatever.*

Mr Frankland Lewis undertook the task of carrying out the provisions of the Poor-law Amendment Bill, either as a new convert to the principle of regulated relief, or as its temporising opponent, seeking only to palliate an evil which he could not suddenly remove. Temporising politicians are always ready to abandon themselves to the current; and hence only can we account for the anomaly of the decided opposition of this gentleman to the extension of a poor law to Ireland, whether for out-door or in-door relief, at the very time he was proposing in England a return to the ruinous allowance system of relief in aid of wages, in the case of able-bodied labourers with large families.

Of the three Commissioners, the only one in whose appointment fitness, or aptitude for the special duties to be performed seems to have been in the slightest degree considered, was Captain Nicholls. He had exerted himself in the improvement of the parochial administration of his own neighbourhood, South-

* In the debate of May 24, 1821, Mr Frankland Lewis denied that the 43rd of Elizabeth was to be considered as the 'Magna Charta of the poor,' and gave the following interpretation of that statute:—

"If it could be shown that the principle of the poor laws was subversive of that by which property was protected, then it would be evident that such an antagonist principle ought not to be allowed to prevail. The meaning of the statute of the 43rd of Elizabeth was to inflict compulsory labour by way of punishment, not to afford labour for the mere purpose of maintenance."

well, which is favourably noticed by the Commissioners of Inquiry, in their report. But his notion of a better system, as adapted to the country at large, did not extend beyond that of a well-ordered workhouse for every parish. Of the superior economy and efficiency attainable by an incorporation of parishes, as far as it had been tried, he had had no practical experience; and of the plan of Unions and boards of guardians,—the machinery of the Poor-law Amendment Bill,—he knew nothing but what had been explained to him by its author.

These were the elements of which Mr Chadwick, sitting at a board at which he had no voice, was expected to work out a scheme which, as originally conceived by himself and Mr Senior, we have always held, and still maintain, to have been the most statesmanlike measure of local administrative reform framed in modern times. A measure which was to have rescued the labourer from pauperism,—educated his children,—succoured the helpless,—extinguished mendicancy,—substituted accountability for jobbing, and gradually, by an extension of its provisions, superseded the powers of select vestries, irresponsible trusts, and county magistrates, for all business demanding the watchful control of the ratepayers of their own funds, through the medium of a popular local representation.

The Commissioners, however, never comprehended the measure in this spirit, and one of them, Mr Frankland Lewis, has shown pretty clearly before the Andover Committee, that his mind was chiefly occupied from the first (and it could hardly have been otherwise) with a jealousy of Mr Chadwick, instead of with enlarged views of public usefulness. Mr Chadwick had been told that, although not made a Commissioner, he was to be consulted as one, or at least as something more than a mere secretary; and peers and commoners, alike regarding Mr Chadwick as the soul of the new system, hastened to apply to him for the information they should have sought, in strictness of official etiquette, from the head of the Commission. Mr Frankland Lewis was, *de facto*, treated as a nullity, both by the Government and the public, and hence the early resolve of wounded pride that, ‘whatever might be the intention of Lord Melbourne, the secretary of the board should not be its viceroy.’* Hence, also, and

* What Bacon says of kings may be applied to statesmen:—

“Men of depth are held suspected by princes, as inspecting them too close, and being able by their strength of capacity, as by a machine, to turn and wind them against their will and without their knowledge. Popular men are hated, as standing in the light of kings, and drawing the eyes of the multitude upon themselves. Men of courage are generally esteemed turbulent and too enterprising. Honest and just men are accounted morose and not pliable enough to the will of their masters. Lastly, there is no virtue but hath its shade wherewith the minds of men are offended.”

consequently, upon the above, the reports industriously circulated in influential quarters, that Mr Chadwick's advice required to be received with caution as that of a *purist*; a phrase which, when adopted by Lord Melbourne, only showed that his lordship had either not made up his mind upon the wisdom of the law, or upon the general policy of requiring that all laws should be administered in their integrity while they remain on the statute book. It would be a strange accusation to bring against a judge, that he was a *purist* in his interpretation of acts of parliament; or against a Commissioner of customs, that he was a *purist* in rigidly exacting to the last farthing the amount of duty defined in the tariff.

A strict adherence to the principle of the bill was the very thing the public required to understand its value or its worthlessness. Now, after the experience of twelve years, in what state are we left? Everybody is dissatisfied; but is the law, or are the Commissioners to be blamed? The most eager opponents of the Poor-law Amendment Bill are perplexed by the discovery that the principle of the measure has yet to be tried; and that the abuses brought to light have been those of the old system still retained, or rather of the "*no system*" which has changed with the wind.

The first step taken by the Commissioners was a fatal one—that of postponing the application of the measure in the case of the manufacturing and metropolitan districts, and beginning with the consolidation of rural parishes. Worse generalship could not be conceived. The strength of the vast body of local jobbers, whose interests were imperilled by the bill, lay not in rural parishes, but in the towns. With those jobbers a battle had to be fought, and it was commenced on the side of the Commissioners with that display of irresolution which always encourages resistance. In fact they opened the campaign with a retreat.

When the bill passed, an impression universally prevailed among parish officers that their functions as relating to the poor were at an end. They awaited discontentedly, but with what resignation they could command, the signal to be dismissed. When, instead of dismissal, they found themselves left in possession of the field, and the commissioners themselves in doubt about the policy of immediate attack, it was but natural to 'take heart of grace,' and pluck up courage for a fight. An agitation was easily got up with the aid of the '*Times*,' and the distant operations of the Commissioners favoured a clamour against "centralisation." The unhappy designs of a young and inexperienced architect for the new workhouses (patronage again!) suggested the idea of Bastilles, and this was so well worked, that some

years before any opportunity had been afforded the inhabitants of the metropolis of ascertaining the superior amount of accommodation afforded by the new workhouses as compared with the old, an opinion gained ascendancy that the poor were literally, under the new system, incarcerated in dungeons.

Misrepresentation would have been short-lived if the first attempt at real improvement had been made in London; and the first new workhouse built rendered a worthy model for a pauper establishment, and erected within five hundred yards of Somerset House. There it would have been visited by multitudes, as one of the lions of the metropolis; and the opinion formed of the new system would have been one founded upon actual observation; for here, as in every other country, the voice of the capital is that of the nation.

Not only was this course not adopted, but the greatest abuses tolerated by the Commissioners have been those at their own doors. The guardians of the City of London Union have been permitted, up to the present moment, to farm out their infirm poor to contractors for their maintenance, and to administer relief upon the vagrancy-creating system of a shilling and a loaf to all applicants. This Union is only now, in the year 1846, advertising for a site for a suitable asylum of its own.

We thus see the origin of the cry for an extension of out-door relief; a cry which became formidable in 1837, when only one-third of the Unions now in operation had been formed, and in that year, and with the first general introduction of the new law into the manufacturing districts, we find the Commissioners formally proposing to Government a return to the system which the new law was the most emphatically intended to condemn—that of out-door allowances to men and women in full work, on the ground of wages insufficient to support their children.

It is almost unnecessary to explain, as many of our readers are economists, that there is no medium between relief in aid of wages and the gradual absorption of all wages by rates. Independent workmen cannot compete with those who are underpaid, because parish fed, and where one is paid partly by the parish, and partly by an employer, so must be a second, a third, and a fourth, till by degrees the system extends to the whole labouring population. Hood's '*Song of the Shirt*,' which excited the commiseration of the public for distressed needlewomen, would also have roused its indignation, had he shown, as he might have done, if he had understood the subject, the allowance system creating that distress, by reducing the wages of all needle-work to the standard which ensures, in some manufacturing towns, a supplementary provision from the parish.

It appears that Mr Chadwick resisted the proposed regulation in this instance with success; but it did not occur to Lord John Russell, when he to this extent supported the secretary against the Commissioners, that where parties differed thus widely upon a fundamental principle, it was necessary to choose between them, and re-organise the Commission.

The opportunity of ensuring the safe-conduct of the measure, and of doing justice to Mr Chadwick, was afforded by the retirement (not altogether uncalled for) of Mr Frankland Lewis (now Sir Frankland Lewis); but it was not embraced. The son was appointed in place of the father, and the Commission, as a house divided against itself, abandoned to its fate. The change, in this sense, was even for the worse; because George Cornwall Lewis, while holding the same opinions as his father, and inheriting the same likes and dislikes as Sir Frankland, is a man of superior ability; a man whom it would be hopeless to attempt to lead, and who is not to be driven. The relation between himself and the secretary was that of an ill-assorted marriage of a catholic husband and a protestant wife; the wife somewhat the cleverer of the two, but with no privilege beyond the use of her tongue. This relation was not improved by the consciousness which must have been felt by the one that he had accepted a position to which the other had a higher moral claim than himself.

To strengthen his influence in the board, Mr George Cornwall Lewis procured the appointment, as a Commissioner, of his personal friend, Sir Edmund Walker Head, the author of some papers on the fine arts in the 'Quarterly Review,' and an accomplished private gentleman, of whom we trust it may be permitted us to say, for the honour of our country, that he belongs only to a numerous class, consisting of many thousands of equal merit, and of equal readiness to serve the public, with an honorarium of two thousand pounds per annum. He was made *pro forma*, and *pro forma* only, in the first instance an assistant commissioner, an office which he only held for a few months; visiting workhouses during that period, as a nobleman may sometimes be seen qualifying for a physician to his own family by walking the hospitals. His appointment was another private and public wrong; but in this case, not only a wrong to Mr Chadwick, over whom he was promoted, but to the whole body of assistant commissioners, of whom every one had morally, and in regard to the public service as promoted by practical experience, a better title and a clearer right to the office than Sir Edmund Head.

We need not pursue the history. The Commissioners of course had their own way, and their secretary practically set aside, as

we have seen, found the means of employing himself in the sanatory inquiries which will for ever associate his name with those of the greatest benefactors of the age. So far good has arisen out of evil; but the amount of evil to which these abuses have led, for which no adequate compensation can ever be found in our time, demands our serious attention. Were this a mere personal question, nothing would be easier than to get rid of it by recriminations, but the case is a public one, and without reference to Mr Chadwick, the Commissioners have to account for the results of their administration, as affecting the moral and physical well-being of the whole community. What have they been?

The following figures from the 12th Annual Report (page 27, folio edition) will supply the answer:—

Years.	Total expended for the Relief and Maintenance of the Poor in England and Wales; including Unions and Parishes not in Unions.	Price of Wheat per Quarter.
	£	s. d.
1837	4,044,741	52 6
1838	4,123,604	55 3
1839	4,406,907	69 4
1840	4,576,965	68 6
1841	4,760,929	65 3
1842	4,911,498	64 0
1843	5,208,027	54 4
1844	4,976,093	51 5
1845	5,030,703	49 2

The above shows an increase of annual expenditure, as compared with the year 1837, of £994,962. The difference of increase for the same period, between 1826 and 1834 (the last year of the old system), was but £383,753.*

The Commissioners take credit for the fact that the poor-law expenditure remains less than before the Amendment Bill was

* Years.	Expenditure before the Passing of the Poor-law Amendment Act.	Price of Wheat per Quarter.
	£	s. d.
1826	5,926,502	58 9
1834	6,317,255	51 11

The greatest expenditure for the poor under the old system was in 1832 £7,036,969, when wheat was 63s. 4d. per quarter; and under the new, £5,208,027, in 1843, with wheat at 54s. 4d. per quarter.

passed, but this is foreign to the purpose; the mode in which they have discharged their duty can only be properly tested by the present rate of decrease or increase of pauperism as compared with former periods. The figures prove that pauperism is increasing upon us at a more rapid rate than in 1832, when the poor-rates having swallowed up the whole rental of some parishes, and thrown the land out of cultivation (as in Cholmesbury), government first seriously set about the task of averting the further progress of the mischief.

The reader will note that in 1837, the year of lowest expenditure, only 204 unions were in operation: in 1845 the number was 585, so that the moral effect of the bill was greatest before it was fully applied. The rates have more than proportionately increased as the influence of the Commission has extended. Moreover, of the year ending Lady-day 1837, the Commissioners observe (see their 4th Annual Report) that the autumn was 'unpropitious,' with continued 'heavy rains till the middle of December,' followed by 'a winter of unusual severity,' during which great distress prevailed in Nottingham and other manufacturing towns. The eleventh report says—'in the year ending Lady-day 1844, the demand for labour both in the manufacturing and agricultural districts had revived, and the number of able-bodied persons incapable of obtaining employment was not considerable.' The number of paupers relieved in 1837 is not given, but the following table found in the last report will show how little difference the revival of trade, and an abundant harvest, made in the downward tendency of the present system:—

Winter Quarter ending March 25.	Total Number of Paupers* relieved in England and Wales.	Price of Wheat per Quarter.
	£	s. d.
1840	1,199,529	68 6
1841	1,299,048	65 3
1842	1,427,187	64 0
1843	1,539,490	64 4
1844	1,477,661	51 5
1845	1,470,970	49 2

* The average proportion of the in-door to out-door paupers is as one to five; that is, in every 100 paupers, fifteen only are maintained in work-houses, eighty-five receiving out-door relief. In the best regulated unions the proportion of each appears to be nearly equal, and the expense about the rate of 4s. 6d. per head to the population. For the country generally the commissioners state the cost of the poor for 1845 to have been 6s. 6d. per head on the population.

The tenth Annual Report of the Commissioners (p. 4, 8vo edition) describes the pauperism of 1843 as '*amounting to one-tenth of the population.*' In their eleventh report, referring to the winter quarter ending March 25, 1844, the Commissioners tell us:—

"The number of new cases in the other three quarters may be safely estimated at half a million, so that the number of persons relieved in England and Wales in the course of the parochial year 1844 may be taken at about two millions, or nearly '*one-eighth part of the population.*'"

There is to us a solemnity in this announcement like that of a funeral knell,—the knell of a nation. One-eighth part of the population of England and Wales paupers in a year of railroad activity, and with wheat at 51s. 5d. per quarter! Historians are now agreed that the decline of the Roman Empire began with the gratuitous distribution of corn from the public granaries, or the sale of corn below cost prices, to the poor. This went on till the middle classes were destroyed by the weight of taxation, and the producer ruined by the competition of government. With headlong precipitation we are following the same course. Two millions of paupers in England and Wales, and the effects of a potato failure last winter and during the winter approaching yet unrecorded! Ireland now to be fed, and the old parochial system of out-door relief, with employment on the roads, to be applied to a whole population.* To what gulf are we hastening?

The Commissioners, if an inquiry should be instituted next session into the general policy they have pursued, would probably be able to show that a lax administration of the law had the direct countenance and encouragement of the late home secretary, Sir James Graham. Hints we know were given years back that too much activity in the reform of abuses was not desirable, as drawing attention to the central board; and for the limited number of the assistant Commissioners, inefficient for any

* We agree with the '*Economist*' in regarding the Government measure now adopted for Ireland, with as much apprehension as the plan superseded of supplying the poor with cheap meal. For the latter there was the apology of the Corn Laws then unrepealed. For the new plan none that can be admitted, since the Irish railways, standing still for want of funds, would have furnished all the employment required, with a little assistance from Government, instead of diverting industry into less productive channels. We approve also highly of Mr Poulett Scrope's suggestion of draining the waste lands, and dividing them as freeholds among the people upon such conditions as would ensure their cultivation. The evil of Ireland is not small farms, but small *tenancies*, held at high rents, under absentee proprietors.

really useful objects, the Home-office alone is accountable. A further inquiry, however, may not be deemed compatible with existing political understandings that would possibly involve a member of the late Government; and it might otherwise also be inconvenient. George Cornewall Lewis, by his marriage into the family of the Villiers, is the brother-in-law of two cabinet ministers—Lord John Russell and Lord Clarendon. What will be done with the Commission we know not; but a greater responsibility never rested upon the heads of statesmen than that of the future course now to be considered.*

The history of the Poor-law Amendment Bill is that of penny postage. When the bill for an uniform postage of one penny passed into law, it seems to have been regarded by government as a measure of reduction only; not one that would affect the character of the whole correspondence of the country. Letters that had been charged 7*d.* were now to be charged 1*d.*; a very simple affair apparently, but involving extensive changes in every branch of postal administration, for an increased pressure of business, and to provide improved facilities for the despatch of letters, with frequent deliveries; without which it was of course impossible that the penny could be made as productive as the old rates, or the Post-office as efficient as it might and ought to be rendered. The new arrangements required had been all carefully thought out by Mr Rowland Hill, and formed in fact an integral portion of his plan, but their importance was not appreciated by ministers; and had it been fully understood, the result, as far as it regarded him personally, would not perhaps have been materially different. The propriety or desirability of entrusting Mr Hill with the working of his own measure, does not appear at the time to have crossed the mind of any members of the cabinet; and after it had been suggested to them by others the first proposition was that of rewarding him with some kind of clerkship of the value of about 500*l.* per annum. When it was found that this would be a downward kind of promotion, and that, although Mr Hill's "position" (a stumbling-block, mentioned by Mr Baring) was not that of a member of the

* A recommendation that the Poor-law Commissioners shall be merged as a branch of the Home Office, finds favour with some members of the House of Commons. Undoubtedly it is best, in public administration, that the real springs of action should be apparent. But such a measure should be accompanied by direct personal responsibilities imposed on the Home Minister, or whosoever may be the parliamentary chief of the department; and before the measure is adopted, or indeed whether it is or not, an inquiry should be made as to what was done with the law by the last Home Secretary, a serious subject, to which we shall probably return.

highest aristocratical circles, he was not a needy claimant, but one who only asked permission to ensure the success of his own plan, by superintending its details in execution, and who was ready to do so, if necessary, gratis, he was placed in the Treasury, nominally with a view to the object, but with a stipulation (a miserable bargaining in such a case), that his appointment should be temporary; with no claim to salary for more than two years,—a period afterwards extended to three.

Mr Hill found himself in the Treasury in the same situation as Mr Chadwick at Somerset House,—an overlooker, without power of interference. To influence the officials in St Martin's-le-grand, it was necessary to act through the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr Baring had neither time nor inclination to meddle with the province of Col. Maberley. The secretary of the Post-office having declared himself an enemy of the measure, which he regarded as utterly impracticable, and ruinous to the revenue, the true and obvious course, when his evidence had failed to convince the legislature, was to supersede Col. Maberley by Mr Hill. The change would not have been so humiliating to Col. Maberley as retaining office to carry out a plan of which he disapproved, and it need have inflicted no injustice, for the public would not have grudged, under the circumstances, the continued payment of his full salary as a retiring pension. The narrow cheese-paring economy which has prevailed instead has cost the country dear. Everybody knows the tendency of the mind to realise its own prophecies by sparing no effort for their accomplishment. At best there never can have been on the part of Col. Maberley any zeal for the success of the plan; and yet its success is now demonstrable. What would have been the triumphant progress of the measure if, instead of the active enmity, or at least the *vis inertiae* of prejudiced officials, it had received the energetic support of its author, with free scope for his powers? The penny postage now realises a surplus income over expenditure of 700,000*l.* Is it too much to assume that the difference between Rowland Hill as secretary of the Post-office and Col. Maberley, would by this time have amounted to an additional 250,000*l.* in favour of the revenue?

The reader may inquire how it is a lieutenant-colonel, whose profession is the sword, finds his way into a department especially connected with the pen. Patronage explains the enigma. Mr Maberley, the father, was a Government contractor, who spent, in contesting elections for the Whig interest, the money he had acquired. This gave him a claim upon the gratitude of his party, which favoured their discernment of merit in

his son, who appears in an appendix of the 'Black Book' as Clerk of Ordnance in 1832, with a salary of 1,200*l*.

The present Government being constituted upon a broader liberal basis than any which has preceded it, there was a general expectation before the list was complete that Mr Rowland Hill would be made Postmaster-general; and such an appointment would perhaps have gone farther than any other to strengthen the new cabinet out of doors. Not because the Marquis of Clanricarde may not prove (as nothing is impossible) as efficient an administrator as Mr Hill, but because the name of the latter would have conveyed an impression that fitness for special duties, independent of rank, and public obligations irrespective of party, were at last to be recognised as principles of statesmanship. Policy and equity, however (but of the old leaven), have not been wholly forgotten. In the appointment of the Marquis of Clanricarde some obscure notions seem to have prevailed of "*justice to Ireland*;" and a fair share, in the general distribution of good things, has, therefore, been given to an Irish peer!

Rowland Hill is now abroad, possibly studying foreign tariffs; as some time back there was an idea of offering him a place in the Customs. Should such an offer ever be made and accepted (not very likely, if we understand the character of the man), we trust the long-room at the Custom-house will be decorated with his portrait. The author of penny postage in the capacity of a tide-waiter would be a suitable pendant to a picture of Burns as an exciseman. Some remarks, however, from Lord John Russell towards the end of the session, upon further reforms, as needed in the Post-office, have led us to hope better things; but no rumour respecting the mode of effecting them, or the agency to be employed (for which one only is really suitable), has yet reached consistency.

Our associations connected with the Railway Termini Commission, and its elder brother, the Commission for Metropolitan Improvements, carry us back to a debate (April 26, 1843), when our readers may remember a discussion upon a bill introduced by Lord John Russell, for extending the provisions of the Municipal Reform Act to some insignificant boroughs which had been overlooked. The bill was opposed by Sir James Graham (who had then newly succeeded to office) as an ill-digested measure, and he taunted Lord John Russell with his zeal for the reform of a few petty corporations of no public importance, while he could overlook the giant abuse of the corporation of London. "There was," said Sir James Graham, "such a thing as straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel."

The phrase was a strong one; and the public were so much

misled by it, that many really imagined that the great bugbear which had scared the Melbourne Cabinet from even a consolidation of the police of the metropolis, would, at the first convenient opportunity, be summarily dealt with by the 'strong government' of Sir Robert Peel. The public were mistaken, however. Honours and influence, in payment for after-dinner cheers (supposed by a strange blunder to represent the sentiments of the *merchants* of London), have continued from that time to the present to be showered down upon a body which stands alone among municipal institutions as a monument of reckless waste, —the greatest in local administration the world has seen.

Almost the first act of the late government was the appointment of Mr Alderman Humphery, the then Lord Mayor, as one of the Commissioners for Metropolitan Improvements; and the last, relating to Commissions, was the appointment of the present Lord Mayor, John Johnson, Esq., as one of the Railway Termini Commissioners; passing over in both cases every one of the metropolitan members.

Now, when we consider how little the first Commission has been able to effect, on the alleged ground of want of funds, the reflection is forced upon us, that, since the passing (Sept. 9, 1835) of the Municipal Reform Act, from which the City was excepted, and the close of the late session (Sept. 1846), *half a million* of money at the very least that might have been saved to the public has been *squandered*, and squandered in the most literal sense of the word by that class of local administrators, of whom such men as Alderman Humphery and Alderman John Johnson are perhaps favourable specimens.*

* The reader will bear in mind that the cost of one dinner and procession every 9th of November is 2,000*l.* That the cash allowances of the Lord Mayor are 8,000*l.*, besides officers of the household, and various Mansion-house expenses, amounting to a similar sum; and that the mischief of this precedent runs throughout every branch of City administration, corporate and parochial. Half-a-million in eleven years would only be a saving of five per cent. upon the aggregate of the miscellaneous revenues of the City, of which the following is a revised estimate :—

"CORPORATE AND PAROCHIAL INCOME OF THE CITY OF LONDON FOR PUBLIC OBJECTS."	
Trust Estates—for the relief of the poor, cure of the sick, education, religion, and general purposes (see the Charity Reports)	£ 360,000
Local rates (1842)	230,000
Coal and metage duties—Street and market tolls (corresponding with the justly obnoxious "Octroi" system of the Continent)	200,000
Freedom and livery fines, fees, and other charges for corporate and trading privileges	50,000
Port of London, and conservancy of the river	60,000
	£900,000

Two-thirds of the above amount are collected by the Corporation; a proportion of the whole, but comparatively a small one, is devoted to objects not strictly

Evidence on this subject would now be thrown away. The amount may be more or less, but the fact of gross and palpable abuses is admitted by all but the parties interested, and our present quarrel is not with them, but with the statesmen who stoop to countenance those abuses, thinking that they win suffrages, where in fact they only earn contempt.

We will not enter into the question of London Bridge and its approaches ;—public works of a metropolitan, rather than of a local character, entrusted by government without necessity, or reasonable show of propriety, to the corporation, through the influence solely of its ‘hospitalities,’ and its votes in Parliament. Assuming the execution of those works, at whatever cost, to constitute a legitimate claim on the part of the corporation to meddle generally with metropolitan improvements, the rank of a Commissioner was due, not to any members of the Court of Aldermen, but to the gentleman under whose immediate direction, as chairman of the City Lands Committee, the whole of the improvements referred to have been carried out.

The ‘Westminster Review’ has on former occasions freely criticised the plans of Mr Richard Lambert Jones, but whatever their merits or defects, practical experience and the semblance at least of fitness would not have been wanting in his case; and had he been selected, more respect would have been paid to the object in view, even in the opinion of the corporation, than by the appointment of the Lord Mayor for the time being.

The Lord Mayor for that year (1842), Mr Alderman Humphery, however great his private worth, was morally disqualified from acting upon a Commission intended in the first place to promote an embankment of the Thames,—as a wharfinger seriously interested in the property that would be affected by such a measure. That this consideration should have been overlooked must now appear the more reprehensible, inasmuch as the large pecuniary benefit which will probably be realised by Mr Alderman Humphery from the formation of the railway terminus of the South Western Railway Company on the site of his wharves and warehouses at London Bridge, as sanctioned by his brother Commissioners, will necessarily expose him and them to an uncharitable, although an unmerited, construction of motives.

connected with the City; the objects for which the whole should be applied are, for the most part, defined by wills or by Acts of Parliament; and the City authorities tell us that which is quite true, when they say that for the greater portion of this vast revenue they are mere conduit-pipes. The one fact to which we have sought to draw attention is, that *these conduit-pipes leak*.”—(From the article entitled “City Administration” in the Westminster Review for March, 1845. The third and concluding paper on this subject.)

On public grounds, the qualifications of a Lord Mayor for a Thames embankment Commissioner would have been best tested by the actual state in which Lord Mayors, claiming to be conservators of the river, have left the banks of the Thames to this day. Let any foreigner take his stand upon the wooden pier abomination, *erected by the corporation*, at the foot of Blackfriars' Bridge, and glance at the multitude of wooden and unsightly projections visible from the same point, and what a satire will it not appear to him upon the state of the arts, or of constructive science in this country, that the very patrons of such deformities of a noble stream should be especially selected for its architectural embellishment ! Doubtless it so appeared to the French Commissioners who visited England last year, with instructions from their government to profit from our example, in whatever they could find worthy of imitation in our public markets. We have elsewhere given extracts from the report of these official visitors, who appear to have wanted words to describe their feelings of loathing excited by the spectacle of reeking slaughter-houses in the back lanes of Newgate street, and their astonishment at seeing a cattle-market held in the middle of public thoroughfares, and droves of horned beasts dispersing in the busiest part of the day, through narrow and densely-crowded streets. The report of MM. Anger, V. Baltard, and A. Husson, is silent upon the fact that the ex-officio representative of Smithfield Market is deemed by British statesmen the proper party to originate plans for facilitating the traffic of the metropolis, worthy of the consideration of the Legislature. This it was not in their province to notice. It is in ours ; but Shakespeare may supply the comment :—

“ Can such things be,
And overcome us like a summer cloud
Without our special wonder ? ”

The appointment of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Frederic Smith, of the Royal Engineers, as one of the Railway Termini Commissioners, appeared to us of a still more questionable character than that of a Lord Mayor on the same inquiry. Sir Frederic Smith was a party with Mr Bidder to the scheme of Sir Frederick Trench, of a railway embankment from Westminster Bridge to Dowgate wharf ;—condemned by the former Commissioner as impracticable. His evidence will be found at page 52 of their first report. This scheme was not only impracticable in its engineering details, but in its characteristic feature, that of an expensive short line, stopping short of all great points of communication, and yet competing with the river steam-boats, it was,

after the experience of the Greenwich and Blackwall Railways, of all schemes the wildest that had appeared; and of others better matured, or less unpromising, its promoter was to be the judge!

We have long been of opinion that the object of a Thames embankment will on the whole be best attained through the medium of railway companies, but it surely requires but little practical skill to divine that a costly independent railway of only two miles in length could not be made remunerative; and this was so well understood, that every company, without exception, formed during the mania of 1845, for railways either along the river, or in other parts of the metropolis, appears to have proposed a connexion with one or more of the main trunk lines. Sir Frederick Smith, however, abides by the old crotchet of Sir Frederick Trench. The report therefore of the Railway Termini Commissioners in reference to one of the plans submitted to them contains the following passage:—

“There remains that portion of the scheme which would follow the line of the Thames Embankment. To this, unconnected with any terminus for the reception of traffic from distant parts of the country, and used solely as a line of short passenger traffic, in the manner of the Blackwall Railway, we are not prepared to raise any objection. We are, on the contrary, disposed to think that such a line might be a convenience to the public; at all events, it would draw off a considerable portion of the overcrowded traffic of Fleet street and the Strand; and, therefore, that if it can be so constructed as not to disfigure the embankment, or to cause any additional interference with the traffic of the river, and with the convenience of wharves and warehouses, and any deterioration of private property, it will deserve the consideration of Parliament.”

The Thames Embankment and Railway Junction Company alluded to in the above, have, we learn, memorialised the government for a further inquiry, on the ground that the Commission (which dissolved on presenting its report) had confounded their plan with another for a “Central Terminus,” to which they had never been a party; their object being not termini, but continuity of communication; that the Commissioners had not reported at all upon the merit of the new artery the company proposed to form through the City, 75 feet wide, which would necessarily diffuse and not concentrate the traffic, as the report described; that the Commissioners had not even asked to see the model prepared for them of this railway street; and, in short, that their plans had been wholly misunderstood.

Of course they could not be very clearly apprehended by a mind prepossessed with other ideas on the same subject. But into the extent of the misconception or misrepresentation we

cannot inquire. We think the plans of this company, and those of every other for railways in or near the metropolis, should have been deferred by the Commissioners until one comprehensive scheme had been matured, complete in all its parts, of all the new railways, and other thoroughfares likely to be required in London for the next twenty years; but the paragraph quoted is so characteristic of the kind of judgment displayed by the Commissioners throughout their whole report, that we are induced to draw further attention to its meaning by putting their recommendation in our own words :

"We, your Majesty's Commissioners, feel ourselves justified in encouraging the public to spend their money to the extent of 500,000*l.*, upon a railway and embankment between Hungerford Market, and Blackfriars Bridge, *on condition*, that the said railway shall not be made useful as a means of access to any of the main trunk lines entering the Metropolis from the east, west, north, or south; and *further on condition*, that the whole of the traffic of the Eastern Counties and Blackwall railways, between their present termini and the west end, shall pass as now through Cheapside and Thames street; and that no new thoroughfares shall be opened in that neighbourhood, however needed,—if combined with the improvement of railway communication.

"CANNING,
 "DALHOUSIE,
 "JOHN JOHNSON, Mayor,
 "J. C. HERRIES,
 "J. M. F. SMITH."

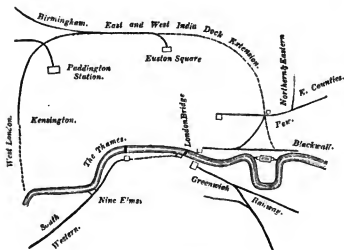
The leading principles of the Termini Report appear to be that house property (on the *north* side of the river) should be respected (that is, left alone by parties willing to pay for it); and that every railway is a nuisance, or at best but a necessary evil, which should be kept as much as possible at arms' length. These are in striking contrast to the conclusions drawn by every friend of public improvement from the results of the recent sanatory investigations. The tables alone of the Registrar-General show that life cannot be prolonged to age in over-crowded districts, and that their reconstruction, with fewer houses, and with thoroughfares admitting light and air, is necessary, if not for the traffic of the metropolis, for the public health. The mortality of the parish of St Botolph's, City, is one death in 37; while in Islington it is but one in 53, and only one in 63 at Stamford Hill.* Attention to these and similar facts has led to the proposition of building suburban villages in the green fields, with *cheap* railway

* Fifth Report of the Registrar-General, p. 462.

facilities of access, for the families of working men; instead of erecting new lodging houses, in London, for which societies have been formed; a proposition which has received the able advocacy of Mr W. A. Wilkinson, of the Croydon Company.

Unhappily a Termini Commission, composed as we have seen, was not the body to grasp such an idea, when brought before them, or to appreciate the importance, in reference to it, of that amalgamation of interests which, by economizing resources, can alone render cheapness in railways attainable, or its enforcement by the legislature just. With an inconsistency the most extraordinary we have ever met with, the Commissioners state that 'under no circumstances should the thoroughfares of the metropolis be surrendered to different schemes, brought forward at different times and without reference to each other,' and then conclude their report with recommending several separate schemes of precisely this character for legislative sanction.

The practical result of this inquiry, if inquiry it can be called, has been to give a complete monopoly of all the best points of communication in the metropolitan district to the London and Birmingham and South Western Companies. This will be seen by a glance at the following diagram, in which the



dotted lines indicate the extension railways for which bills have been obtained during the late session; viz., the South Western

Extension to London Bridge; the Birmingham Extension to the East and West India Docks and the Blackwall Railway; and the West London Extension to the Thames.

"Rejoicing with those who rejoice," we congratulate the shareholders of the South Western Company upon the exclusive possession of three of the best termini, or stations, east, west, and central, the metropolis affords;—the Birmingham shareholders, upon the permission given to their Company to stretch out two gigantic arms, and embrace the whole northern district of the metropolis;—and the hitherto unfortunate Blackwall proprietors, upon their now prospective and not distant admission into the family of the Great North Western confederation.

"Weeping with those who weep," we may sympathise with the public, again sacrificed to the genius of monopoly, and with the shareholders of every other London company seeking improved means of access to their own lines; whose object has not only been defeated but surrounded with new difficulties, only to be surmounted by new applications to Parliament, new contests, and the lavish expenditure they involve.

We raise no objection to the lines adopted, as far as regards their general direction, which is good. The objection is, that the lines are to be so formed as to promote "separate interests," and not the general interests of the public as connected with the railway communications of the whole country.

Take, for instance, the extension line of the South Western Company; a viaduct railway 20 feet high and 35 feet in width, cutting off all communication from the south, with the river between Nine Elms and London Bridge, for other railways, and yet offering no facilities to the public for reaching from the west end, the Dover and Brighton lines; at the terminus of which it stops short by a stone's throw, and at a point where a junction would be impracticable. Now, as a west end station for the Brighton and Dover Railways must one day be conceded, it is obvious that no portion of the ground should have been surrendered to the South Western Company until the plans of the whole of the southern companies had been adjusted so as best to harmonize with the general object.

In this case the neglected claims of the public correspond with those of the Great Western Company, which have been equally disregarded. The carriage of a hogshead of sugar from Thames street to Paddington station costs as much as the charge from Paddington to Oxford, and yet they are denied the privilege of making a more convenient and an ornamental terminus out of the mud banks of the river at Charing Cross.

We may infer from the report that the Great Western, in the

opinion of the Commissioners, should cross the river at Fulham, and avail itself of the extension line of the South Western for a nearer approach to the City. Such a plan would not have been impracticable if government had over-ruled the jealousies of the two companies, and had stipulated that the width of the new viaduct to be constructed should be increased from 35 feet to 50 feet, or sufficiently for an additional pair of rails to be laid down on the broad gauge, at the expense of the Great Western Company. The arrangement would have been an economical one, promoting cheap travelling, and fair as between competing parties, who, if they ruin each other, will equally injure the public.

A similar consideration should have prevailed in the case of the Birmingham extension to Blackwall. If the docks of Liverpool should be connected by rail with the docks of London, to facilitate transshipments, so should the docks of Plymouth. An extension line, therefore, from Camden town to the East India Docks should be one, if we are right in our estimate of the ultimate goods and passenger-traffic, for at least four pair of rails, one of them upon the broad gauge for Great Western trains.*

The principle of railway *continuity*,—that all railways should be linked together in the same manner as common roads which run into one another, without break or interruption, and form an endless chain, was not understood by the Commissioners. They saw the inconvenience that would result from a concentration of railway traffic, without recognising the only mode by which that traffic can be diffused. They push their objection to *central termini*, to the extent of saying that a terminus for several railways at Charing Cross, abutting upon the river and the broad streets which open out of Trafalgar square, is equally inadmissible with one in the midst of the narrow lanes of the City, and then proceed to recommend an additional station in Southwark, making St Saviour's Church and St Thomas's Hospital, to which the narrow lanes of the City and a narrow bridge are the only means of access, a central terminus for all the railways of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire.

The most impassable part of the City, where stoppages occur every hour in the day, is in Gracechurch street, at the end of Lombard street, where two streams of traffic cross, one in the direction of the Borough, the other of the Blackwall Railway. What will be the obstructions at this spot when the crowding of vehicles is further increased by a large portion of the whole Northern traffic being brought to Fenchurch street, and by the South Western traffic brought to London Bridge?

* The Great Northern Company and the Eastern Counties have obtained powers to run carriages upon the same line.

We have said enough to show that every branch of the subject discussed in the report of the Termini Commissioners will have to be reconsidered. We have never met with an official paper filled with such inconsequential reasoning, and yet, upon engineering questions especially, with more dogmatic assumption. All new bridges are condemned *in toto*. The beautiful design by Mr Allom, in the last Exhibition, for a bridge opposite St Paul's, where it could be no interruption to the navigation, is not even noticed. A viaduct is declared in an *ex cathedra* fashion, to be, 'of all methods by which a railway can be carried through a town, the most injurious to property;' and yet the viaduct of the South Western meets with an approval unqualified by the remark that it would be more convenient and less injurious to property in Southwark for the streets to be crossed at a level. Upon the advantages of atmospheric traction for towns as compared with locomotives, or even with the rope system (the noisiest of all), the report is silent; and silent also upon the use of railways along common roads, in the manner of tram roads, for horse power; not for increase of speed, but the saving of draught. Railway streets and railway arcades for the double object of ordinary traffic combined with railway transit are passed over without a word of comment;—including the plan of Mr Moffatt, the architect, for a street in Pimlico, 160 feet wide, with trees at the sides and a railway in the centre;—and generally upon the vast improvements which might be effected in the metropolis by means of the co-operation of railway companies with each other and the Government, and which co-operation it was understood the Commissioners were to promote, they do not appear to have bestowed a thought.

We gladly bring these strictures to a close. Their personal application, in some instances, may offend; but we seek to gratify no private feelings. We have no pleasure in that which may give pain to others; and we discharge only a painful duty. The facts we have noted relate to objects watched with eagerness from the first, and some of which, as affecting the elevation of the people, have grown with us into a religion. Never have we taken up a pen under a stronger sense of the imperative obligation of plain-speaking.

We conclude with a protest against any inference that may be drawn from this paper favourable to anti-state agitation. The state is the people, and the people are not to abandon themselves to social disorganization because they have not yet found out the art of securing efficiency in their public servants. We cannot but confess that the minister who serves his friend at the expense of the public, the nation looking on, is guilty only of the same

fault, but on a grand scale, which multitudes commit from similar motives in the sheltered obscurity of private life: as in an instance which occurs to us of the chairman of a voluntary society, who, in the names of Education and Philanthropy, made his own *footman* master of a British school, in the Finsbury division of the Tower Hamlets. Abuses of patronage are confined to no class or rank. They belong to local as well as central institutions, and in their redress and prevention lies the secret of good government.

. The subject of the preceding might be usefully extended to an inquiry into the efficiency of other Commissions; but although we must decline this further task for the present, we would not lose this opportunity of drawing the attention of the Commissioners of the Fine Arts to the new regulations at the British Museum, by which artists are now forbidden to copy in chalk or colours effects of light and shade, for the study of which in the works of Rembrandt, &c., they were formerly in the habit of resorting to the print room. Whether this prohibition arises out of economy on the part of the trustees in not providing a sufficient number of superintendents to prevent the works being damaged, or from somebody's friend being put into office who may care nothing for the progress of art, but much about saving himself the trouble, the fact that such a prohibition exists says but little for high patronage, or for the public spirit of the guardians of a national institution.

FOREIGN LITERATURE

AND

CORRESPONDENCE.

Peru. Reiseskizzen aus den Jahren 1838—1842. [Peru : Sketches of Travel, &c.] By J. J. von Tschudi. 2 vols. St Gallen. 1846.

THE author of these volumes belongs to that class of travellers whose steps the reader accompanies with most pleasure through a wild and strange land. He is a naturalist of considerable reputation, who spent five years in Peru, exploring its least frequented regions, its mountain wildernesses, and vast forests, as well as its towns, cities, and coasts, chiefly in pursuit of his favourite study. His professional occupations did not, however, so much engross his attention, as to prevent his collecting an ample store of the most interesting observations on the ways and doings of the very singular people among whom he sojourned. He has narrated these in a spirited and agreeable manner, and mingled with them vivid descriptions of the mighty works of nature he beheld, and of the toils and hardships, the stirring incidents, the pains and pleasures of his adventurous wanderings. His work is the best of the kind that has come before us since the first appearance of Darwin's Journal, to which it may be considered a needful supplement, since it treats of a country to which the accomplished naturalist of the Beagle paid but a flying visit.

Dr Tschudi draws a very cheerless picture of the state and prospects of Peru. Its moral degradation is significantly typified in the decline of its population, which has been continually diminishing since the establishment of its independence. That noble land, extending over nineteen degrees of latitude, and which contained an enormous population at the period of the conquest, numbered, according to the census of 1836, less than 1,400,000 inhabitants, not so many as were formerly found in the department of Cusco alone.

The deaths in Lima, the capital, vary annually from 2,500 to 2,880, out of a population of 53,000; in the ten months from January 1, to October 30, 1841, they were 2,244; the births in that period being—legitimate 822, illegitimate 860—total 1,682.

“Not less remarkable than the number of illegitimate children (860) is that of the new born infants exposed and found dead (495). These afford the most striking proofs of the immorality which prevails in Lima, especially among the coloured people; to them belong nearly two-thirds of the illegitimate births, and fully four-fifths of the children cast out to die. There is reason to suspect, though it cannot be positively proved, that no small portion of the latter suffer a violent death by the hands of their mothers. When a dead child is picked up before the church of San Lazaro, or in the street, it is carried without a word of inquiry to the Pantheon; frequently it is not even thought worth while to bury it. I have seen the vultures dragging about the sweltering carcases of infants and devouring them in the populous streets. . . . On comparing the lists of births and deaths from 1826 to 1842, I satisfied myself that the annual excess of the latter over the former averages 550.”

The immediate causes of the decrease of population are partly physical, such as earthquakes, epidemics, and civil wars; but the main cause resides in the corruption of the national character, which aggravates every calamity incident to the people. All the ignoble features of the Mexican character with which the works of recent travellers have made us familiar; all the private and public vices which the Spaniard has everywhere bequeathed to his colonial descendants; present themselves in Peru in exaggerated deformity. The white Creoles, who constitute something less than a third of the population of the capital, are a gross, sensual, slothful race, generous and good-natured indeed, as people of this character often are, but otherwise displaying scarcely a trace of any manly virtue. The men are tall and well-proportioned, but exceedingly effeminate, with features that might be thought handsome, but for the expression stamped upon them by low and sordid indulgences. Their mental acquirements are, of course, very scanty:—

“Not that they are wanting in natural abilities, but these are not sufficiently developed by their very imperfect education, and their inveterate indolence prevents them from making good the deficiencies of their early years in after life. They seldom rise above the sphere of every day matter of fact, and they are ignorant of almost everything that lies beyond the narrow circle of their town, or at most of their district. I have often been astonished at the gross ignorance displayed by what were called well-educated Peruvians, respecting the position, extent, physical constitution, and the productions of their native land. Incredible as it may appear, it is a positive fact that a Peruvian Minister of War could not tell either the number of the population or the area of Peru, and maintained with the utmost pertinacity that Portugal formed its eastern boundary, and that one might travel thither from Peru by land. Of past history they know little more than the name of Napoleon; but in talking of him they make the most ludicrous jumble of events, places, dates, and persons. For instance, a gentleman of high rank, who was universally

reputed to be a very learned man, once related to me at full length how Frederick the Great drove Napoleon out of Russia."

The women of Lima are far superior to the men, both corporeally and intellectually; they are affectionate mothers, though their conduct in other respects is anything but exemplary. It is certainly not for the sake of pleasing their husbands that they cling with invincible obstinacy to the use of their national walking garb, the *sayay manto*, in which they take their pleasure in the streets, making keen play with the one eye they leave uncovered, and quite secure in that disguise from detection, even by the most jealous scrutiny. The veil is inviolable; any man who should attempt to pluck off a woman's *manto* would be very severely handled by the populace. The history of their lives comprises two phases: in the full bloom of their fascinating beauty their time is divided between doing nought and naughty doings; when their charms are on the wane they take to devotion and scandal. A young lady of Lima

"Rises late, dresses her hair with orange or jasmine flowers, and waits for breakfast, after which she receives or pays visits. During the heat of the day she swings in a hammock, or reclines on a sofa, smoking a cigar. After dinner she again pays visits, and finishes the evening either in the theatre, or the *Plaza*, or on the bridge. Few ladies occupy themselves with needle-work or netting, though some of them possess great skill in those arts. . . . The pride which the fair Limenas take in their dainty little feet knows no bounds. Walking, sitting, or standing, swinging in the hammock, or lying on the sofa, they are ever watchful to let their tiny feet be seen. Praise of their virtue, their understanding, or their beauty sounds not half so sweetly in their ears as encomiums bestowed on their pretty feet. They take the most scrupulous care of them, and avoid everything that might favour their enlargement. A large foot (*Pataza Inglesa*, 'an English foot,' as they say) is an abomination to them. I once heard a beautiful European lady deservedly extolled by some fair dames of Lima, but they wound up their eulogies with these words:—'*pero que pie, valgame Dios! parece una lancha!*' (but what a foot, good heavens! it is like a great boat!) and yet the foot in question would by no means have been thought large in Europe. . . . The Limenas possess in an extraordinary degree talents, which unhappily are seldom cultivated as they should be. They have great penetration, sound judgment, and very correct views respecting the most diversified affairs of life. Like the women of Seville, they are remarkable for their quick and pointed repartees, and a Limenas is sure never to come off second best in a war of words. They possess a rare firmness of character, and a courage not generally given to their sex: in these respects they are far superior to the dastardly vacillating men, and they have played as important a part as the latter (often one much more so) in all the political troubles of the country. Ambitious and aspiring, accustomed to conduct with ease the meanest intrigues, with a presence of mind that never fails them at critical moments, passionate and bold, they mingle in the great game of politics with momentous effect, and usually turn it to their own advantage, seldom to that of the state.

"All these characteristics were combined in a high degree in the person of Doña Francisca Subyaga, the wife of Don Agustín Gamarra, formerly president of Peru. She was accused, indeed, of having been the main

cause of the unhappy condition of Peru at the period of Gamarra's rule, but I believe that the real source of the evil lay in her husband's weakness and cowardice. When Gamarra and his troops were pelted with stones by the populace of Lima, in 1834, and he stood whining in the Plaza Mayor, not knowing what to do, Doña Francisca snatched his sword from his side, put herself at the head of the troops, and commanded a well ordered retreat, the only means by which it was possible to save herself and the remains of the army. A looker-on having ventured to make some offensive remarks on her conduct, she rode up to him and told him, that when she returned she would have a pair of gloves made out of his skin. She died of epilepsy a few months afterwards in exile in Valparaiso, otherwise she would certainly have fulfilled her threat four years afterwards, when things took a favourable turn for her party. The life of this woman, since her marriage with Gamarra, presents, in uninterrupted succession, such remarkable traits of courage, determination, presence of mind, and passionate emotions, that it would well employ the pen of an able biographer."

Of all the coloured inhabitants of Lima the free negroes are, in our author's opinion, the most thoroughly and hopelessly depraved; and next to them in this respect stand the Zambos, whose blood is three-fourths negro. The Mulattoes, or offspring of whites and negroes, display some remarkable mental qualities; the Mestizos, too, or children of whites and Indians, are little inferior to the white Creoles, but all the other mixed races appear to be endowed with all the bad qualities, but none of the virtues, of the primary races. It is to be regretted that the Mestizos, who otherwise might form a connecting link between the Creoles and Indians, and become the nucleus of a new homogeneous people, look down on the Indians with a contempt which is returned with intense hatred. The time is probably not far distant when the degenerate descendants of the Spaniards will be exterminated by the wrathful Aborigines. It is a curious fact that the first edition of Garcilaso de la Vega's History of the Incas was seized and burnt by the government of Spain, because it divulged a prophecy registered in the temple of Cusco long before the arrival of the Spaniards, and which announced the destruction of the kingdom, but added that the Incas would be restored to their throne at some future time by a people from a country called Inlaterra. It is very strange that such a prophecy should ever have been devised by the natives, or attributed to them by an author writing in Spain in the sixteenth century, but apart from this there would be nothing really to surprise us in its fulfilment. The white Peruvians are evidently not the men long to make good by force of moral superiority their great comparative deficiency in physical strength. The Indians made fierce attempts in the latter part of the eighteenth century to throw off the Spanish yoke, under Tupac Amaru, a descendant of their Incas, and his brother and son. They were vanquished at last by Spanish gold, but not until nearly a hundred thousand lives had been lost on both sides. When the liberation war was begun by the Creoles, the the Indians were easily persuaded to take part in the enterprise:

"But it is a great mistake to suppose that the native Indians made common cause with the Creoles against the Spaniards for the purpose of

bringing about the present form of government ; for their real object was to shake off the foreign yoke, and establish a dynasty of their own after the pattern of their ancestors. It was not a republic they desired, but a monarchy, and a king chosen from the sacred family of their Incas. Of this the leaders of the revolutionary party were well aware, and they craftily affected to acquiesce in the designs of the Indians, and to labour for their fulfilment. Imperfectly acquainted with the true nature of the liberation war, in which they saw white men fighting against white men, the Indians turned their weapons against all *Pucacuncos* (pale faces) and *Mistas*, and killed Spaniards and patriots indifferently as they fell in their way. Their exasperation rose to such a pitch that all who were not of Indian blood were obliged to fly from several provinces, even though they were the most vehement foes of the Spaniards. In Jauja, the Indians swore they would not leave a white dog or hen alive, and they scraped the very whitewash off the walls of the houses. They carried sack loads of white people's heads every morning to the market place, and ripped up the bellies of living Spaniards 'to see how many yards of guts a Godo had.' (Godo is their nickname for a Spaniard.) When General Valdes crossed the river of Janja with a squadron of cavalry, and attacked the Indians assembled at the village of Atanra, the latter disdained to save themselves by flight ; but catching the lances of the soldiers, they thrust them into their own breasts, crying out, *Matame Godo* (kill me, Godo !). It seemed as if they hated the foe too much to deign to fly before them. The bodies of 2,000 Indians covered the field, and when the wearied Spaniards could no longer use their weapons they returned without the loss of a man to Janja.

"The provisional government of the patriots reinforced their armies by levies in the conquered provinces. This was the first time the Indians were employed as regular soldiers, and they soon acquired great renown for their coolness and their incredible power of endurance. It was but in few districts they came forward as volunteers, elsewhere they were forced conscripts, and they deserted whenever they had an opportunity. . . . After the expulsion of the Spaniards, the Indians found their condition on the whole very little improved ; though some oppressions were taken off, other new ones fell the more heavily upon them, and again they beheld themselves slaves in the land of their fathers. Thus ever since the first European victors trod his soil, down to the present day, the Peruvian Indian has been enthralled, oppressed, and maltreated. What wonder, then, if his predominant characteristic is inextinguishable hatred of all who are not of his own blood, and if he gives vent to it whenever he can, and glutts his revenge on innocent victims ? This feeling is particularly strong in those natives who are not corrupted by sordid pecuniary interests, or by frequent intercourse with the Creoles. They are fully conscious of their strength, and never forego the delightful hope of regaining their long lost dominion and rights. The remembrance of these things is incessantly and most sedulously kept alive. In most of the southern provinces the Indians assemble at cock crow on certain days in the hut of the village senior, or of the cacique, who relates to them the history of the Incas, the deeds of their descendants, and the insurrection of the unfortunate Tupac Amaru ; inculcates upon them hatred of the Pucacuncos ; assures them that the rule of their kings will be restored ; and sets before them their carefully preserved portraits. These traditions and prophecies will assuredly not remain without effect. The arbitrary proceedings of the government, and the conduct of the Creoles, who treat the Indians more as brutes than as men, are stretching the cord to breaking. The Indians

will once more arouse themselves and begin a war of extermination, as under Tupac Amaru, but with more success; after a fearful contest, they will win back their native land, and restore their old constitution, with some modifications, perhaps, to suit existing circumstances, but all the other races will have fallen victims to their merciless vengeance.

"There are many persons acquainted with Peruvian affairs who will smile at the boldness of this prognostication, but on closer consideration they will certainly not dispute its probability. The Indians have made immense progress since the liberation war; they are acquainted with the use of fire-arms and military manœuvres, and twenty years of uninterrupted civil war have kept them constantly practised in regular campaigning. Most of the fugitives from the numerous lost battles escaped with their arms, and these they keep carefully concealed. They are perfectly acquainted with the art of making gunpowder, large quantities of which they prepare and consume in fireworks at all their great festivals; their mountain valleys yield the materials in abundance.

"In 1841 I found eighteen regulation muskets concealed in a miserable little village on the verge of a montaña of central Peru, in the hut of an alcalde where I resided for some days. When I asked him off-hand to what end he kept so many weapons, he answered me with a furtive sidelong look, that there would come a time when they would be of use. I immediately perceived how very much my discovery disconcerted him, and felt myself induced by the marked change in his demeanour to quit the village and the neighbourhood without delay. While I was saddling I observed that my host was conversing with two of his intimate friends, and that I was the subject of their discourse. As I was about to ride off he again assumed a very friendly air, and asked me what road I was going to take. I found it expedient, however, as soon as I was out of his sight, to turn off in a different direction from that which I had named to him.

"The public functionaries and the mestizos fail not to add perpetually to the accumulated fuel, which needs but a spark to burst into a devouring flame. So soon as the signal is given at any one point, the Indians of all Peru will gather with the speed of the wind under the banners of their leaders; but I believe that none but a man like Tupac Amaru, of imposing corporal and mental qualities, and of the royal lineage, will be able to lead the insurrection to a successful issue; and such a man will be once more forthcoming. What means of resistance can the government command, since its few troops consist for the most part of discontented Indians, who are ready at any moment to desert the hated service, and fight for their own interests? Even the most strenuous aid that could be afforded by European ships of war, would suffice at most to keep some harbours on the coast. The very first onset of the insurgents would be so terrific, that any junction between the Creoles and Europeans would be almost out of the question; and how small is their number in comparison with that of the Indians of pure blood!"

If it admits of question whether the genius of the Peruvian Indians be capable of establishing a solid and enduring native form of government, we can scarcely doubt that they might at least lay the basis of such a system, which time would gradually mature. The erection of a negro republic in an archipelago colonised by the most civilised nations of Europe is a memorable precedent. It is probable that the Indians already possess many of the elements of a well-organised government; for, besides the civil functionaries im-

posed on them by the republic, they have their own magistrates filling the same stations as their predecessors in the days of the Incas. In fact we may conclude that not one institution of the ancient dynasty has become extinct, though apparently dormant for three hundred years. The oppressed race seem to live less in the present time than in the memory of the past.

"The character of the Peruvian Indian is uncommonly sombre: it was not so of yore, to judge from the lively delineations of the oldest writers on the country; but 300 years of tyrannous wrong have marked it with this hue. It is strikingly apparent in their songs, their music, their dances, and their whole domestic economy. Their favourite instruments are the *pututo* and the *jaina*. The former is a great conch shell, with which they produce a dismal music to accompany their mourning dances; in former times it was used at royal obsequies, and now it is sounded almost exclusively on the solemn days of mourning for the fallen native monarchy. The *jaina*, which appears to be a more modern invention, is an extremely simple kind of clarinet, made out of a large reed. The tone is thrillingly sad, unlike that of any other known instrument, and of almost marvellous effect. The wildest hordes of Indians, in the uproar of debauchery or in the fiercest broil, grow still, as if by enchantment, if suddenly they hear the notes of the *jaina*, and mute and motionless as statues, they hang in rapt attention on the magic melody. A tear will steal into the Indian's hard eye, that before, perhaps, was never moistened but by intoxication, and the sobs of the women are the only sounds that disturb the almost unearthly music. The sad strains of the *jaina* awaken a nameless, vague yearning, and leave behind them for days a painful void; and yet the magic tones are always heard again with unabated eagerness."

There is less reason to hope that the danger with which the Creoles are threatened will be averted, since they give themselves up to a blind security, and display no less infatuation than the Spaniards did before them. The despised Indians know how to conspire and to keep their own counsel. They give proof of this by the strictness with which they preserve the secret of many rich silver mines known only to themselves through traditions handed down from father to son for centuries. Fully aware of the mischiefs which have been brought on them by mining operations, and unwilling moreover to enrich the hated whites and the mestizos, they leave the mines unwrought, and have recourse to them only in case of urgent need. Nothing can win their secret from them; even the wonder-working power of brandy is here ineffectual.

"During my residence in Janja, in 1841, an Indian who had accompanied me some years before in a tour in the mountains, begged me to lend him a crow-bar. I did so, and he brought it back some days subsequently with the point all covered with silver. Soon afterwards I heard that he had been roughly used by the subprefect, and cast into prison, because he had been selling very rich silver ore; and when asked where he had got it, he answered, on the road, which of course nobody believed. When I was again in Janja, a year later, the same Indian came to me and said that he had been shut for many months in a dark hole and almost starved, because the subprefect wanted to compel him to betray the secret of the mine; but he had always stuck to his first statement. After some

beating about the bush, knowing well that I would not betray him, he told me that he really knew a wide lode of very valuable sulphuret of silver, of which he showed me a sample, but that it was only at his greatest need that he extracted ore from it. The excavation was shallow; he used to carry away the rubbish from it to a distance of some leagues, and the opening he covered so carefully with cactus and turf that it was impossible to discover it. This Indian lived in a miserable hut, three leagues from Jauja, and hardly earned the scantiest subsistence by the trade of cutting wooden stirrups. When called on to pay the contribution, which is levied with inexorable strictness, he used to go and fetch a half arroba of ore, sell it in Jauja, and satisfy the tax-gatherer with the proceeds."

Peru is traversed throughout its whole length by two vast parallel chains of mountains, which the Creoles call indifferently the Andes and the Cordilleras. Our author suggests to geographers the expediency of avoiding this confusion by restricting the name of Andes to the eastern, and that of Cordilleras to the western chain, and he justifies this distinction by etymological arguments. The western range accompanies the shores of the Pacific at a distance of sixty or or seventy English miles, and it is very remarkable that all the waters from its eastern slopes find their way to the Atlantic, breaking through the chain of the Andes. In all South America there is not one known exception to this rule, not one instance in which the Cordilleras give passage to a river flowing from the Andes,—a fact which is the more surprising since the former chain is lower than the latter in Southern Peru and Bolivia. This phenomenon seems quite inexplicable by any other conjecture than that the Andes are of more recent elevation than the western mountains, and that they rose gradually in insulated masses between which the rivers wore continually deeper and deeper channels. Between the Andes and the Cordilleras lies a vast expanse of scarcely inhabited plains, 12,000 feet or more above the level of the sea. They are called in the native tongue *Puna*, which is equivalent to the Spanish *desolado*. Their aspect is extremely monotonous and dreary, the surface being covered with meagre, faded-looking grasses, never showing a patch of green. Here and there only one sees a solitary stunted tree of the *quenua* species, or large tracts covered with the reddish brown stalks of the *ratana*, both of which are highly prized by the inhabitants of the wilderness, as affording fuel or materials for roofing their huts. Animal life presents more variety and interest in the puna, for here the largest mammalia of Peru are indigenous—the llama and its congeners, the alpaca, the huanaco, and the vicuña. The climate is as ungenial as the landscape. Cold winds sweep from the frozen Cordillera over the plain, regularly accompanied for four months with daily violent snow-storms.

"It often happens that the traveller passes suddenly out of these cold winds into very warm currents of air, which are sometimes two or three feet, oftener several hundred feet wide, and occur in parallel lines at repeated intervals, so that one may pass through five or six of them in

the course of a few hours. I found them particularly frequent in the months of August and September in the highland plains between Chacacpalpa and Huancavelica. As far as my repeated observations extend, the general direction of these currents is the same as that of the Cordillera, namely S.S.W. and N.N.E. My course once led me for several hours longitudinally through one of these warm streams of air which was not more than seven and twenty paces wide. Its temperature was 11 deg. R. higher than that of the contiguous atmosphere. It appears that these streams are not merely temporary, for the arrieros often predict with great accuracy where they will be encountered; nor are they to be confounded with the warm air of narrow rocky ravines, since they extend over the open plain. The cause of this curious phenomena is well deserving of minute inquiry by meteorologists."

The name of *puna* is likewise applied to the painful effects which the rarefied air of the highlands produces on the animal economy; other names for which are "*sorroche*," "*marreo*," and "*veta*." They usually appear at an elevation of 12,600 feet and upwards, and consist in difficulty of respiration, dizziness, palpitation of the heart, and extreme lassitude and weakness of the limbs. The capillary vessels of the eyes, nose, and lips often give away, and blood issues from them in drops. The same thing takes place also in the mucous membranes of the lungs and bowels, and bad cases of *veta* are accompanied by hæmoptysis and bloody diarrhœa, that often end fatally. The natives, who are ignorant of the true cause of this malady, ascribe it to metallic exhalations; and Dr Tschudi seems to think that their opinion may not be altogether unfounded, for there are regions notorious for the severity of their *veta*, though they lie lower than others which are much less so; there must therefore be some other unknown condition of climate at work besides rarefaction of the air, and it does so happen that regions abounding in ore are particularly ill-famed for the *veta*. Men and animals born in the mountains suffer little from the *veta*, and strangers become acclimated against it; but the latter is not the case with some domestic animals, particularly cats, which cannot live at an elevation of 1,300 feet. Innumerable attempts have been made to keep them in the mountain villages, but the animals always died in the course of a few days in horrible convulsions. Water boils at so low a temperature in the high regions, that potatoes and meat cannot be made soft by twenty-four hours' boiling. The Indians have no suspicion of the real cause of the phenomenon, and ludicrously find fault with the vessel, or with the pasture, or the age of the animal whose flesh defies cooking. Even the better class of Peruvians exhaust themselves in conjectures on the subject, and our author knew a parish priest who had sheep fetched from the low valleys, thinking their mutton would be more easily boiled. We extract our author's account of one day's lonely wanderings in the Puna. He started at early morning, in the midst of a thick fog, through the deep snow that had fallen overnight:—

"I rode along a sorry track up the gentle declivity, often compelled to

make wide detours round rocks or swamps, which I could not pass over. The latter are particularly irksome to the traveller, for he loses much time in going round them, and if he attempts to pass through them he is every moment in danger of being swallowed up with his beast, or if less unlucky he may leave the floundering animal to its fate, and pursue his way on foot. Even when the country is open, the swamps are often hard to discern, and the ground gives way beneath him when he least expects it. In the morning, however, one may ride safely over spots which are impassable later in the day, after the sun has thawed them. After the lapse of several hours, the sun at last dispersed the mist, the snow disappeared in a few minutes, and I looked round on the lonely landscape with renewed vigour. I had reached a height of nearly 14,000 feet above the sea. On both sides of me rose the peaks of the Cordillera clothed in eternal ice, with single gigantic pyramids towering to the heavens. Behind me lay, deep and deeper, the obscure valleys of the lower mountain regions, with their scarcely discernible Indian villages, and stretching far away until they blended with the horizon. Before me lay the immense billowy extent of the upland plains, here and there broken by long low craggy ranges of hills. It seemed to me as if Nature breathed out her last breath in these lonely snow-fields of the Cordillera. Here Life and Death meet together, and wage their everlasting warfare; and how might the conflict end for me, for my lot too was involved in the issue? I could not tell.

"How little life had the sun awakened all round me, where the dull green puna grass, hardly a finger high, blended with the greenish glaciers! Glad was I to greet the purple gentiana, the brown calceolaria, and other old acquaintances of the vegetable world. Not a butterfly hovered yet in the thin atmosphere, not a fly or winged insect; at most the busy naturalist might find a dusky beetle under a stone—a rare prize. Here and there the slow tortoise crept out of its hole, or a half-starved lizard lay on a stone warming its lithe limbs in the sun. As I rode further, living creatures met my view in more abundance, beasts and birds, few in species, but individually numerous. Amazing is the wealth of animal life in these mountain plains. The vital exuberance of the tropics seems to triumph aliko over the bleak cold of the Puna, and the scorching sunshine of the Llanos; there the first fall of rain, here the first glimpse of the sun, calls it forth with astonishing quickness. The blank monotony of the region had almost disappeared. Herds of vicuñas approached me inquisitively, and fled away again with the speed of the wind. In the distance I saw quiet stately groups of guanacos, gazing suspiciously on me and passing along; single rocs started up from their rocky lairs, and rushed up the slopes with loud brayings; the curious horned puna-hart (tarush) came slowly out of its hole, and stared at me with its great, black, wondering eyes, whilst the lively rock-hares (viscachas) sported familiarly, and nibbled the scanty herbage that grew in the clefts of the rocks.

"I had plodded on for many hours, observing the varieties of life in this singular alpine region, when I came upon the carcass of a mule, which had probably fallen under its burden, and been left by its driver to perish of hunger and cold. My presence startled three ravenous condors from their repast. Shaking their crowned heads and darting fiery glances at me from their blood-shot eyes, two of them rose on their giant wings, and hovered threateningly, in ever narrowing circles round my head, whilst the third, croaking furiously, stood on the defensive near the booty. Holding my gun in readiness, I rode cautiously by the critical spot, without the least desire of further disturbing the banquet. • • • It was now two o'clock in the afternoon, and I had been riding on a con-

tinual, though gradual, ascent since dawn. My panting mule slackened his pace, and halted from time to time, and seemed unwilling to climb a height that rose before me; I alighted to relieve the animal and my own limbs at the same time, and began to walk up hill; but I immediately experienced the effects of the rarefied air, and I felt at every step an uneasy sensation I had never known before. I was obliged to stop for breath, but I could hardly respire; I tried to move, but was overcome by an indescribable oppression; my heart beat audibly against my ribs; my breathing was short and interrupted, a world's load seemed to be on my breast; my lips were blue, tumid and cracked, and the blood oozed from the swollen vessels of my eye-lids. My senses were leaving me; I could neither see, nor hear, nor feel distinctly; a grey mist floated before my eyes, tinged at times with red, when the blood gathered on my eye-lids. I felt myself involved in that conflict between life and death, which I had before imagined in surrounding nature; my brain reeled, and I was compelled to lie down. Had all the riches of the world, or the glories of eternity, been but a hundred feet higher, I could not have stretched out my hand towards them.

"I lay in this half-senseless condition until rest had so far relieved me that I could just with difficulty mount my mule. It was time to be gone, for a tempest was gathering on the horizon. A heavy fall of snow came on, accompanied with an icy wind, and in less than half an hour the ground was everywhere covered with snow a foot deep. Swamp and hill, dale and crag, seemed now one undistinguishable surface; all trace of my path was lost, and my position was growing worse every moment. Had I then been as well acquainted with the Puna as I afterwards became, I would have shaped my course by the flight of birds, but unluckily I followed the fresh track of a herd of vicuñas which was lost in a swamp. I discovered this too late; my mule had suddenly sunk in so deeply that it could not scramble out; in great trepidation I alighted cautiously, and with incredible difficulty contrived to dig out the legs of my beast with my dagger. After wandering up and down in all directions, I at last found the path, which was marked by skeletons protruding above the level of the snow. They were the remains of beasts that had fallen under their load,—a welcome and yet ominous token for the lonely wanderer! The clouds were now suddenly rent, and the blazing light of the tropical sun was reflected from the dazzling surface of snow. My eyes were instantly smitten with *surumpe* (ophthalmia); they began to smart violently, and it was only with a handkerchief before my face I was able to pursue my way, tormented with the apprehension of chronic ophthalmia, or of total blindness.

"Half an hour afterwards the scene was repeated over again—thunder, lightning, wind and snow, then sunshine, then storm again. I continued my route with extreme difficulty, the mule hardly able to drag its limbs through the accumulated snow. Night was coming on; exhausted with cold, hunger, and fatigue, I could scarcely hold the bridle, and my feet were insensible, though partly protected by the broad wooden stirrups. I had almost given myself up for lost, when I observed a cave beneath an overhanging rock. I hastened to explore it, and found it would afford me some shelter from the wind. I unsaddled the mule, tied it to a stone, spread my cloak and trappings for a bed on the damp ground, and appeased my hunger with a little roasted maize and cheese. I then lay down, but was long kept awake by the piercing clamours of the night birds. At last I slept, but was again awakened by an intolerable burning and smarting in the eyes; the lids were glued together with coagulated blood. There was no hope of sleep or rest, and I thought the night would

never end. When I reckoned that day must be dawning I opened my smarting eyes, and discovered all the horrid misery of my situation. A frozen human corpse had served for my pillow. Shuddering, I went in search of my mule to quit the dismal spot, but my distresses were not yet at an end. The poor beast lay dead on the ground; in its ravenous hunger it had eaten the poisonous garbancillo. Poor creature! Many a hardship had it shared with me. I turned back to the cave in despair; what could I do? At last the sun shone brightly, the snow was gone; I felt my spirits wonderfully revived, and began to inspect the body of my lifeless companion. Was it one of my own race, a traveller who had perished of cold and hunger? No, it was a half-caste Indian, and many deadly wounds in the head showed that he had been killed by the slings of Indian robbers, who had stripped him naked and hid him in the cave.

"I seized my gun and shot a rock-hare, gathered a little fuel, and using a bone for a spit, I roasted the flesh and made a not very savoury breakfast. I then waited quietly to see what might befall. It was about noon when I heard at intervals a monotonous, short cry, and starting to my feet at the well-known sounds, I ascended the nearest rock, and perceived the two Indian llama drivers I had seen the day before. I prevailed on them by means of a small present of tobacco to let me have one of their llamas to carry my baggage. I cast a handful of earth on the corpse of the murdered man, and left the unlucky spot."

If our space allowed we would offer, as a contrast to this stern picture, our author's accounts of the beautiful sierras of Peru, of the mining districts, and their strange inhabitants; we would accompany him to his lonely log-hut in the heart of the primeval forest, and go over the chronicle of his Crusoe-like existence; but we must content ourselves with referring our readers to the original for these and many other interesting particulars.

Mes Vacances en Espagne [My Vacations in Spain]. By E. Quinet. Paris, 1846.

THE author of '*Ahasvérus*,' as he likes to be called, M. Michelet's colleague and *alter ego*, invites us to accompany him in soul upon a contemplative tour beyond the Pyrenees. We have repeatedly gone over the ground of late with travellers of divers kinds and conditions, some of them shrewd, lively, and humorous, others common-place and at times rather heavy on hand, but most of whom we should prefer to M. Quinet as our guides and fellow travellers. We acknowledge his ability, and question not the sincerity of his high-wrought emotions, but his ways of thinking are far too transcendental for our sublunary habits. Mysticism is to him as the breath of his nostrils; he revels in dim abstractions, while we are asking after palpable realities. He is sometimes happy in his observations and his guesses, but for the most part he sees in a mesmeric trance, and utters his visions in rodomontade. His language is by turns lofty, plaintive, severe, imaginative, impassioned; but

unhappily we are often puzzled to know what it means. Nevertheless, we should not reject his aid towards solving the complicated congeries of enigmas which Spain presents to our wondering minds. His very defects may here prove useful auxiliaries, the force of sympathy enabling him to detect intuitively some secrets that escape the scrutiny of inquirers armed only with the powers of common sense and common experience. A woman will immeasurably surpass the subtlest philosopher, or the craftiest politician, in the art of unravelling the tangled web of a woman's hidden feelings; Lear's insanity reveals itself in his confabulations with mad Tom; and in Spain's distempered organisation there are cords most readily responsive to the touch of a simulated lunacy, or a fantastic mummery, such as M. Quinet exhibits by turns. Let us hear him then, especially in his more intelligible moods.

"THE CONSTITUTIONAL MADONNA."

"The majority of Isabella II, which had been postponed for several weeks, is to be celebrated to-day. The portraits of that constitutional Madonna have been hung up since day-break at the church porches. The innocent *Nina*, not more than four or five months old, is clad in the royal mantle, with a heavy crown on her head; she lays her finger on a book, the moment selected by the painter being no doubt that in which her Majesty is sulkily spelling through the constitution. I do not think there is one window or balcony in the town that is not hung with silk or woollen drapery. The poorest people hang out some gandy rag. Of all the feelings of the Spaniards this adoration of the sovereign (*ídolo de todos los buenos Españoles*) is the one most remote from us, and which I have the most difficulty in comprehending; and yet such is the might of the genuine feelings of a multitude, that it is impossible to escape being affected by it at last. An undefinable emotion pervades the air; the eyes are filled with tears.

[We will not attempt to translate the following bit of mysticism.]

"Comment exprimer la profondeur, le génie du regard de ce peuple qui cherche dans tout un présage? Celui qui trouverait le mot, le secret que ce peuple roule aujourd'hui dans son cœur, cet homme-là étonnerait le monde.

"I was disgusted in Germany by the inert obsequiousness of the crowd in the grand galas of the sovereigns; but here, I know not how it is, man's dignity scarcely suffers by the idolatry; the festival of the monarchy is at the same time that of equality. The grand dignitaries defile before me, all bedizened, in shabby old hackney coaches, which have been dragged forth from their long repose for this occasion. Yesterday, when the queen drove through the streets there was not a woman in the crowd but looked more royal than herself. To-day the men of the lower classes, in their hats à la Fernando Cortez, their embroidered vests and cloaks, look a hundred times more lordly than the senators and chamberlains in their ugly modern costume. Judging by the eyes alone, the nobility are here in the street, and the bourgeoisie are at court.

"The cannons roar under the royal balcony; the bells peal from the steeples huilt by Philip II; and are responded to with Riego's hymn, the Spanish *Marseillaise*, that smacks of the bolero as much as of the military march. Streams of milk flow in the square of the Autos-da-fe, to the great scandal of the 'Tarentula,' a journal which alone on this day lifts up its

voice, counselling to spare the drained 'dugs of Spain. But the festival would not be complete without a dash of tragedy. Towards the close of the day, upon a vague rumour of riot—a suspicion snuffed upon in the air—the troops fired three volleys upon the crowd as they were drinking lemonade. The people disperse, and again assemble, straw is spread over the blood on the ground and the amusements are continued; they dance on the red-stained straw, and it is remarked that the hall to which Isabella II invited the people has turned out to be a funeral. Is this ominous? What means the blood-spot on the hem of the maiden's robe?—But already these gloomy forebodings have passed away, and every one hurries to secure a place in the theatre, to see the pieces composed for this important occasion by the first poets of Madrid.

" 'Pray,' said I to my neighbour, in the theatre *del Principe*, 'who is that extraordinary person in the black cloak who opens the piece with so much violence?' 'Eh, what!' replied the man, 'don't you know him in your country? He is the cause of all our woes—the spirit of party.' 'And that other in the red cloak motionless at yonder door? His part seems to consist in knocking there without ever being able to get in.' 'You are right, Senor, he will not get in one step, you may be sure; he is the stranger vainly endeavouring to thrust himself into Spain.' 'And that other in a Jewish gabardine?' 'Oh, there is no mistaking him; look at his pale, haggard cheeks, and you cannot fail to recognise in him the vile interest that is always hungry, though it devours our public men one after the other.'

"I admired the facility exhibited by this individual of the lower class, of seizing on these abstractions and feeling a lively interest in them. After many dialogues the several personages withdrew, abashed before the apparition of the great Isabella the Catholic, who came forth, resuscitated from her tomb, with the hook of the constitution in her hand.

"At the theatre of *la Cruz*, Zorilla, the prince of modern Spanish poets, introduced together on the stage, War, in classic armour, to typify her pagan soul, Peace, a noble matron, clad in white, and Good Faith, in the costume of a Castilian peasant. But the personage that attracted universal applause was Echo, a maiden in a fancy garb, *vestida al capricho*. In verses as diversified as her costume, she collected all the voices of Spain, from the buzz of the insects in the field, to the psalmody of the monks and the whistling of the grape-shot in the civil wars. This poetic vocalisation of Spain is interrupted by the arrival of Time, armed with his hour-glass and his scythe. The age is about to end; old Time turns his glass and the new epoch commences. On a sudden the stage is brilliantly illuminated, and the startled genius of War and Barbarism exclaims, 'What sudden splendour inundates this palace?' Whereunto Peace replies, 'It is the smile of Isabella II, *Es la sonrisa de Isabella Segunda*.'

"At these words a shower of bouquets falls from the boxes; the enthusiasts of the pit throw their hats on the stage at the feet of Echo, Peace, and Time, whose wrinkled front unbends. The whole reminds me of the *autos sacramentales* of Calderon. This people have such an exuberance of life that it bestows a part of its store on abstractions that have no meaning for the rest of the world; it inaugurates the constitutional government like an *auto da fe*.

"Nothing could be more sinister than the remainder of this holiday. Sentinels are placed at every issue, and all who pass are obliged to open their cloaks and show that they do not conceal an arsenal of *escopetas*. I hear shots at a distance at the end of the Calle de Alcalá."

M. Quinet is shut up by the civil war in Cadiz:—

"Reports of insurrections follow fast one upon the other. Carthagena, Murcia, Alicante are in open revolt, and the insurgents have seized the steamers. On the other hand the government religiously keeps its promise to shoot on proof *merely of identity*. The state of siege is rendered more stringent every day by fresh decrees of the Captain-General. Yesterday I remarked this one: *No one shall wear moustaches, gold or silver lace or a foraging cap on pain of exile or death*. You who read these threats imagine that a whole province is cast into dismay by them. Not at all. A nation has a pistol clapped to its throat and only laughs at it. Let me explain this prodigy which I have repeatedly observed, which must exceedingly astonish the rest of Europe, and which is indeed peculiar to Spain: no party there can strike terror into the other."

"You may give up all thought of understanding the struggles and conflicts of this country, if you do not at once see that you have before you a people who, after having been subjected to a '93 that lasted full three centuries, and possessed by an immense terror, has at last thrown it off. The Inquisition rendered Spain the dreadful service of extinguishing in it the sense of fear. After the holy office no bloody spectacles can surprise or awe the imaginations of men. Hence the fundamental difference between the French and the Spanish revolutions is, that what was for a while the soul of the former is impotent in the latter. The one was based on terror; the other has rendered it impossible. What could Robespierre do after the grand inquisitor? And how could the Committee of Public Safety inspire with fear men who had passed through the reign of ecclesiastical terror in the silence of Philip? The very guillotine of '93 would lose its edge after the slow and mystic *auto da fe*; for what augmented the horror of those days was the secrecy and silence. All Spain trembled when no one knew where was the scaffold. It was felt, it was seen in every shadow. The lowest familiar of the Holy Office, stealing round the corner of a street, with downcast eyes, carrying with him threats of hell, was a hundred times more formidable than all the captains-general who now placard death in every corner of the peninsula."

Poetry and the drama in Spain enter largely into the matter of our author's speculations:—

"We were seated one evening according to custom, as silent as Ugolino in the tower of famine, and each with a glass of water before him, when in came Francisco Alvares, of Castrogeritz, an old liberal who was seeking a place in the police. He had evidently met with some refusal that day. 'Yes, Señor,' said he, 'I would without a moment's hesitation give the ministers, the congress, the senate, and its macebearers the journalists, and the whole constitutional machine, for those two faces you see there painted on my snuff-box.' So saying, he threw it grimly on the table, called for his glass of water, and sank into silence like the rest of us."

"I took up the snuff-box, and curiously examined the two magic portraits that were worth more than a revolution. 'You do not surprise me,' I said, after a moment's contemplation; 'I recognise here an old acquaintance, a face I have seen in the Cortes.' Of course; who could fail to recognise Joachim Lopez? What a speaking countenance! What an orator! He is not the man that would leave without *destino* (employment) an honest fellow with two Carlist halls in his body! 'The other face I really cannot make out. This grave oval hidalgo visage, this ingenuous minstrel face, this forehead like that of a musulman angel. . .'

'It is plain you do not care much about authors, otherwise you would not be at a loss to name the twin-brother of Lopez in renown and love of Spain, the prince of our writers, the pearl of our poets, the illustrious Zorilla, who, thank God, is never absent from me.' 'What, so young,' I replied. 'He looks like the youngest-born of Nieho.' 'May be so; but young as he is, that does not hinder him from composing his tragedy every fortnight, not to mention the shower of verses that falls every morning from his pen.'

"What! thought I to myself, there is still in this world a country where the poet has a place beside the tribune, in the hearts of disappointed *alguazils*!"

The theatres afforded M. Quinet abundant proof of this lively susceptibility for the charms of poetry which pervades the Spanish people. The modern Spanish drama derives no adventitious aid from external appliances. The body of the house is always gloomy and shabby; the stage properties are as meagre as those of the fifteenth century—a partition like a common parlour screen separates Don Pedro from the conspirators who are plotting against him; the music is wretched and the actors intolerable. The sole power of poetry satisfies the spectators, and makes up for the deficiencies of the property-man, the scene-painter, and the actor.

"Listen to the endless and monotonous lamentation of yonder actress in the *Guzman* of Gil y Zarate. Her dreary jeremiade nevertheless brings down a shower of sonnets from all quarters. 'What superhuman voice is this? Is it a goddess that speaks, or an angel?' Some waft burning kisses towards the goddess, others of less sanguine temperament fling their hats, as figuring a part of themselves, at her adored feet. 'What is her name?' I said to my neighbour, a mule-driver, who had in this manner just sent his majestic *sombrero*, newly trimmed and adorned with two cockades, rolling to the middle of the stage. 'I have not the honour to know her,—*no tengo el honor de conocerla*, replied the mule-driver gravely, without giving a thought to the important gage he had flung into the lists, and which at that very moment ran a very great risk of being cut up by the glittering spurs of *Guzman the Good*."

The reason why poetry and the drama retain in Spain the popularity and the fascination which they have lost in other lands, is because they are essentially popular in language and form.

"Imagine a people whose literature is written almost entirely to metres like those of Beranger's *chansons*, for such is the case in Spain. When a French artisan writes verses, his foremost care is to abandon the popular rhythm. From the very outset he forgets the humble birth, the simple spontaneous tone and manner of the multitude, and becomes an academician on a lower scale. In Spain, on the contrary, the people give the tone, and the poet adopts it. The noble author aspires to reproduce the ditties of the poor, the Duke de Rivas engages in rivalry with his muleteer. In his interesting volumes of historical romances he gives the noblest reminiscences of Spain, in strains such as are sung by the *arrieros*. It is not uncommon for the poet to soar a biblical flight, but the accent of the people still adheres to him; and by the uniformity of its beat, that short measure which is that alike of the middle ages and of our times, of the muleteer and of Calderon, expresses better than any

description could do the intrinsic principle of equality that levels all the outward distinctions of Spanish life."

The Spanish poets of the present day do not avail themselves as they might of their peculiarly favourable position in this respect. They do not seem to value at its real worth the privilege of possessing the popular ear, which the poets of other lands have nearly closed against themselves, by cultivating a literary language too distinct and remote from that of the ballad and other native productions of untutored poetic feeling. Instead of addressing themselves to the thoughts, feelings, and circumstances of their own times, and bestowing on their nation a living literature of the nineteenth century, these men seek only to resuscitate that of the sixteenth. With a revolution going on around them, they sedulously ignore all that belongs to the present day, and care only to amuse their countrymen with gorgeous phantoms, when they should enlighten, encourage, reprove, inspire, and guide them.

No aspiro a mas laurel ni a mas baxaña
Que a una sonrisa de mi dulce España.

"I aspire to no glory beyond that of winning a smile from my sweet Spain;" so says Zorilla, the most eminent writer of this day in the Peninsula.

The fault is perhaps to be imputed rather to want of boldness and energy of will than to deliberate design. The authors only acquiesce to the wishes of the public, who do not like to see themselves represented to the life in their actual condition and habits, and to have their social miseries and vices displayed without disguise. The very journalist who declaims against public corruption would not tolerate its embodied exhibition on the stage. A knavish, rascally statesman may be put upon the stage, but he must be a Frenchman; otherwise the thing would not be endured. A play on the Spanish conspiracy against Venice was produced this year, but the spectators were so enraged at the failure of the conspirators, as to which the author had conformed to historical truth, that they tore up the benches and threatened to demolish the theatre. Next day the same piece was announced for repetition with this addition, "N.B. It is the people who are finally triumphant." Thus society and the poet agree in banishing importunate truth from the stage, where stalks a Spain, full of heroism, chivalry, gallantry, good faith, clemency, and magnanimity. Delighted with its dream, the public refuses to be awakened; the grandeur of the middle ages solaces it for the humiliations of the present day; and amidst all her new vices Spain seats herself gravely every evening to be glorified for her past virtues.

"Once only there was found a poet bold enough to put without disguise on the stage Royalty and the Church, each in its naked wretchedness. What had never been said in Spain but in whispers, was that day promulgated in startling verses in the 'Charles II' of Gil y Zarate. The poet personified three centuries of decrepitude and ruin in that Spanish monarch. On that stage where the royal person had always been held inviolably

sacred, there entered an imbecile phantom of a king, attended by a train of familiars of the Holy Office. A king who, dying of the disease of his own kingdom, believes himself bewitched and applies to the inquisitors for a cure; processions of monks to heal the distraught; the confessor disarming him with fear upon fear; the ceremonious agony of a nation bent beneath the terror of the Holy Office,—all this spoke of itself to the souls of Spaniards. The poet had evidently opened an unfailing source of popular emotion. The effect of this drama was immense, and I can easily conceive that it should have been so. Every one felt himself, like Charles, bewitched with a malady which he knew not how to cure.

“But the author seems to have been forthwith astounded at his own daring; the poets but discovered their own power, and were frightened at the thought of exerting it. Renouncing the realities of the modern world, they returned penitently to the world of Lope de Vega and of Calderon, as if to revive the forms of the national genius was the consummation of the revolution in their art! On this principle the poets of the present day seem to content themselves with bringing back the rhythms and the charming melodies of the old theatre. They have recourse to the same artifices, cast their pieces in the same moulds, and wonder that they cannot match the marvellous productions they imitate; never reflecting that they have not substituted a new spirit for the ancient one which they possess not. . . . Was ever man less indifferent to the passions of his time than the Spanish poet of the sixteenth century? Did he not employ as his weapons every contemporary opinion, emotion, prejudice, fury, and fanaticism? While the rest of Spain seemed already dead, the pulse of public life continued to beat in his heart. What constitutes the originality of the ancient theatre is, that the oppressed soul of Philip the Second's nation seems to breathe out in it as through a cleft in its dungeon wall. Methinks I see before me a prisoner of state, who is allowed every evening to issue from his bastille and run in search of adventures. What a fund of life he expends in that extatic moment! With what panting eagerness he rushes forward! What movement, what sudden impulses, what a world of emotion concentrated in that brief hour! Spain has crouched all day, pale and shuddering, beneath the *raison d'état*; but evening comes, the curtain rises, and men breathe again. A world of freedom expands upon the sight; the cribbed and confined genius of the south hursts forth in words of tumultuous vivacity; it breaks its chains in the comedy of the capa y espada.

“The contrary happens now, notwithstanding the imitation of the old models. Freedom is in the streets, and in the theatre reserve, to which you may add timidity and almost diplomacy. Despite the example of the Revolution these chivalric poets scarcely venture to stain the stage now and then with the blood of one of their *dramatis personæ*. Now-a-days terror is everywhere in Spain rather than in its tragedies.

“When the man of modern times does happen by some unusual chance to present himself under the trappings of the sixteenth century, the contradiction is striking. No piece of our day has been more extolled than ‘The Cohlher and the King’ of Zorrilla; it indicates very pointedly indeed what has become of the political revolution in the minds of the poets. The title of itself announces the intention of solemnising the new alliance between the monarchy and the people. But on what condition? It is surely not a little surprising to see a people in the midst of a revolution adopting for the blazon of its banner on the stage the absolutism of Pedro the Cruel. It is true that Zorrilla has taken care not to depict in the tyrant of Seville

the man notorious in history as dreaded and abhorred, *tan temido y aborrecido*. The poet has preserved on the stage the ancient inviolability of royalty, and has changed the monarch's crimes into virtues, always ranging them on the side of justice, nationality, and equality. It is not the *Cruel*, but the *Justicer*, who is the hero of the drama. The king's enemies build their hopes on the foreigner; Pedro relies on a national executioner. Then in the cobbler Blas Perez, you recognise the people in confederacy with absolute power. It is true that this democratic personage carries his devotion towards the king at once to the pitch of self-renunciation. Blas Perez says so in some lines which seem made for us [the French]. 'You cannot conceive how a man who loves his king should blindly sacrifice to him his reputation, his love, his reason, and his being. I must not attempt to explain it to you; you could not understand me, and I know beforehand that you would remain stupidified and unconvinced.'

"To please Pedro the Cruel, Blas Perez becomes the executioner of the woman he loves; he does not hesitate a moment, and with the absence of the inward strife vanishes all the life of the drama. But this inflexibility is precisely what captivates an audience on the other side of the Pyrenees. The monarchical sentiment plays the same part in this piece as fate did in the Greek tragedy. One sees from the outset that all the personages will pass under that yoke, dead or alive; and thus is one of the *chefs-d'œuvre* of these revolutionists the moral suicide of the people under the resuscitated despotism of the mediæval king.

"I cannot help seeing, however, that in Spain the spirit of equality is the soul of the theatre, as it is that of the monarchy itself. One common tone pervades the manners of the nation from the highest to the lowest grade, and the peculiarities of each condition are but feebly marked on this uniform ground. This explains why among the countless multitude of pieces of intrigue there are so few that portray class differences. No one bears upon him the legible mark of his birth or his station. The Spanish character is so deeply imprinted, that it effaces at the first view all secondary distinctions; whence it results that under this uniform cloak Spain must be pre-eminently the land of *imbroglia*. Mistakes, adventures, and intrigues spring up and develop themselves spontaneously. In a country in which the people, the *bourgeoisie*, and the nobility might be constantly confounded one with the other, social life was an eternal comedy *de capa y espada*."

M. Quinet arrived in Lisbon in time to witness the last sitting of the Cortes in 1843, on the day when it was dissolved, and many of its members were committed to prison. Insurrection had broken out in the principal towns of the coast; martial law was proclaimed, or rather all law was superseded, for orders were issued to put to death all suspected persons without form of trial, *sem culpa formada*. All the while there was not the least symptom of excitement displayed in Lisbon; the whole body of Portugal was convulsed, the head alone showed no sign of life. It was a phenomenon to move the special wonder of the Frenchman and Parisian professor. That the provinces should take the lead of the capital in turbulence appeared to him a reversal of the order of nature, and a confirmation of the saying of Senhor Herculano, that Lisbon is a *moral Palmyra*. It may be so in the sense in which the phrase was originally employed, but we cannot exactly see how the image applies to the facts

spoken of by M. Quinet. Palmyra standing alone in the midst of a desert was never, either in its prosperity or its ruined state, the type of a body in which life has receded from the centre to the extremities. But the phrase a *moral Palmyra* has at any rate an imposing sound.

"The magnificence of Lishon is sadder than the heaths of Spain; sumptuous streets, immense squares, the head of a great empire; and the silence and solitude of a hurried nation or Gomorria. I was particularly struck with this melancholy aspect when I thought of the exuberant vivacity of the towns of Castile and Andalusia. Where are the songs of Seville? Where are the groups of the *Puerta del Sol* in Madrid? Spain dances on ruins, Portugal lies in the throes of death on the threshold of a palace.

"The inhabitants remain invisible behind their closely-latticed *jalousies*. They retain, as an effect of their long voyages, their past supremacy, and their slave traffic, an insuperable aversion for anything like servile work. Thirty thousand Gallegos of Spain are the only persons in Lishon who consent to dishonour themselves by publicly making use of their arms. It is the old story of Camoens and his slave. The people remains stretched on its truckle-bed; the poor Gallego alone goes about the streets, and bears the burden of the day.

"The women, muffled in coarse gray cloaks and white hoods, pass silently along, like mourners at a funeral. They are seldom beautiful; but when they are so there is something about them that reminds one of the languid Hindu. If the Andalusian women are Arah in their appearance, those of Lishon appear sometimes by their soft features, the transparent whiteness of their cheeks, and their infantile accent, to be strayed sisters of Sacontala. When they crawl on their knees, heaving their breasts, from the church door to the altar, one is struck by the contrast between this vehement expression of contrition and the Asiatic indolence of their looks.

"Though Camoens has neither statue nor tomb in Lishon, everything there tells of him. The majesty of the sites and the wretchedness of their occupants; the pomp of the new city, the horrors of the old one; the buildings on the distant heights mingling with the architecture of the clouds, and which when you approach them give out the stench of a charnel-house; the abandoned hermitages; the rustic car with solid wheels, passing along a fetid lane through the deserted port, a portion of the golden Tagus; all this speaks of the splendour and the penury of Camoens. The only thing that stirs and murmurs in these sumptuous and livid solitudes is the Tagus. It calls upon its ancient people of Argonauts, kings of the ocean; no one replies. And what is most alarming is, that nowhere in Europe are appearances better kept up, nowhere is there more outward regularity, better instituted police, or a more docile people. What is now called order among us is there realised in formidable perfection, with the supreme stillness of the tomb. Yet Donna Maria's Lishon seems for all that the capital of Ines de Castro, who, exhumed and seated on a posthumous throne, rules between bankruptcy and Jesuitism over a defunct monarchy."

But he does not despair of Portugal; it still retains some dormant sparks of life which may be saved from extinction—all her literary men are devoting themselves to that pious task. The leader of the literary revival is Senhor Almeida Garrett, a man who began life as a

common soldier, and rose to be a deputy ; he has been familiarised with imprisonments and exile, and has seen adventures and vicissitudes enough by sea and land to furnish stuff for many a drama. His plays are enthusiastically admired by his countrymen, whose taste for theatrical performance is now so strong, that more new dramas have been produced in the last five years than formerly in a whole century.

From the author's last chapter, consisting of a political exhortation to the people of the peninsula, we extract the following just observations on Catholicism :—

"Do not deceive yourselves as to the social forces which Catholicism is capable of lending to your nation. If you contemplate that system from this purely political point of view, this is what you will discover, viz., that nowhere does it supply a lever potent enough to raise up a fallen people. But as soon as a state has been stirred by the ideas of our age, Catholicism comes and borrows a portion of the new life thus engendered. After every revolution of our times I see it reaping what it has not sowed. If it shows new vigour anywhere, it is not in those places where it holds single and undisputed sway, and where it must look to itself for all things, as in Rome, Austria, Spain, and Portugal. In those countries where it is supreme it is dying spiritually. In France, in Belgium, in Germany, in the United States, and wheresoever else it encounters a moral, political, and philosophical life, it turns it very dexterously to its own advantage. In a word, this great focus is now in reality supplied only from without, taking from the strong the half of their strength, from the victorious the half of their victory, imparting its own weakness to the weak. The life it formerly bestowed on the world it now borrows ; once it was creative, now it is become parasitical."

Should the reader be disposed to think that the unfavourable tone in which we have spoken generally of the work before us is not justified by the specimens we have selected from its contents, our reply is that we have chosen rather those passages which appeared to possess some intrinsic interest, than those which are most characteristic of M. Quinet's peculiar style.

Briefe von und an Göthe. [Letters to and from Göthe.] Edited by Dr F. W. Riemer. Leipzig, 1846.

GÖTHE und kein Ende! may the reader well exclaim, at the sight of another book about the wonderful "Weimarian Jove." And yet, in spite of the enormous mass of writing already published about this man, the public curiosity is unsated. Book after book, criticism after criticism, contribution after contribution, Göthe as a man of science, Göthe as an artist, Göthe as a pantheist, Göthe as a Spinozist, Göthe as a communist, Göthe in his public life, Göthe in his private life, Göthe's opinions, and Göthe's conversations—these are themes that have been played upon by skilful and unskilful hands, harmoniously and discordantly, with good result, with small result, and with no result at all ; and yet the cry is *Göthe und kein Ende!* for hitherto we have not had the last word respecting the deep and intricate

problem of his nature. Curiously enough, amidst the mass of publications there has been no biography; for Döring's brief and scanty memoir is rather a thread on which are strung the facts of Göthe's life, than a biography. No German author has had the laudable ambition of writing a life of the greatest of German authors. This may in some measure be accounted for by their having so many sources at hand through which to know Göthe, that they do not need a biography. It arises partly also from their false conception of biography. They have no idea of conveying a picture of a man's life constructed out of a quantity of materials. They present you with the materials, and leave to you the onerous task of construction. As this in Göthe's case would be idly superfluous, no biography has been written. It will remain for England to take the initiative, as in the case of Schiller, for whose biography Germany was indebted to Carlyle; and we have reason to believe that an English life of Göthe is in preparation.

Meanwhile, here is a charming little volume of letters lying on our table, showing us several aspects of Göthe, and precious for the wisdom they contain. The majority of them are letters to Heinrich Meyer at Rome and to Schiller. The former are extremely interesting, and, read in conjunction with the *Italiänische Reise*, reveal to us the passion for art in all its details which in another man would be called absorbing, but which in Göthe was only one of the manifold phases of his rare nature.

The following letter is worth quoting, for its views on art; it is dated Weimar, Sept., 1788, and addressed to Meyer at Rome:—

"I will not attempt to tell you how I suffered on my departure from Rome; how painful it was to me to quit the beautiful land; my most earnest wish is to meet you there again.

"It has caused me especial pleasure that you so highly extol the *Circe* in the Farnese Palace; it was always one of my favourite compositions. Unhappily, the feeling in which it is composed has become, in a great degree, extinct, and the present generation seem rather disposed to censure in it what is most deserving of praise. This picture is one of the models that show how a painter should and can conceive his subject—whether Carracci did so for himself in this instance, or borrowed from a predecessor.

"Thanks for the drawings of the figures on the vase. It is an exquisite composition; or rather, to speak with Moritz, it is not a composition; for such a work is not put together from without, but unfolded from within. It is one thought embodied in several figures.

"The symmetrical way of placing figures had really for its purpose, that the forms should likewise become an ornament. Now I am persuaded that in this symmetrical style there was more capability for displaying variety than in our new one. This seems a queer paradox; but perhaps you are already of my opinion. More of this another time.

"The moderns, according to my notion, have seldom recovered the track of the old way of thinking, or if over a master did approach it, it was immediately abandoned again by his followers. In our days it seems to me quite lost. The very point on which we agreed as to the *Circe*, is a main point. The old masters regarded the picture as a whole, separate and complete within itself; they aimed at showing everything within their canvass; the

picture was not to set one thinking of something else, but was itself to be the thing thought of, and in which everything was to be seen. They blended together the several epochs of the poem or tradition, and thus placed the succession before the spectator, for it was with our bodily eyes we were to see and enjoy the picture.

"This was well comprehended by Caracci. Mercury lays a plant in the cup, whereas in Homer he gives Ulysses the anti-magic plant long beforehand, &c. How miserably do modern artists torment themselves about the most trivial historical circumstances. Raphael had penetrated this principle, as his Transfiguration clearly proves."

Speaking of Cellini, Göthe says—

"A remark has suggested itself to me on this subject. In the fifteenth century Italy lay, with the rest of the world, still in barbarism. The barbarian has no esteem for art except in so far as it serves him immediately for ornament; hence goldsmiths' work had already made so much progress in those times, while other kinds were still very backward, and it was out of the workshops of the goldsmiths that arose the first able masters of other arts. Donatello, Brunelleschi, and Ghiberti were all of them goldsmiths at first. There is matter in this for profitable reflection. Are we not once more to be regarded as barbarians, since ornament is again become the end of all our art?"

The following request addressed to Meyer is very characteristic of Göthe:—

"When you meet with travelling connoisseurs, who think, like the audience at a play, that the right of expressing applause or disapprobation is part of their money's worth, pray take notice of their confused criticism; so that being arranged hereafter under fit headings, it may afford matter for a chapter or for an epistle. Everything is worth our pains to observe it, as well what hinders as what helps us forward."

At the end of the letters here assembled there are some aphorisms, from which we select two or three. They are remarks thrown out in conversation by one of the wisest of men; but, like all such remarks, are not to be implicitly regarded as his settled convictions:

"Man is surely a strange being! Since I have come to know how the kaleidoscope works, it interests me no longer. It would cast us into sore perplexity were heaven to reveal to us all the secrets of nature; we should not know what to do with ourselves for lack of interest and *ennui*."

"The spirit of the real is the true ideal."

"With practical men one always fares better in personal presence than in absence; for at a distance they generally present their adverse side to us, but when we come face to face with them, we soon find how far we can mutually agree."

"Women, even the best educated, have more appetite than taste. They are fond of trying a bit of everything, novelty attracts them. They make no distinction between what interests, what pleases, and what is approved, but jumble all these together. Whatever does not offend against their conventional taste they like, no matter how hollow, empty, vapid and bad it may be. But they often dislike a thing if it only offends against that conventionality of theirs, though it be in itself ever so excellent."

"Books are now written not to be read for the sake of information and instruction, but to be reviewed, to the end that people may talk and decant upon them *ad infinitum*. Since it has been the custom to review books, no soul reads them but the reviewer, and he too but so so. To be sure it

rarely happens now that any one has something new to say and to communicate, something proper to himself, the growth of his own brain, instructive, and worked out with love and industry: so it is all one in the end."

"The Germans have a sort of Sunday poetry, a poetry that dresses up mere every-day forms in somewhat better words, on the principle that the clothes make the man."

"It is laughable to hear the Philistines landing the great intelligence and enlightenment of their age, and calling the earlier ages barbarous. Intelligence is as old as the world, even a child has intelligence; but it is not applied in every age in the same way and to the same kind of objects. Our age bends its whole intelligence upon morals and self-contemplation; hence it is almost wholly deficient in art and wherever else it is required to be active and co-operating. Imagination worked exclusively and permanently in former centuries, and the other mental powers were her handmaidens; now the case is reversed; she waits upon the others and grows crippled in that service.

"Former centuries had their ideas in intuitions (*anschauungen*) of the imagination; ours puts them into shapes of the reason (*begriffe*). The great views of life were then put into forms, embodied in gods; now-days they are put into *begriffe*. Then the productive power was greater, now the destructive power or the art of analysis."

Vergleichende Kultur—Statistik der Grossmächte Europa's. [Comparative Statistics of the First-rate Powers of Europe, as regards the several elements of their National Economy.] By Baron Frederick William von Reden. 2 vols. Berlin, 1846.

COMPARISON is the vital essence of statistical science, which, instead of ending with the mere assemblage of numerical data, may in strictness be said to begin when that process has been completed. When we take stock of our national effects, we do so in order that, by comparing the present with the past state of the account, or with some other standard, we may ascertain how we thrive, how far our existing arrangements work well or ill, and wherefore. These important problems may be partially solved by working out the statistical data we gather respecting our own nation, but much more amply and precisely by bringing them into juxtaposition with those of other countries. The books of a farm, if they are well kept, will acquaint the farmer with the amount of profit or loss accruing to him from the system he pursues, and enable him to guess more or less correctly, how far he should adhere to or modify it; but if he would turn his land to the best account, he must look abroad beyond the limits of his own fields and homestead, and apply other men's experience to his own use. Just so it is in the larger concerns of national economy. Statistical inferences are the result purely of observation and induction; their force and value must therefore be proportionate to the varied range of the data whence they are derived.

Every statistician then is necessarily engaged in making comparative views of facts of kindred order, but too often imperfectly and dubiously for want of the needful materials; he will therefore readily apprehend the utility of such a work as that before us, if adequately

executed. The difficulty of the task is certainly most formidable, and only to be overcome by the immense toil of a mind of peculiar powers, deriving extraordinary facilities from outward circumstances. We believe there is no European writer better qualified than is in all respects Baron Reden to accomplish this vast labour. The office he holds under the Prussian government makes the study of statistics his sole vocation, and he pursues it with the fervour of an engrossing passion. Receiving hour by hour items of information, great or small, from every nook and corner of Christendom, classifying them with the minute accuracy of a naturalist, and consigning them severally to their appropriate receptacles, he has accumulated—not a library, that is not the proper word—but a unique and wonderfully rich museum of statistical matter, every particle of which his excellent method renders instantly available when it is needed. He has given the world satisfactory proofs of his great acquirements, and his masterly command of his materials, in his ‘Statistics of Russia,’ (noticed in the ‘Foreign Quarterly Review,’ No. LXV,) and in his ‘Universal Comparative Geography and Statistics of Trade and Commerce,’ published in 1844. The comprehensive nature of the latter work obliged him to be very brief in the treatment of details, and to confine himself chiefly to a summary statement of ultimate results. In the present work he supplies a much more copious analysis of the natural resources and existing economical condition of the five leading powers of Europe.

The plan of the work is as follows: Taking each of the five powers successively, he gives a statistical account of its territory, specifying its position, dimensions, political and natural divisions, terrestrial and aquatic conformations, climatic conditions, and the productions of its soil. He then sums up these details in a tabular form, and in a condensed textual review. After this he proceeds to examine the same powers in like manner under four other grand categories, viz., Inhabitants, Constitution in Church and State, Administration, Moral and Physical Condition, and Resources. Under each of these heads is ranged a great number of subdivisions, especially under the last, which embraces every human occupation, every institution and public work subservient to the support and development of the national wealth. Nothing can be better conceived than this arrangement, and we have a strong reliance on the correctness of the details, founded on our knowledge of the author’s extensive acquirements, prodigious industry, and scrupulous exactness.

Voyage dans l'Inde, par Victor Jacquemont, pendant les Années 1828 à 1832. Première Partie: Journal, 3 vol. grand in 4°; deuxième Partie: ‘Description des Collections,’ 1 vol. in 4°, et Atlas, en deux Parties. [Jacquemont’s Journal in India, &c.] Paris, 1841–45.

THE clever author of the well-known ‘Letters from India’ died in Bombay in 1832, at the early age of thirty-one. His letters were given to the world in 1833, but the present much more im-

portant and interesting work, the complete journal of his four years' travels, was unaccountably suffered to remain in manuscript for nine years after the author's death. It is to be regretted that it has been published in so voluminous and costly a shape as will make it inaccessible to many readers. A volume and half of the text and two volumes of plates are exclusively occupied with details of botany, zoology, and natural history, which have scarcely any interest for the general reader. A well-executed translation of the more popular part of the work would, we think, be well received in this country. A few specimens of the author's delineations of Hindu manners and customs may not be unacceptable in this place.

"The Europeans in the towns of India know scarcely anything of the ways of life of their native servants. In this country domestic service is like military service in other parts of the world; it lasts for each man some hours every day, and for the rest of his time he is free. There is perhaps not one European in Calcutta who knows where any one of his servants lives, whether they are married, have children, brothers, parents, and in what country; what they do with their savings, &c. The jealous care with which the English strive to keep all strangers at a distance is very curious, and is peculiar to their nation; in this country the natives make no attempt to overcome their reserve. The numerous class of *behras*, the most domesticated of all those in the service of Europeans, living in close contact with them, under their very roofs, and in their rooms, following them from room to room during nine months in the year to fan them, has not yet produced one man who could speak English. * * * Some servants never see their master's face. In travelling, they come of necessity under your observation. My people appeared greatly disconcerted by this for a few days, but now a month is past and they are quite habituated to be looked at and questioned about things they are fond of concealing. Sometimes, in talking to me of their poverty, with a view to obtain some small present, they have afforded me an opportunity to question them about their families. * * * My four Hindus, one of whom is but nineteen years of age, are married; their wives are in their native places, three, four, or five hundred miles from here. They all say they make their wives a monthly allowance proportioned to the wages they receive, the lowest being a rupee, which is paid by the poorest of the four, who earns four rupees a month. But one fellow, who can hardly stand upright on his legs, though he says he never was better in his life, is the only one of them all who has two wives, who receive from him the half of his slender pittance, leaving him four shillings a month to defray all his expenses. What does a man want with two wives, or with one wife, under such circumstances? I cannot tell, and I am sure these poor wretches themselves cannot."—Vol. i, p. 328.

"The slave negroes in Bourbon are at least on an equality with the males of their degraded race; but here the women seem not to belong even to the abject species of their husbands. Neither the Mussulmans nor the Hindoos eat with them; and the Brahmins, who have only a hut to live in, turn out their wives to sleep with the cattle at certain periods."—Vol. i, p. 234.

"A mile below Serampour, there is a large pagoda held in extreme veneration. The principal idol is brought out once a year on a car like that of Juggernaut to visit some of his neighbours. An immense concourse is always collected on these occasions, and here, as at Juggernaut, the poor wretches throw themselves under the wheels of the car to be crushed to death. Mr Pakenham, Lord William Bentinck's private secretary, hap-

pened to be passing through the place on horseback last year at the time of the ceremony. He saw a Hindn throw himself down in the way of the car; the wheels were near upon him, when Mr Packenham galloped up and belaboured the martyr with his horsewhip. The poor devil jumped up and ran as fast as his legs could carry him into the jungle, shouting murder! He was quite prepared to endure a most horrible death, but a horsewhipping was a thing that had never entered into his calculations. What a capricious principle is courage! Timid and spiritless as these people are, there are forms under which death seems to them a matter perfectly indifferent."—Vol. i, p. 179.

"The cold awoke me several times during the night, though I lay near a great fire, and my servant seemed to rest no better than myself. They doze at night rather than sleep; and this seems enough for them. Negroes likewise do not *sleep*. The delight of the men of the south is to doze night and day. The mere passive sense of existence constitutes their highest enjoyment in this world, and their imaginations have conceived none other for the blessed in Paradise. Though much more innred to cold and heat than we are, by the habit of going almost naked, the Hindoos complain as we do when they are equally exposed to cold; I often hear those do so on the road near sunrise, yet they prefer bearing it all and walking slowly, rather than warm themselves by quickening their pace for ten minutes. Physical pleasure and pain no more admit of an exact comparative measurement than do happiness and unhappiness. There is reason, however, to believe that the principle on which they depend, viz., physical sensibility, is very unequally developed, not only among individuals, but also among various races. I believe it to be very obtuse in the Hindus. Their children cry as seldom as they laugh. I have seldom seen them beaten by their parents; punishment must be very severe to make them scream out. Are we to presume, because they show little sign of pain, that they feel it the less? I think so.

"In what country of Europe could wretches be found who, for a small payment, would allow themselves to be hung on a rope by two sharp iron hooks inserted in the flesh of their backs, and to be whirled rapidly about in the air? Every spring, at one of the religious festivals, there are men who willingly undergo this torture, being paid by rich hypocrites, who hope to save their souls by these vicarious mortifications; and they go through the whole without a groan, some of them even singing. After being cured of their wounds, they are ready to undergo the same process the following year. Yet they are not martyrs, cheered under their sufferings by the prospect of heavenly beatitude; they know perfectly well that their reward will be just ten pounds.

"The Chinese go still further. They not only torture themselves by decapity, but sometimes suffer decapitation in the same commodious manner. A rich man, condemned to lose his head, is sometimes allowed to find a substitute, who shall suffer in his stead—and he finds one! Nor is it merely decapitation which the man has to undergo, but he is usually tortured before he receives the final blow. A man sells himself in China to the executioner to find bread for his family; just as in Europe, he devotes himself to the chances of war. What must be the love of such a man for his family, or the obtuseness of his physical sensibility? The one and the other are to us alike incomprehensible."—Vol. i, p. 412.

"It was reported one day to Captain Kennedy that the tomb of a young child buried the year before in the graveyard of the station (Simla) had been thrown down, and the body carried away. . . . The police were busy making inquiries for several days, but they could discover nothing. The captain at last hit upon a singular expedient. He gave notice that

if the body was not recovered within twenty-four hours, he would have a cow hung up in the bazaar. The threat had the desired effect, and that very night the body was replaced.

"The inhabitants of the mountains are all Hindus, who pay little regard to the distinctions of castes, and to many devout practices of the Hindus of the plains; but they are extremely punctilious in all that regards the sacredness of oxen. Captain Kennedy prohibits the public slaughter of these animals in Simla, and the measure tends greatly to conciliate the good-will of the mountaineers. The Ganges water, on which witnesses are sworn in the courts of justice, by no means deters them from perjury; it is Captain Kennedy's practice, therefore, to make witnesses take hold of a cow's tail and swear by the animal. The truth is then sure to come out."—Vol. ii, p. 173.

"The impression made upon the Hindus when they see us eating beef is the same as we should experience on witnessing a banquet of cannibals; it is disgust and horror. When we eat pork in their presence, their feeling is that of intense disgust only; they think of us as we should think of people who devoured filth. The English Government has for five-and-twenty years been exerting its influence with the Rajpoot princes, its tributaries or protégés, to get them to put an end to the practice of putting to death most of the female infants in families of illustrious blood. It professes sympathy for these victims and abhorrence of human sacrifices. Now all castes of Hindoos entertain infinitely more abhorrence for the sacrifices of oxen, which are permitted in all the provinces of India under British authority, than the English feel for the suttees and infanticides they want the natives to abolish. Many civil servants of the company, though in other respects differing widely in their views and principles of government, agree in banishing pork from their tables. Frazer excludes beef also from his; but he is the only one I know of sufficiently un-English to do so. But few English have sought to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the feelings of the natives on these matters; almost all are disposed to disregard such things. Lord William Bentinck had oxen slaughtered in his camp at Rajpoot, on the territory of a Sikh chief, and in sight of Runjet Singh's Sikh army, notwithstanding the representations made by Clerk, the political agent for all the Sikh principalities on the left bank of the Sutlej. The chief on whose territory the oxen were slaughtered has been ever since despised by his neighbours, just as a petty German or Italian prince would be who should allow the leader of an allied army, passing through his territory, wantonly to commit the most monstrous atrocities, without at least trying to prevent them by the very energetic remonstrances.

"In India, that Eldorado of European imaginations, the vast majority of the population, instead of *having, owes*. The agriculturist (and India is peopled with little else than agriculturists) almost always borrows from the village hanker the little sum necessary to buy seed; and in the poorest provinces he is even obliged to borrow the money to buy a pair of oxen when the ploughing season comes in. At all events if he is fortunate enough to be able to meet these moderate expenses, his own resources are always insufficient for any kind of cultivation that is rendered more than commonly expensive by the labour it requires, such for instance as that of opium. There is not a peasant in the company's provinces, at Patna or Benares, who owns the opium he raises on his land. The company's agent advances the sums necessary for the culture of the poppy, and takes the opium at his own price, which is sufficient to render this kind of crop as profitable to the husbandman, as any other he could raise, and even a little more so, for the cultivation of the poppy is not forced. But if it enables

the peasant to live somewhat less wretchedly than he would otherwise do, it does give him the means of laying by enough to do without pecuniary aid from the government in the following year. In Malwa these loans are advanced by the bankers and usurers of each little town and village, who reserve to themselves by contract the proprietary right to the crop, taking the chance of loss if the season is unfavourable, and securing all the profit in the contrary case; in short, the usurers are the real farmers; and the husbandmen or proprietors of the soil, unable for want of means to cultivate it on their own account, hire out the use of it and of their own labour to these men. This is the system universally prevailing from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya. There is a class of capitalists much more numerous than in Europe, who lend out money in petty sums; and the rest of the population are from birth to death their debtors. Every peasant has his account open with the *sakkar*, to whom he pays, all his life, the interest on the capital of his debt, which increases in bad seasons and on the occurrence of marriages and other domestic events, and diminishes when there is a succession of favourable seasons."—Vol. iii, p. 558.

"I have so often since my arrival in India made the observation I am here about to mention, that I have no doubt already frequently set it down in my journal. It is a sort of apology, if not eulogium, of the institution and prejudices of castes as they exist in India. Undoubtedly they are in many respects injurious to the native social interests. They form, in my opinion, an insurmountable obstacle to any notable change or important amelioration in the moral and physical condition of the Hindu. But after all there remains to be said in their favour, that the lowly do not suffer in India from the pride of the great. The disdain and abhorrence with which the high castes look down on the low ones never cause the members of the latter any painful feelings. Every caste and subdivision of a caste forms a little distinct society in the general community. Its members enjoy the sense of equality among themselves, whilst their position in all respects towards the other members of the general community is determined before their birth by a traditional, iron discipline contemporaneous with the establishment of the Hindu governments. The dhair of the Deccan, or the hhil of Malwa, forbidden to enter the limits of the village whose property he guards at night, is no more humiliated before a Brahmin or a husbandman, for being what he is, a dhair or a hhil, than is a soldier by the act of mounting guard before his colonel's door. This man, whom we call a pariah, an outcast, has his own caste too, and is no less attached to it than is a Brahmin to the prejudices and customs of that to which he belongs. The dhair of the Deccan, for instance, who feeds on the flesh of oxen and buffaloes, and camels that have died of sickness or old age, regards the flesh of domestic swine with no less loathing than the Brahmin. He has his peculiar notions of purity and uncleanness relative to his caste; and these strange notions regulate, in the lowest and most despised caste, the alimentary regimen and the relation between the sexes, just as well as in the higher castes, though differently. The members of the latter bear no malice or pity for those of the latter, who again feel no envy, hatred, or desire of vengeance against the castes above them. The divine origin of castes being universally admitted, there is no ground for personal animosity. It is not a human and changeable institution: if, then, it is unjust, what is the use of complaining? And why should those whom its injustice favours be held responsible? Is it their fault?

"These odd, fantastic prejudices, which condemn a nation to be poor and weak, because they stifle the germ of almost every kind of ambition by confining the growth of each individual within the bounds of his caste, are favourable to individual happiness. There is not in India a single indi-

vidual who is ashamed of his condition. There the poor suffer only through the direct effects of their penury, whereas the poor of Europe are afflicted besides by the angry passions with which they are filled by the sight of comforts beyond their reach. In the United States, where there are hardly any poor, and where those who are least endowed with means are almost as well fed and clothed as the rich, the lower classes of society lead the most unhappy existence, being continually tormented by the idea of their inferiority and degradation.

"Thus there are in the United States so many sore and bitter circumstances incident to the exercise of the humblest callings, particularly that of domestic service, that persons born in the poorest classes make extraordinary efforts of toil to rise in the social scale. The result is abundant production, national and individual wealth, hut, as it seems to me, little happiness. These free men work like negroes and are compelled to do so, to avoid falling among the most miserable of all pariahs, the lowest classes of the American republic. A bhil or a dhair of the Deccan, the very ill-paid servant of a village community, or the chamar of that village, all regarded by the other peasants as impure beings, whose contact would be pollution, excluded from the village as if they had the pestilence, watching the crops and the cattle night and day, exposed naked to the sun and rain, and no better fed than clad,—these men consider themselves as lacking nothing which they deem essential to their dignity: they have no need to blush for their condition in the presence of any man, nor do they blush; their lot is enviable if compared with that of the well fed and well clothed American who serves a master."—Vol. iii, p. 525.

Nouvelle Revue Encyclopédique. Publiée par MM. Firmin Didot frères. Paris: 1846.

WE hail the appearance of this new periodical with much satisfaction. It meets a very palpable want of the times, being devoted exclusively to literary and scientific criticism and intelligence, and including within its scope the most notable productions of the press of all countries. Three monthly numbers of the work are before us. Their contents are, on the whole, very creditable to the conductors of the 'Revue,' though scarcely possessing that lively interest which we look for in a work of this kind. This, however, is a fault which, in all fairness, we must impute, not to the writers, but to circumstances. The last few months have been singularly barren of literary produce, both in France and Germany; let us hope that a change will soon take place, and afford the editors and contributors to the 'Revue' a copious supply of subjects worthy of their talents and industry.

Each Number consists of ten octavo sheets. The price is moderate.

CANADA.

The *Hamilton Commercial Advertiser* of July 16th contains a curious piece of literary information, which at home will be considered as perhaps the most remarkable *news* from Canada we have had for a long period. The editor, in a leading article upon the *Westminster Review*, informs his readers that, after leaving the

hands of Jeremy Bentham, and passing into the possession of some person whose name the editor does not recollect, it was subsequently purchased by Colonel Sibthorpe, to give vent to his enthusiasm for free trade!

Jeremy Bentham wrote one article, and one only, in the early numbers of the *Westminster Review* (an article on the law of real property, vol. vi. p. 446, published in 1826). The contributions of Colonel Sibthorpe (!) to the *Westminster*, in the cause of free trade, with whatever enthusiasm they may have been written, we have unfortunately not the means of pointing out.

FRANCE.

Two incidents during the past quarter have attracted the attention of the public, and we note them as significant of the progress of principles which promise in a brief time to change the relations of all the states of Europe;—the invitation to dine with the King of the French given to Mr Cobden on his way to Paris, who accordingly dined with the Royal Family at the Château d'Eu; and the public dinner given to the same gentleman (August 18) by the *Société des Economistes* of Paris. We quote a brief description of the latter from the *Economist*:—

"The chairman was the Marquis d'Harcourt, peer of France, and who is president of the *Société des Libres Echanges*. He was supported by two other peers, Anisson Duperron and Renouard, and by the celebrated writers, Blanqui, Beaumont, Chevalier, Bastiat, Garnier, Reybaud, and Faucher. Nor was there a lack of capitalists, for M. d'Eichthal, the banker, and M. Vernes, the deputy-governor of the Bank of France, assisted, to use a French word, at this magnificent feast. More remarkable still, a French diplomatist was present, for M. Billing, Minister of France at Denmark, was a guest. This may be said to be a sign of the times in more cases than one, for though of no political importance, and of no remarkable talent, M. Billing is a shrewd and sagacious man, who would not take the decisive step of appearing at this dinner, unless he thought the days of monopoly were numbered in France. The most remarkable fact of all, however, is the importance attached to and the space accorded to the dinner by the Ministerial journal, the *Débats*. The speech of Mr Cobden, delivered in the French language, was modest and graceful, and appears to have produced a most favourable impression on all present."

A highly interesting account of this banquet, with a full report of all the toasts drank and speeches delivered, will be found in the last number of the *French Journal des Economistes* (No. 57),* in which we further read that—

"Plusieurs membres de la Chambre, et du Cabinet n'ont pas voulu laisser partir le glorieux voyageur sans lui faire visite. Sir Cobden a reçu tout le monde, députés, ministres, pairs, négociants, et écrivains, avec ce tact parfait que lui a acquis tant de suffrages en Angleterre."

* Published in Paris by Gillaumin; in London by G. Loxford, White-riars' Street, price 2s. 6d.

In the same number of the *Journal des Economistes*, the result of the late elections as affecting the free-trade question is described.

"At Bordeaux all the candidates were required to give categorical explanations upon this subject. At Paris the question was raised in most of the electoral colleges; but we are bound to say that with one or two exceptions the honourable candidates would have been equally edifying if they had been interrogated upon the civilization of Congo, in Africa. Several, and among them some of the greatest pretension, spoke at random, while others joined to a confusion of ideas an embarrassed speech painful to witness. The now free-trade association will have enough to do to *clarifier tous ces esprits-là*, but it will not recede from the task. The 'free-traders' of France will henceforth have in the Chambers a small but resolute phalanx of representatives, destined to form the nucleus of an Economist party, which will soon acquire an influence sufficient to make itself respected in the struggles of a parliamentary campaign. The *Journal des Economistes* reckons this year a greater number of its contributors among the elected than formerly. To Messrs. Vivien, de Villeneuve, Barmont, de Lafarelle, &c., we may now add Messrs. Blanqui, deputy for Bordeaux; Léon Faucher, deputy for Rheims; and Louis Leyland, deputy for Marseilles.

"The cause of Commercial Reform will also be warmly supported by M. Ducos, and the other deputies for Bordeaux and Marseilles; by M. Sherbetté, an old champion of free-trade; by M. d'Eichthal, deputy for Mans; by Ch. Paulmier, deputy for Falaise; and doubtless by other deputies, old and new, who are beginning to regard such a reform as just and necessary.

"This first success of the principles of the Economists would have been complete if the names of Michel Chevalier and Frédéric Bastiat had been drawn from the electoral urn; but, unfortunately, the electors of Rodex have confounded strength of lungs with intelligence, and the interest of those who devour them with the interests of France; interests really identical with those of their own department. Bordeaux has not understood that to M. Bastiat alone is due the credit of having given a national character to the wine question, and it has been to this extent ungrateful; but the fault must be pardoned, since it has named M. Blanqui.

"The *Journal des Economistes* may also pride itself upon having seen this last month two of its most valuable contributors, M. Lejential and M. Renouard, called to the Chamber of Peers, where they will strengthen the hands of the free-trade advocates found among the most intelligent minds of the Upper Chamber."

Since the above appeared we read of another free-trade demonstration at Bordeaux on the occasion of Mr Cobden passing through that city. Mr Cobden was invited to a banquet in the Salle Franklin, at which three hundred guests sat down to dinner. The chair was taken by M. Duffour-Dubergier, having on his right hand Mr Cobden, and at the same table Baron Sers, peer of France, and Prefect of the Gironde; M. Roulet, first president of the Cour Royale; M. Dosquet, Secretary-general of the Prefecture; and M. Durin, one of the vice-presidents of the Society of Libres Echanges. Mr Cobden in returning thanks to the toast proposing his health, which was drunk with enthusiasm, availed himself of the opportunity to reply to the popular fallacy of the French protectionists, who assert that England has not abandoned protective duties till she could afford to do without them; which, as they contend,

France cannot at the present moment. His speech was received with great applause. Mr Cobden has also been fêted by Odillon Barrot, who invited M. Thiers, and other members of the opposition, to meet the English free-trade lion; but the latest and most decisive evidence of progress is the following declaration in the '*Journal des Débats*,' which removes all doubt as to the policy likely to be pursued by the present Cabinet:—

"From this moment we do not hesitate to say our choice is made. We are partisans of liberty of commerce in this sense, that we consider it an object to be gradually attained, approaching it, however, instantaneously and every moment, as circumstances will admit. The protective system, interpreted by the word prohibition (for that is the sense always given to it), may be favourable to a nascent industry just emerging into being; but once a country has advanced in the career of industry, this system becomes fatal. It stops the progress of the arts, inverts the natural order of things, creates an onerous, a fictitious, and a vicious system, at once troublesome and dear, and never affording results satisfactory to the labour and capital embarked."

HAMBURG.

The lethargy of government on the subject of Metropolitan Improvement, to which the '*Westminster Review*' has frequently called public attention, contrasts disparagingly with the accounts we are continually receiving of the activity of the authorities of various continental states in this branch of home administration.

The following is from a correspondent at Hamburg:—

"The great features of Hamburg are the two lakes in the centre of the town, formed by the river Alster in its course to the Elbe,—and the ramparts, now converted into public walks. These walks surround the town, without being divided from it by any railing or gate whatever; and are in fact most inviting gardens, upon which the principal streets open. It is difficult when out upon business to resist the temptation of strolling for 'a wee bit' amidst the flowers and shrubs of these public gardens; and when there, the houses are so completely concealed by the luxuriant foliage of the trees that the town is forgotten.

"The banks of the river Alster are laid out with a view to the same object of public health and recreation as the ramparts. Along its sides are broad avenues of trees, and the finest buildings in the city. The whole of the houses on two sides of the lake were destroyed by the great fire, but have since been rebuilt in a style of palatial magnificence.

"The architecture generally of the new town is much more pleasing and effective than that of the new streets lately formed and still forming in London. Somewhat stringent regulations have been adopted for the future prevention of fire, but each house is allowed to have an independent character of its own. Regularity is attained without a monotonous uniformity. The arrangements in progress for a cheap and constant water supply will shortly be completed. On Sunday last, on one of the most sultry days of the season, when the sun and dust reigned supreme, suddenly rose in front of our hotel a superb jet of water, diffusing a delicious coolness through the air. Presently another jet was seen to rise about a hundred yards

distant, upon the opening of a plug. The people are delighted with this improvement upon the old system of laying the dust by water-carts. These jets, when the new tower of the water-works is finished, will rise by their own pressure to the height of eighty feet; throwing water, when required, over the tops of the highest houses in Hamburg, without the assistance of a fire-engine."

It is a curious fact that at Hamburg, and in some other parts of the Continent, the recommendations of our sanatory reports, and those of the Health of Towns' Commissioners, have to some extent been adopted and reduced to practice, before our own government appear to have arrived at any definite conclusions on the subject. At Hamburg, however, the Senate had the assistance of an able English engineer, Mr William Lindley, under whose general superintendence the whole of the public works commenced since the conflagration in 1842 have been placed.

INDIA.

The following extract from a private letter, relating to the state of music in India, will be read with interest by those who have taken part in this country in the promotion of a taste for vocal harmony among the people:—

"Surat, February 21.

"As a curious—a puzzling instance of the prejudices of education and early association, and upon a subject in which I know you take an interest, I send you a few lines from a journal which I have kept during a month's trip in the interior of Goojarat, commencing with a description of one of our popular vocalists.

"In a little side room the songstress and her accompanists were getting ready, and a few minutes afterwards made their appearance and squatted on the floor (tailor fashion), opposite Bhon Sahib. The room was immediately filled with Hindoo visitors, chiefly Mahratta Brahmins. The singer was a woman of perhaps five-and-thirty, moderately good-looking, but to my fancy very much disfigured by the quantity of black pigment with which her eyes and teeth were stained. She receives an allowance of 200 rupees a month from the Guicowar, in addition to what she may earn on occasions like these (perhaps thirty or forty rupees), and to occasional presents of clothes and jewellery. Of the latter she made a profuse display,—her hands, ears, and nose being loaded with rings set with diamonds, pearls, &c. The accompanists were two *Sáringay* players, who sat one on each side of the singer. One performer on the very tightly strained lilliputian kettledrums, and a lad who kept the gigantic guitar vibrating;—all these instruments I have formerly described to you. And now for her singing. An artist who earns, perhaps, three or four hundred rupees a month in so poor a country as this, and who, although of a rather disreputable profession, lives by dint of her merits as a singer only, on terms of easy intercourse with the highest ranks of natives, ought to possess, whatever European prejudice may decide to the contrary, no barbarous degree of musical skill and feeling; and I certainly think that this woman would make a sensation even in Europe. The music she sings is of course in itself very simple, and possesses very little claim to merit as musical composition; but those who have heard Wilson

CRITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

CITY ADMINISTRATION.—MARKETS.

RAPPORT SUR LES MARCHES PUBLICS EN ANGLETERRE, EN BELGIQUE, EN HOLLANDE, ET EN ALLEMAGNE. [*Report on the Public Markets of England, Belgium, Holland, and Germany.*] Paris : Vinchon, 1846.

A Commission, consisting of MM. Anger, V. Baltard, and A. Husson, was appointed last year by the Prefect of the Department of the Seine, for the purpose of examining and reporting on the state of the public markets of England, Belgium, Holland, and Prussia. Their report has just appeared: and the following extracts will exhibit the impression made upon intelligent foreigners by the present disgraceful state of our city markets.

"In a capital like London (say the Commissioners), where there is so much to admire in its docks, and other public institutions, it might reasonably be expected that as much attention would be paid to the markets as to other matters connected with the municipal government; but this is not the case. An increasing population requires increasing accommodation in the existing markets for the supply of the necessaries of life, as well as that new markets should be instituted to meet the growing wants of the people. But the City Corporation is opposed to the most essential improvements. It not only makes no efforts to improve and enlarge the existing markets, so that they might better meet the wants of the inhabitants, but other quarters of the City, and those the most populous, are prevented from obtaining new markets, in which the increased consumption might be supplied. The consequence is, that the capital of Great Britain is in a much worse state with regard to its markets than are many second-rate towns in the empire."

They thus continue :—

"From what we have just said, it will be evident that the London markets are much more open to censure than to praise. Being, however, unwilling to trust entirely to first impressions, we have studied every question connected with these establishments, with as much care as if we had a hope of deriving from them more useful examples.

"We first explored the city markets, which are six in number:—Newgate, Smithfield, Leadenhall, Billingsgate, Farringdon, and Honey-lane.

"Newgate market, which is but a short distance from the Smithfield cattle-market, is the principal one for the sale of meat. The enormous joints of beef suspended in the shops, the innumerable sheep, calves, and pigs, which daily load the stalls, are a subject of astonishment to the foreigner who visits this market; for it is well known that in England meat constitutes the principal article of consumption; the eye accustomed to dwell on the masses of vegetables everywhere displayed in our own markets cannot see without wonder these vast exhibitions, as remarkable for the quantity as for the beauty of the meat exposed for sale. This feeling of surprise would be still more lively, if Newgate market were constructed with such regularity as to display at one view the abundant provision made for daily consumption: but such is not the case. Newgate market is nothing more than a badly arranged assemblage of shops of different sizes, opening on courts or passages which appear to have been covered in after they were formed. The market has in fact been enlarged at various times by additions of the adjoining property: space, air, and light are all wanting. We noticed in the shops that the blocks on which the meat is cut up are very low; being only between two and three feet high. This is accounted for by the custom of cutting up the meat in the shops, an operation which with us is performed in the *abattoirs*. We can readily understand that if higher tables were used, the more important parts of the animal would be out of the butcher's reach.

"We also visited the slaughter-houses in the neighbourhood of Newgate market, to which they form an appendage. These are in buildings in the narrow streets or lanes which abound in this part of the city, and generally consist of a single room or covered court, divided into two parts by a slight partition; one side serving as a stall for the animals, which are slaughtered in the other. These slaughter-houses are furnished with the necessary apparatus for suspending the slaughtered animals, but everything is rude and behind the age, and the contents of the intestines are washed down into the sewers. In these confined slaughter-houses, however, a considerable amount of business is transacted; for whilst Newgate market receives a portion of its supplies from different parts of England, it is also the principal place for the sale of meat furnished by the cattle brought to Smithfield market.

"We took advantage of our visit to this locality, to witness the English mode of slaughtering oxen. In France, after the animal is secured by a rope, by which the head is fixed low and immovably, he is stunned by a blow which throws him down, when the carotid artery is easily severed. The blood flows freely from the wound, and the animal dies from exhaustion. By this mode the blow of the iron mallet simply produces a concussion of the brain, sometimes accompanied by a rupture of the spinal marrow, but is in general insufficient of itself to cause death. On the contrary, on the English plan, the animal is not bled until life is extinct. Instead of the stunning mallet, the English butchers make use of a pole-axe, with an iron peak; a blow from this instrument descends with sufficient force to pierce the skull of the animal. A stick or rod is then introduced, which traverses the brain, and penetrates the spinal marrow. This method we saw practised on an ox killed before us. The animal groaned piteously under the operation, showing that the nervous system was cruelly excited. We cannot recommend this plan, which left a painful impression on our minds. We inquired if its employment is sanctioned only by custom, or whether any particular advantage attends it; unfortunately, we could meet with no one able to satisfy us on this head. It appeared to us that the animal bleeds much less freely on the English plan than on ours; in fact, the English butcher does not divide the carotid artery until the action of the heart has ceased, and the blood which flows from the wound is not propelled by the play of that organ; consequently, the vessels are not thoroughly emptied, and the meat remains filled with blood. From this cause, the meat has a greater disposition to become putrescent, but it certainly retains more of its nutritive properties; and it is possible that hence may arise the peculiar flavour of English beef.

"In the preparation of their meat, there are two other particulars in which the English butchers differ from the French. In the first place they do not inflate the animal, as, in England, this would be considered fraudulent and liable to severe punishment: besides, when the ox has been bung up, opened, and skinned, the external parts of the meat are washed with cold water, and wiped with linen cloths.

"Leadenhall market is not constructed with greater regularity than Newgate market. With the exception of some parts which are better arranged, this market is also a labyrinth of lanes and covered courts, where the different articles are exposed for sale in shops or upon stalls badly situated with regard to air and light. Leadenhall is principally a market for the sale of poultry and game, but butter and eggs, meat and leather, are also sold there, forming in reality four distinct markets. There is no place set apart for the purpose of killing poultry, which appears to be brought into the market dead. The sale of leather is carried on in two small buildings, united by an iron bridge thrown over the passage which separates them, and they are constructed on the same plan as our hay-market. The coarse hides are laid out on the ground-floor, under a shed open on all sides; the finer hides and skins are contained in warehouses on the floor above. In the adjoining houses surrounding one of these buildings, private warehouses and counting-houses have been established, all connected with this particular trade, which seems to have its focus in this spot. Only a small stock of the article is kept in these warehouses; and so far from the whole of the leather trade being carried on here, the mode of transacting business in Leadenhall market seems to be somewhat analogous to that practised in our Rue Mauconseil. We may add that the leather trade does not retain undisputed possession of this locality, where both raw and cured hides are

exposed for sale. It is stated that this exposure, so little in accordance with atmospheric salubrity, has compelled the East India Company to build up the windows of one of the façades of their hall. This, however, is but one effect of corporation monopoly, which, keeping in view the profit arising from a vested privilege, has no sympathy with the complaints of the inhabitants of the locality.

"A short distance from Leadenhall street is the Billingsgate fish-market, of ancient fame. Situated on the banks of the Thames, it receives the fish brought in by the numerous fishing-boats. This market, which appears to be at least partially built on piles, is held in shabby wooden buildings, and has a very decided air of confusion and disorder. It is difficult to comprehend how an establishment so confined and so badly arranged can suffice for the requirements of a very extensive trade. The wholesale business is transacted under the common sheds, where a very active movement is kept up during the morning, and the retail trade is carried on in the open shops on each side the narrow passages which run from Lower Thames street to the Thames. In these shops, which have nothing showy to recommend them, we have seen such an abundance of salmon as we had previously no conception of. But the fish-market, properly so called, extends over the whole of that part of the river corresponding to the market on shore: the ships laden with salt-fish, and the various fishing-vessels, press forward to the foot of the piles; and there, on ship-board, is conducted the sale of oysters, which is effected through the agency of measurers, who perform their duties by proxy. There are morning measurers and day measurers; the former measure the oysters which are conveyed from the boats in carts before the opening of the market; the latter begin their work on board as soon as the clock strikes. It appears to us that the employment of oyster-measurers constitutes a species of office the utility of which is not commensurate with the expenses entailed upon the buyers.

"Farringdon market, built for the sale of vegetables, fruit, and meat, consists of a court, surrounded on three sides by covered galleries, nearly of the same size and plan as those of the market of St Germain, in Paris. In the court has recently been erected a small gallery for the storage of fruits. The hollow columns which support this erection also serve as pipes for the conveyance of rain-water from the roof. This market, which was formerly held in Farringdon street, has gained nothing by its removal. The government, desirous of securing an improvement which would be a great public convenience, consented to furnish the funds required for the erection of the new market. By this advance it would be entitled to collect a moiety of the proceeds; but as the expenses attending repairs and management have hitherto absorbed the revenue, the sacrifice has as yet received no recompense. It seems to have been a mistake to count upon the rent of the shops in the covered galleries. These shops, which are especially adapted for butchers, for the most part remain empty, although well calculated to withdraw from the over-crowded Newgate market a portion of its business. But centralization has an attraction which it is difficult to overcome. So long as Newgate market continues to be the principal place for the sale of meat, dealers and consumers will continue to flock there; and they will prefer the inconvenient stalls of that market to the more comfortable shops provided in other localities. Notwithstanding all that has been said, Farringdon market is the only one in the city which has any claim to consideration as a building; the erections which compose it are regular and have a very satisfactory architectural appearance.

"But that which is especially open to remark, and is a subject of surprise to every stranger visiting London, is the existence of the Smithfield cattle market in the heart of one of the most populous quarters of the city, and at the junction of so many narrow thoroughfares. This market is held twice a week, in a large, irregular space, which has been enlarged at various periods, and opened in many directions to the general traffic. On Monday are sold the cattle intended for slaughter, such as oxen, cows, calves, sheep, and lambs; on Friday, to these are added horses and swine. The arrangement of this market is far from affording the conveniences of our markets at Soaux and Poissy: the oxen are secured by ropes in a very bad state, and when they are sold, they are conducted to another part of the market, where they are marked, under the superintendence of the purchasers. The calves and sheep are confined in pens, about six feet square, formed of thick bars; and

what appeared to us very awkward, was the necessity of pushing through the animals, in order to pass from one pen to another. The sheep which await purchasers are crowded and squeezed, but though the space assigned them is small, they are able to move in it. The method practised among us is not used here, though preferable, for they are with us so methodically handled, that they cannot escape the notice of the butcher, and are presented to his inspection with all their advantages. Smithfield is the *beau idéal* of disorder. The removal of sold oxen, the departure of flocks of sheep, the fright of the animals which make their escape, the baying of dogs, and the cries of the drovers, altogether produce the most horrible noise, and the most tumultuous scene it is possible to conceive. Indeed, it is not always prudent for the passenger to mix in the crowd when the commotion is at its height. In addition, the streets in the neighbourhood, which lead from the Newgate slaughter-houses, and from the stables where the unsold beasts are placed, are so encumbered by the animals themselves, and so covered with their excrements, that they are all but impassable. But the concourse of animals is not confined to the vicinity of the market; it extends to a distance from the city, for the precincts of London are also supplied with provisions from Smithfield; and such flocks of sheep as have not been sold are driven away to pastures, there to await another market. In London it is not considered derogatory to throw open the royal parks for the reception of sheep brought to Smithfield; and we consequently see numerous flocks grazing on the fine herbage of Regent's Park.

"The inconveniences accompanying Smithfield market have long engaged public attention. Parliament itself has been besieged with numerous complaints, which, as yet, have not been attended to. Calculating upon the consent of the population, and the support of those in authority, certain speculators, some years ago, attempted to establish a market at Islington, about five miles from St Paul's, which was to supplant that at Smithfield; but the scheme was so strongly opposed by the corporation, that the necessary parliamentary consent could not be obtained. The company who endeavoured to establish the new market can only rest in the hope that one day this obstinate opposition may be overcome. We visited the market at Islington; it consists of a vast inclosure, surrounded by a plain portico, and containing not less than fifteen acres. Grass now grows in courts arranged for the sale of vast supplies of provisions; and one cannot but regret, that the cattle which daily encumber the streets of the British capital should not be all received here."

The Report is handsomely printed in quarto, and contains several beautifully executed views and ground plans of English and foreign markets.

ASTRONOMY.

THOUGHTS ON SOME IMPORTANT POINTS RELATING TO THE SYSTEM OF THE WORLD. By J. P. Nichol, LL.D., Professor of Astronomy in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh: William Tait. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. Dublin: John Cumming. 1846.

THE revelations of Lord Rosse's telescope having induced a modification of Professor Nichol's views relative to the structure of the heavens, as propounded in his previous works, he has published the present volume in explanation, deeming it a duty to offer an early account of the changes impressed on the questions discussed in his 'Architecture of the Heavens.' Referring to his former views regarding the nebular theory, he thus proceeds:—

"These modifications are, in every way, remarkable in detail; witness the extraordinary revelations regarding the shapes and internal constitution of the stellar clusters, which, through the kindness of that noble Earl, I am enabled very fully to present; but, in regard of one special and very important point, his Lordship has wholly subverted the opinion of his illustrious predecessor. The supposed distribu-

tion of a self-luminous fluid, in separate patches, through the heavens, has, beyond all doubt, been proved fallacious by that most remarkable of telescopic achievements—the resolution of the great nebula in Orion into a superb cluster of stars; and this discovery necessitates important changes in previous speculations in Cosmogony.” —Pref. p. iv.

As we shall most probably return to this subject on a future occasion, we will now only briefly mention the plates, which are beautifully executed, and admirably illustrate the progressive development of several of the nebulae which are the subjects of the text, more especially the remarkable one in the Dog's Ear, which has been transformed from “a shape apparently simple, into one so strange and complex, that there is nothing to which we can liken it, save a scroll gradually unwinding, or the evolutions of a gigantic shell !”

TWO SYSTEMS OF ASTRONOMY. First, the Newtonian System, showing the Rise and Progress thereof, by a short Historical Account; the General Theory, with a variety of Remarks thereon. Second, the System in accordance with the Holy Scriptures, showing the Rise and Progress from Enoch, the Seventh from Adam; the Prophets, Moses and others, in the First Testament; our Lord Jesus Christ and his Apostles, in the New or Second Testament; Reeve and Muggleton, in the Third and Last Testament; with a variety of Remarks thereon. By Isaac Frost. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., Stationers' Hall Court. 1846.

WE believe that in publishing this book the author has been actuated solely by zeal in the cause of what he conceives to be truth; yet we cannot look upon his work as being calculated to render the slightest service either to science or to religion. His object is to prove the central position and immobility of the earth, and the consequent motion of the sun, in conformity with the popular style of speaking, and the literal interpretation of scripture phrases,—a notion which has been often and completely confuted. Notwithstanding, however, that the truth of the generally received doctrine is so fully borne out by the unbiassed researches of every unprejudiced inquirer, and that it receives so much additional strength from every new discovery in astronomy, any fresh attempt to overthrow it naturally excites some little curiosity, and, if containing anything beyond commonplace observations, calls for something more than a mere passing notice. But we must confess ourselves to have been much disappointed, so far as science is concerned, on a perusal of this really handsome book; for the objections to the Newtonian (or more properly the solar) system are frivolous in the extreme, and are such that the merest schoolboy ought to be soundly whipped if he could not refute them after his first course of reading in the simplest lessons on astronomy. Any attempt to show the futility of these objections would be out of place here; we must therefore be content with giving a few quotations from the book itself, leaving our readers to form their own opinions as to its merits.

The following occurs as a foot-note early in the volume, and will serve as an illustration of the author's *peculiar* views on the subject of planetary motions:—

“I was once invited to hear read over ‘Guthrie on Astronomy,’ and when the reading was concluded, I was asked my opinion thereon; when I said, ‘Doctor, it appears to me that Sir Isaac Newton has only given two proofs in support of his theory of the earth revolving round the sun: all the rest is assertion without any proofs.’ ‘What are they?’ inquired the Doctor. ‘Well,’ I said, ‘they are first the power of attraction, to keep the earth to the sun; the second is the power of repulsion, by virtue of the centrifugal motion of the earth; all the rest appears to

be assertion without proof.' The Doctor considered a short time, and then said, 'It certainly did appear so.' I said, 'Sir Isaac has certainly obtained the credit of completing the system, but really he has only half done his work.' 'How is that?' inquired my friend the Doctor. My reply was this: 'You will observe, his system shows the earth traverses round the sun on an inclined plane; the consequence is there are four powers required to make his system complete. 1st. The power of ATTRACTION. 2ndly. The power of REVOLUTION. 3rdly. The power of ASCENDING the inclined plane. 4thly. The power of DESCENDING the inclined plane. You will thus easily see the four powers required, and Newton has only accounted for two: the work is therefore only half done.' Upon reflection, the Doctor said, 'It certainly was necessary to have these four points cleared up before the system could be said to be complete.'—P. 6.

With respect to our next extract, we know not whether the author may feel disposed to admit as evidence the revelations of Lord Rosse's telescope, seeing that they tell against him in reference to the myriads of stars for long ages hidden from mortal ken, and only unveiled in our own days, apparently for the purpose of demolishing a magnificent but untenable hypothesis, at a moment when an ingenious attempt had been made to establish it more firmly than ever. The author says:—

"A gentleman once said he would convince me of the error of my (what he termed) foolish notions in about ten minutes; and for this purpose he introduced 'Bonnycastle on Astronomy.' Opening the book, he showed me the following passage, and requested me to read it, and say what I thought of it:—

"The celebrated Huygens carried his thoughts so far upon this subject, as to believe that there might be stars at such an inconceivable distance from our earth, that their light, though it is known to travel at the rate of ten millions of miles in a minute, has not yet reached us since the creation of the world."

"When I had read the aforesaid, I asked him if it had ever crossed his mind to think how many of the other stars' light the light of such stars would interfere with in their progress to our earth, seeing their light expands as they travel: when he closed the book, saying that such an idea had never entered his mind before."—P. 7.

Strange indeed if it had, if he knew anything of optics! But what do our readers think of the following, which is intended as *proof* that the earth does *not* move round the sun? Supposing the sun to be fixed, and the earth to move round it once a year,

"The effect produced," says our author, "would be this: the earth, on the first of January, when turned to the sun, would be mid-day, and we should not see the fixed stars beyond or on the other side of the sun; and when we are turned from the sun it would be midnight, and we should see the fixed stars on this side of the sun; then our earth would traverse its orbit for six months, and arrive at the opposite side of the sun, which would be on the first of July; when we should be turned to the sun it would be mid-day, we should not then be able to see the fixed stars we saw on the first of January six months before; and when we are turned from the sun it would be midnight, we should then be looking in an opposite direction to what we were, and see other fixed stars which we could not see on the first of January previous."

"Now, consider, is this the case?—if it is not so, then this system cannot possibly be correct."—P. 13.

The author also asks, *why* it is, "according to the laws of perspective," that the inferior planets Mercury and Venus appear *no larger* when they are *nearest* to the earth, than they do when *farthest* from it? The same question is also asked of Mars. Any proof of their apparent variation in magnitude according to their position, derived from actual measurement, would, we fear, be rejected by one who quotes with approbation the *dicta* of John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton, "the last two witnesses of the

Holy Spirit," relative to "lying figures," and the sin of trusting to "vain astronomers or star-gazers, concerning the bulk of the sun, moon, and stars;" seeing that "the seed of faith knoweth the height of the heavens are but a few miles high," and that "arithmetic and numbers is necessary only for things on this earth, to measure land, and other accounts between man and man here on earth; your arithmetic and figures is not to measure the heights of the heavens, nor the depths of hell."

The author contends that neither the moon nor the planets borrow their light from the sun, but that they are all self-shining. He says:—

"I have been asked, on several occasions, that if I deny the moon being a dark body, and say it *does not borrow* its light from the sun, how could I account for the phases that are observed by a telescopic view, on Mercury, Venus, &c. My reply was, that they being lights in themselves, although of a very humble character compared with the sun, the sun's vast rays, being so superior to the light of the stars, will cause that side of the star which is from the sun to appear much darker than what it would if left to shine in its own light, as must be admitted when viewed through a telescope (and this might cause persons to suppose that it borrowed its light from the sun)."—P. 26.

The phases of the moon are, however, accounted for in a different and more ingenious manner by John Reeve, one of the prophets of the third and last Testament, who thus explains

"The cause why the moon showeth the light; but a little piece of her, when she is but a quarter old, so by degrees she increaseth till she is at the full, so that the full face and light of her may be seen by the light of the eye. The cause why we see her by a little and little is, she cometh out of one chamber or house of heaven into another; and as the houses and the firmament of heaven be at such a distance one from another, so we see her light the more, and we see her sometimes half light and half dark; now the piece that seemeth dark, it is because she is not come out of that house or region; but when she is come to that horizon where she was at the full, then she is all light and no darkness at all; not but that she was all light in herself before at all times, but she was in some chamber of heaven which shadowed her so, that we could not see her whole light of her whole face."—P. 81.

Our limits will not allow us to give further samples of this remarkable book, in which, we readily confess, there is much far above our comprehension, our obtuseness undoubtedly arising from our not being of the number of the spiritual, to whom the greater portion of the volume is addressed. We can, however, appreciate the truly beautiful plates, which are admirably printed in colours by Baxter, and may be consulted by the advocates of either system of astronomy. The literary portion of the volume, with its extracts from the 'Book of Enoch,' the 'Divine Looking-glass,' and the 'Stream from the Tree of Life,' is worthy of a distinguished place among the 'Curiosities of Literature.'

THE DRAMA.

A COURSE OF LECTURES ON DRAMATIC ART AND LITERATURE, by Augustus William Schlegel. London: H. G. Bohn, York street, Covent garden. 1846.

ANOTHER valuable portion of Mr Bohn's 'Standard Library,' being a revised edition of Mr Black's translation of Schlegel, by the Rev. A. J. W. Morrison, M.A. Of the lectures themselves it is now unnecessary to say a word; and the fact of its belonging to the 'Standard Library' is a sufficient guarantee for the manner in which the present edition is "got up."

GERTRUDE AND BEATRICE, OR, THE QUEEN OF HUNGARY. An Historical Tragedy, in Five Acts. By George Stephens, author of 'The Manuscripts of Erdely,' 'The Voice of the Pulpit,' &c. Second Edition. London: C. Mitchell, Red Lion Court, Fleet street. 1839.

We have to acknowledge the receipt of this tragedy, in which there is some powerful writing, and much more poetry than in any of the 'Dramas for the Stage,' by the same author, noticed in our last Number.

TARQUIN AND THE CONSULATE; a Tragedy, in Five Acts. By Richard Newton Greaves. London: Whittaker and Co., Ave Maria Lane. Derby: James Storer. 1846.

A DRAMA founded on the occurrences preceding and following the expulsion of the Tarquins from Rome. The author has remodelled and added to a portion of the earlier scenes, upon which a favourable opinion was formerly pronounced by the reviewers; the result is a tragedy of great power and interest, and for poetical diction equal to any one that has for a long time past issued from the press.

EDUCATION.

EUCLID'S ELEMENTS OF GEOMETRY, CHIEFLY FROM THE TEXT OF Dr SIMSON, WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES, &c. By R. Potts, M.A., &c. Cambridge and London: Parker, 1845.

So long as the Elements of Euclid are made the first book of instruction in geometry for young persons, the novelties both of matter and form will be found numerous, and will constitute as many difficulties, which, if not individually great, are formidable when united, and ought if possible to be removed. This should not be done with a view, or in a way, to produce a torpid or quiescent state of mind in the pupil. The machine must not be slipped forward without doing its work; but those obstacles which prevent its action must be removed, to enable the youthful faculties to act holdly and freely.

So long, also, as Euclid is the only work, and its matter the only subject, through which a notion of deductive reasoning is usually given, and the clear and rigid practice of that reasoning is enforced, it is important that the book should be well taught; not merely to form mathematicians (for few persons who go through Euclid become mathematicians, or carry their mathematical studies further), but to accustom the mind to trains of reasoning in which no step of the process shall be slurred over. It was a saying of Bishop Watson, a shrewd man, who had ample means of observation, that no boy could go through three or four books of Euclid properly, without benefit for life: but the Bishop laid due stress on the adverb *properly*. Taught as they often are, these books do have an effect for life, and one of a very different character; for they leave a rooted feeling that the whole concern is an imposture and an insufferable bore.

A competent instructor will know how to make his pupils extract the honey from this gigantic thistle, and not let them prick their noses in the vain attempt. But there are few such teachers. The mere mathematician, however skilful in his calling, is not the man. Judicious editing will also be of some service; and even the printer's aid may be called in with advantage, as this edition shows.

For elementary purposes we prefer this edition of 'Euclid' to any we have seen.

1st. Every step of the process or reasoning is placed in a separate line, or lines, which allows the eye to rest on each distinct portion until the mind has apprehended it, and permits the series to be gone over rapidly afterwards and summed up with greater ease.

2nd. The editor has returned to Simson's plan of printing the work in plain English, instead of introducing the algebraical notation, which is adopted in most modern editions. Science should, as far as possible, be commenced in the mother tongue. The signs are an essential part of Algebra; without them, or some such signs, Algebra could not exist. But algebraical signs have no necessary connexion with Geometry. They are a new difficulty, which, when added to the rest, greatly encumbers the beginner. They are, in fact, a foreign language; and what is unknown in the science is thus attempted to be explained in a language almost as unknown. To the learned they are a convenience, because they are a short-hand. To the learner they are an inconvenience, for the same reason. If common language be more circuitous, it is more intelligible; and the changes cannot so easily be rung upon it with scarcely any knowledge of what is going on, as they may on the algebraic signs. It is also desirable that the mathematics should be viewed in various lights through the medium of several languages or systems of notation, even with the sacrifice of some mechanical dexterity at the commencement.

3rd. For Simson's notes, which are not intended or calculated for beginners, Mr Potts has substituted brief explanatory notes of his own.

4th. A considerable number of exercises on each of the books (except the fifth) are subjoined. They are taken from the Cambridge examination papers.

The work is well got up, excepting the figures, which are sometimes too small, and not always executed very neatly.

GILBERT'S MODERN ATLAS OF THE WORLD FOR THE PEOPLE; with an Introduction to the Physical Geography of the Globe, and an Alphabetical Index of the Latitudes and Longitudes of 24,000 places. London: James Gilbert, 49 Paternoster Row, 1846.—Parts 1—7.

A very nice atlas for school or family use. The maps are not overcrowded with names, and are very well engraved. If we have any fault to find, it is that in some of the maps too much colour is used on the boundary lines, which causes confusion where the divisions are small, as in those of England, France, and part of Russia.

A NEW UNIVERSAL ETYMOLOGICAL AND PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, EMBRACING ALL THE TERMS USED IN ART, SCIENCE, AND LITERATURE. London: Gilbert, 49 Paternoster row. 1846. Parts 4—10.

In a previous notice of this work, we had occasion to mention the very numerous typographical and other errors which disfigure almost every page; and we truly regret to say that, in the numbers now before us, we can perceive but little improvement in this respect. This is a great pity; for the plan of the work is good, and if well executed, it would really be a useful addition to our libraries; but the numerous blunders destroy all confidence in it. The Latin is particularly unfortunate. Witness the following line from Horace:—

"Solvitur acris hyems grata vice veru et Favoni"

Two blunders in one line! Rather too bad. And what would the fastidious bard have said to his patron's name being twice printed *Macœnas* in as many examples?

ΠΡΩΤΟΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ; or, First Instruction in Greek. By Charles White, M.A. Relfe and Fletcher.

A VALUABLE contribution towards an important object—that of simplifying the study of the Greek language. The course of lessons here given requires no previous acquaintance with the grammar, but is intended to lead gradually to a knowledge of the elementary rules of construction. The plan, we hope, will be yet further improved upon. The exercises are excellent, with a teacher at hand to correct the errors of the pupil, but are scarcely sufficiently explanatory for a self-instructive manual. By a singular oversight, the author has omitted the English of the Greek examples in his first lesson, although in his subsequent lessons a translation is always given.

FICTION.

HEIDELBERG. A Romance. By G. P. R. James, Esq., Author of 'The Smuggler,' 'Arrah Neil,' 'The Step-Mother,' &c. In three volumes. London; Smith, Elder, and Co., 65 Cornhill, 1846.

LLEWELYN'S HEIR; OR, NORTH WALES; ITS MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND SUPERSTITIONS, DURING THE LAST CENTURY. Illustrated by a story founded on Fact. In 3 vols. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 65 Cornhill. 1846.

WE strongly suspect, from the spirit and style of this really well-written novel, that it is by no means the first appearance of the fair authoress in print. The story turns on the "woes unnumbered" springing from the cold-hearted pride of Mr Llewelyn's daughter by a former wife, "who was a lineal descendant of Rhys ap Iwdwr Mawr, the head of one of the five royal tribes of Cambria;" and although her father also traced "his descent, on the female side, from Gryffith ap Cynan, King of North Wales," the young lady boasts that her mother's alliance with him "added not only honour, but wealth, to the house of Llewelyn." This stately dame loves none of her family hut her half-sister Wenefrede, a fair and gentle girl of sixteen: she despises her step-mother, the second Mrs Llewelyn, pays cold respect to her father, and most heartily hates her half-brother, Howel, the heir, for deposing her by his birth from her position as heiress apparent of the house of Llewelyn. Her most unamiable temper leads eventually to the premature death of her stepmother, the second childhood of her previously happy and jocund father, the murder of the noble-minded Howel, by the hands of a vagabond cousin of hers, and the broken heart of her lovely and loved half-sister, besides misery to the other characters. We have recently met with a narrative of the real circumstances on which the novel is founded, and these, in their tragical issues, almost equal the events portrayed by the novelist.

The work abounds in sketches of the romantic scenery of North Wales, and graphic pictures of the manners, customs, and superstitions of the natives of the principality. From the latter class we quote the following adventure of the "chief musician to the Queen of the Fairies":—

"North Wales did not boast of a more perfect musician than David Rhys. Vain was it for any other harper to enter into competition with him, at Eisteddfodd, or in bower or hall; he won all the prizes, and enchanted every ear. Other bards struck their harps, but no applause followed; and, in a fit of rage and jealousy, they snapped the wires, and threw their harps aside—at least, so says David Rhys. Lords—nay even princes—offered David riches and honours if he would strike his harp within their halls; but he loved his dear native country too well to be tempted to leave it for either honour or gold. Higher honour than any lord, or even prince, could bestow was in store for him, however; for, one lovely evening in summer, as he was walking in this glyn, and meditating on the beauties of nature, or every now and then striking a wild strain on his harp, he was somewhat startled by the sudden appearance of what he at that instant imagined to be a most beautiful little child. The smiling, bright-eyed boy came dancing up to David, and requested the harper to follow him to his father's hall, where, he said, a large party was assembled in the hope of hearing David's ravishing strains. David Rhys was little in the habit of following anything but his own pleasure; but he now felt as if he was spell-bound, and that, whether he liked it or not, he must follow this lovely infant wheresoever he might lead him. So, without asking a single question, he followed the child up the glyn. He was obliged to run, to keep pace with his juvenile and nimble guide; but, on turning into a path that led to the mountain, a mist suddenly enveloped them, and, at the same instant, David was assailed by 'a hundred wry-mouthed elves,' who asked him whether he would travel above wind, below wind, or under wind. A soft voice whispered in his ear, 'soar not too high; but beware how a mortal of your genius abases himself too low.' David instantly exclaimed 'I will travel under wind.' Scarcely had he uttered the words than he felt himself gently raised from the ground, and was borne softly and pleasantly through the regions of mist. After travelling in this luxurious style for some time, he suddenly felt that he was descending towards the earth; and, just as his feet rested on it, the mist disappeared, and he found that he was standing at the bottom of a magnificent flight of marble steps, that led to the entrance door of a most unearthly-looking mansion. His little guide was once more at his side, and conducted him up the steps; but when he threw open the door, a scene of such dazzling splendour burst upon his sight, that David was obliged to set down his harp, and veil his eyes with his hands. A chair of ivory and gold was brought for him, and, after a little practice, he found he could bear the dazzling light, and began to look around him. He saw that he was surrounded by beings not of this world; for the height of the tallest of the numerous group did not exceed that of a child of two years of age. Both sexes were exquisitely formed; their complexions were alike fair and transparent; and their heads were covered with long and flowing ringlets. The females were attired in pale green robes, with girdles of flowers, and with dew-drops that glittered like diamonds in their hair. The bard began to play, and his tiny audience to dance, and so enchanting a sight, he declares, was never before vouchsafed to mortal eyes. A most delightful beverage was frequently handed to him, in a small gold cup; it resembled nothing that he had ever tasted before, and seemed to inspire him with quite a magical touch on his harp. Midnight had long past, and still the unwearied group danced on. At length, trays of gold, covered with cups not bigger than those of the acorn, and filled with milk, were handed round, and the harper received permission to retire to his bed. His beautiful little guide came forward, and showed him the way to the luxurious chamber that had been prepared for him. David instantly threw himself on a couch formed of gold and ivory, and fell into a deep slumber. Picture to yourself his surprise and horror, on awaking early in the morning, shivering with cold and aching in every limb, to find that he was lying on the cold ground, instead of a bed of down; and that not one stone was left of the splendid mansion in which, a few hours before, he had displayed his wondrous powers on the harp. But a moment's reflection banished all unpleasant feelings, and pride and exultation filled his heart; for he now felt convinced that his strains had been considered worthy the attention of immortal ears; and that he had spent the night in the presence of the king and the queen of the fairies, and all their attendants, he

could no longer doubt. A proud man from henceforward was David Rhys ; and many a good horn of ale has he won by relating this adventure, in hall or kitchen, on a winter's night."—P. 149.

HISTORY.

THE CONQUEST OF SCINDE : A COMMENTARY. By Lieut.-Col. Outram, C. B., Resident at Sattarah. London and Edinburgh : Blackwood and Sons, 1846.

WE do not remember a case in which the necessity of hearing both sides of the question has been more fully exemplified, than in the detail of the circumstances connected with the conquest and occupation of Scinde by the British. Major Outram for a considerable period resided in Scinde, as British Political Agent. During his residence there, he made himself intimately acquainted with the characters and feelings of the princes and people of the district. His political charge extended over the province of Scinde, "the kingdom of Kelat, the state of Luss, and the independent Murree, Boogtee, Jukrahee, and other mountain tribes ;" besides having to "conduct the direct revenue management of the provinces of Cutchee and Shawl." And that *all* the duties connected with the office he held were well and efficiently performed, we may infer from the independent and unsolicited evidence of Lord Auckland, and other parties connected with Indian affairs, who had abundant opportunities of witnessing the effects of the course pursued by Major Outram towards the people under his control ; as well as from the testimony originally offered, both by Lord Ellenborough, and by Sir Charles Napier himself.

On the appointment of Lord Ellenborough to the Governor-Generalship of India, Sir Charles Napier received the supreme command of Scinde, and Major Outram prepared to quit India for England, but returned to Scinde in the character of British Commissioner on the 4th January, 1843. In the meantime the measures adopted by Sir Charles seem to have laid the foundation for the events which led to the annexation of Scinde. In the emphatic words of Major Outram, referring to the very opposite line of policy pursued by himself and by Sir Charles, and the opposite results :—

"I was employed amicably to control, not to subvert the Ameers, and did so for three years. Sir Charles Napier had ostensibly the same duty to perform for his government ; in less than as many months he picked a quarrel with them and commenced hostilities ; drove them from their habitations ; hunted them until compelled to resist ; hurled them from their thrones ; sacked their capital ; and seized their country !" — P. 27.

A book, called 'The Conquest of Scinde,' and professedly containing a veritable history of the events connected with the subjugation of that country, has recently been published by General William Napier, brother to Sir Charles. It was natural that the General should wish to place his brother's doings in as favourable a light as possible, and no one would blame him for so doing, so long as his statements were consistent with facts. But, says Major Outram—

"While he attempts to vindicate the policy which led to the subjugation of that country, and to exalt the merits of the General by whom that policy was carried into effect, he has thought fit to bestow upon myself no small measure of censure and aspersion. In that work I am systematically represented as destitute alike of military and diplomatic skill, the pertinacious opponent of a policy, at once conducive to the civilization of India, and essential to the maintenance of our Indian

Empire, and the adviser of measures which would have led to the annihilation of a British force. Grave as these accusations are, acquiring an additional importance as put forth by one enjoying a high reputation both literary and military—and embodied in a work which, with much of the spirit, and something of the interest of fiction, affects an historical character; it will not, I think, appear unnatural that I should seek to expose these misrepresentations, to vindicate a reputation, which, for a quarter of a century I have maintained unimpeached, and to satisfy those friends who have honoured me with their support through good report and bad, that their esteem was not bestowed on one undeserving of their kindness. To the public, the only apology I can make for intruding on their notice is, that so inextricably has General Napier mixed up the grounds on which he rests the justification of his brother's public measures with the calumnies so industriously heaped on myself, that, in exposing and refuting the latter, I shall in reality be correcting misrepresentations of important facts of public interest, having a direct bearing on our national character and honour, and furnishing to some extent the materials from which a 'History of the Conquest of Scinde' may yet be written."—P. I.

To effect this object, Major Outram adopts the plan of supplying a running commentary on the various portions of the 'History of Scinde' which immediately bear upon the questions at issue; and we can only say, that if his assertions are correct, and that they in the main are so, seems evident from their being in many instances borne out by independent and indisputable testimony of the highest character; the part acted by the historian and his brother is anything but a fair and honourable one, and such as no one could have suspected men of their standing would stoop to adopt. On the other hand, should the suspicious transactions detailed in the Major's Commentary be capable of explanation, such explanation on the part of both officers is imperatively called for. Diametrically opposed as are the History and the Commentary, but one of two suppositions can be the correct one:—either the Major himself is an ill-used man, and the transactions he denounces are characterised by the most flagrant duplicity; or the position of the two parties must be reversed, and the Major, in his turn, must take the place of the two generals at the bar of public opinion. The subject is one to which we may return.

ENGLAND'S COLONIAL EMPIRE: an Historical, Political, and Statistical Account of the Empire, its Colonies, and Dependencies. By Charles Pridham, Esq., B.A., F.R.G.S. Vol. I. The Mauritius and its Dependencies. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 65 Cornhill. 1846.

We greatly fear that the plan proposed for the History of England's Colonial Empire, is far too comprehensive for the powers of any single individual. It is to comprise a detailed account of everything relating to the whole of our colonial possessions, their history, past and present, their political changes, their climate, physical aspect, geology, natural productions, indigenous and introduced; their manufactures, commercial relations, statistics, &c., &c.; in short, in the words of the appended advertisement, which alone gives any other detail of the plan than such as may be gathered from an inspection of the present volume—

"The author's aim is to make this work as complete as possible, by bringing together desirable information from all authentic sources, public and private, that are available for this purpose; and to make the volumes interesting to general readers, as well as serviceable for reference; thus it is the design of the work, by means of an appendix attached to each volume, to render the statistical returns of the colony described as nearly as possible coeval with the date of publication, and, finally, by means of a general appendix, to carry the whole returns of every colony down to the latest period."

By far the greater portion of the matter contained in this volume has been derived from foreign sources, and translated from foreign languages; chiefly from the French. This, perhaps, was unavoidable; and considering the comprehensiveness of the scheme, and the variety of topics introduced, the compiler has done his work in a tolerably satisfactory manner; though a general revision by some competent person would have materially improved the whole. The portion relating to the indigenous productions of the Mauritius is, however, an utter disgrace to the book. If nothing better than a mass of errors, clothed in language neither French nor English, evidently translated by a most incompetent hand, and jumbled together without judgment and without arrangement,—if nothing better than this can be given on natural history, we would advise the proprietors not to attempt anything of the kind in future; and even now, we are not sure whether it would not be good policy to burn every leaf relating to natural history that is given in this volume.

THE HISTORY OF EGYPT FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TILL THE CONQUEST BY THE ARABS, A.D., 640. By Samuel Sharpe. A new Edition. London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street. 1846.

A new edition of a valuable historical work, which has for some time been before the public. The facilities for reference are very full: and in addition to excellent indexes, the authorities whom the author has consulted for his information are quoted either in the text or in the margin; so that nothing is neglected by which the value of the book can be enhanced.

A HISTORY OF INVENTIONS, DISCOVERIES, AND ORIGINS. By John Beckmann, Professor of Economy in the University of Göttingen. London: H. G. Bohn, York street, Covent garden. 1846.

THIS very interesting volume of Mr Bohn's Standard Library is a carefully revised and enlarged edition of Johnston's translation, by Drs Francis and Griffiths, who have greatly improved it by altering obsolete and erroneous names, characters, descriptions, and opinions, and by making "such additions as seemed necessary to bring the accounts of the subjects treated of to the present state of knowledge." Mr Bohn has himself furnished a memoir of Beckmann, who in 1770 was made Professor of Economy in the University of Göttingen, at that period one of the most popular universities in Europe. At that university it is requisite "that every professor should be able to give account of the progress and existing state of the science to which he is appointed." To this law we owe the 'History of Inventions and Discoveries,' for Beckmann was "so fearful of falling under the imputation of being behind the progress of the age, that he devoted his mind almost exclusively to the history of arts and trades; employing in the illustration of his subjects the materials to which he had access in the very extensive library belonging to the university." The work abounds in valuable information relating to the general history of the origin and progress of the mechanic arts; their germs are traced from the remote periods of antiquity, and their gradual development followed to modern times. What renders the work extremely valuable to those inclined to extend their researches is, that minute references to the sources whence the author drew his materials are scrupulously given.

Original documents in our possession enable us to offer a few illustrations of the editors' additional notes to Beckmann's article on Clocks and Watches. Speaking of Mr Harrison's chronometer, the editors say:—

"The most remarkable inventions of this period were those of Harrison, consisting of his gridiron pendulum, the going fusee, the compensation curb, and the remontoir escapement. In 1736 he appears to have completed his longitude watch, and received from the Royal Society their gold medal; he ultimately received the government reward of 20,000*l.*, together with other sums from the Board of Longitude and the Hon. East India Company.

"The complexity of Harrison's timekeeper, and the high price (400*l.*) demanded by Kendall to make them after that model, still left the timekeeper to be discovered that would come within the means of purchase of private individuals: far admirably as Harrison had succeeded in the construction of those which had procured him his reward, and great as were the talents of his assistant, Larcum Kendall, yet for practical purposes there needed an instrument of greater simplicity, and to John Arnold we are indebted for this invention."—P. 368.

With regard to the date in our first extract, 1736, stated to be the year in which Mr Harrison completed his watch, we cannot help suspecting an error of about thirty years; for on the 28th of October, 1765, "John Harrison, of Red Lion square, in the parish of St George the Martyr, in the county of Middlesex, Gentleman," did "bargain, sell, assign, and deliver his longitude watch to the Board of Longitude;" and in 1767 a petition of several merchants and others interested in the navigation and commerce of these kingdoms was presented to the House of Commons, in which the petitioners state, that "the voyage on which the trial [of Harrison's watch] depended was finished in July, 1764." Now, it is hardly likely that a thirty years' trial would have been necessary for the determination of the merits of Mr Harrison's watch, which would have been the case, or nearly so, had he completed it in 1736. In June, 1765, Mr Harrison was to make "a discovery of the principles of his watch or timekeeper," to the Board of Longitude, and on Thursday, the 12th of September, 1765, Mr Kendall (then a watchmaker, in Furnival's Inn court, and not Mr Harrison's assistant), "and the other five gentlemen" appointed to report on "the subject of Mr Harrison's timekeeper," were summoned to meet the Board of Longitude at the Admiralty, to make their report thereon. From minutes of that meeting, it appears that "a letter from the Rev. Mr Mitchel, dated at Newark, the 9th instant was read, representing his inability to attend the Board on account of his wife's indisposition, and inclosing a paper, containing his sentiments upon the discovery made by Mr Harrison of the principles of his watch, which was also read, as was a paper which the Rev. Mr Ludlam, who was present, delivered to the Board, containing his sentiments thereupon, which the said Mr Bird, Mr Mudge, Mr Mathews, Mr Kendall, who were also present, declared coincided with theirs."

"The Board, having taken into consideration the said reports, and what the five persons last mentioned had to say upon the occasion, came to the following resolutions:—

"Resolved, that it appears to this Board that Mr Harrison has fully discovered and explained the principles upon which his watch or timekeeper is constructed,

"Resolved, to grant him a certificate to enable him to receive the reward, directed by an act of the last sessions of Parliament, to be paid him for making such discovery, so soon as he shall have assigned the property thereof, and of the three other timekeepers mentioned in the said act, to the Commissioners of Longitude, for the use of the public."

We are thus put in possession of the date of the completion of the trial voyage, 1764; the date of Mr Harrison's declaration of the principles of his watch, 1765; the date when the Board of Longitude resolved to grant Mr Harrison their certificate, Thursday, September 12, 1765; and the names

of the six gentlemen on whose favourable report the resolution was founded, namely, the Rev. Mr Mitchel, the Rev. Mr Ludlam, Mr Bird, Mr Mudge, Mr Mathews, and Mr Kendall.

The next points are "the complexity of Harrison's timekeeper, and the high price, 400*l.*, demanded by Kendall to make them after that model." We have plenty of evidence of the complexity of Mr Harrison's watch, scattered through the documents; and with regard to the "high price, 400*l.*," we may mention that, according to the articles of agreement between Mr Kendall and the Board of Longitude, the original of which is now before us, Mr Kendall having undertaken, apparently at the suggestion of the Board, to make a watch in all respects like Mr Harrison's, he is to receive the sum of 450*l.* for so doing, one half to be paid at the time of signing the articles, the other half when he delivers the watch, which is to be finished in two years after Mr Harrison's watch, as a pattern, is put into his hands. He is to purchase at his own expense the best materials, and various other covenants are introduced into the articles, which are dated the 24th of May, 1766, and are signed in the following order by Larcum Kendall; Sir John Cust, Bart., Speaker of the House of Commons; Earl Howe, Treasurer of the Navy; Admiral John Forbes; the Earl of Morton, P.R.S.; and Nevil Maskelyne, Astronomer Royal.

We have no memorandum as to the time when Mr Kendall's watch was finished; but on the 13th of January, 1770, five gentlemen (the same who, with Mr Kendall, examined and reported on Mr Harrison's) were appointed by the Board to examine and report on it. On the 3rd of March, in the same year, the watch (together with Mr Harrison's) was delivered to the Board and on the 19th to Mr Maskelyne at the Royal Observatory.

In consequence of his success in making this watch, the Board seem to have entertained the idea of placing Mr Kendall at the head of an establishment for manufacturing watches on Mr Harrison's principle; but the following document will show his views on the subject:—

"Upon considering the proposals made to me by the Board at their last meeting (with regard to my instructing workmen to make the several parts of Mr Harrison's watch, and granting me a reward for so doing), there appear to me so many difficulties attending such an undertaking, that, should I engage in it, I am well assured in my own mind I shall not be able to do the public any service. I therefore should think it unjust to take a reward of the Board, unless I knew I could fulfil the intentions for which the reward was given.

"As I apprehend the Board would expect, if the above proposals were carried into execution, that a watch might, in a short time, be made for a reasonable price; in that case I believe the Board would be disappointed in their expectations. For though the method proposed by the Board may be the means of answering the end in some degree, yet it can never answer it so effectually, as to make the watch become of public utility; for, unless a reduction of the expensive parts of the watch can be effected, and some method contrived to facilitate the adjusting, the watch would still come to so high a price, as to put it far out of the reach of purchase for general use; as I am of opinion it would be many years (if ever) before a watch of the same kind with that of Mr Harrison's could be afforded for 200*l.*

"May 26, 1770."

"LARCUM KENDALL."

Mr Kendall, after this time, was in constant communication with the Board for nearly twenty years. He made several other chronometers, introducing various improvements, and simplifying each succeeding one.

If the reader be not already tired of the subject, he may feel an interest in learning the sums paid by Mr Kendall for the various parts of the watch made by him on Harrison's plan, and of a second watch, of more simple construction, on a plan of his own:—

First Longitude Watch—Harrison's Pattern.				Second Longitude Watch.			
		£	s. d.			£	s. d.
Springs,	{ 1.	-	1 1 0	Chain	-	-	0 12 0
	{ 2.	-	0 3 0	First spring	-	-	1 1 0
	{ 3.	-	0 4 0	Second spring	-	-	1 1 0
Chain	-	-	0 10 6	Jewelling	-	-	9 9 0
Jewelling	-	-	18 0 0	First dial plate	-	-	2 2 0
Pallets	-	-	10 10 0	Second dial plate	-	-	2 2 0
Dial plate	-	-	3 3 0	Pallets	-	-	1 1 0
Cases	-	-	8 9 10	Cases	-	-	9 9 0
Graving	-	-	7 0 0	Pendant	-	-	1 1 0
Pendant	-	-	1 1 0	Graving	-	-	1 1 0
Glass	-	-	0 12 0	Glass	-	-	0 12 0
Spring and lining	-	-	0 10 6	Spring and lining	-	-	0 10 6
Close case	-	-	0 9 0	Close case	-	-	0 9 0
£51 13 10				£30 10 6			

To account for the great difference between the cost of the pallets used by Mr Kendall in the watch made by him on Mr Harrison's plan, and that on his own, as well as of the jewelling of the two watches, we find, from a paper in which he describes the principal differences between his second watch and Mr Harrison's, that, in the latter, the pallets are "made of diamonds;" in his own "of rubies." This would also throw some doubt on a statement by the editors, to the effect that Arnold "was the first watchmaker who introduced jewelling into watches and clocks;" for although we have at present no means of ascertaining at what period Arnold introduced jewelling, we have seen above that the pallets in Mr Harrison's watch were made of diamonds, as they also were in the one made by Mr Kendall from Harrison's pattern. But the merits of other improvements introduced by Mr Arnold, in the construction of chronometers, cannot be either disputed or doubted.

REVELATIONS OF AUSTRIA. By M. Koubrakiewicz, ex-Austrian Functionary. Edited by the author of 'Revelations of Russia,' &c. In two volumes. London : T. C. Newby, 72 Mortimer street, Cavendish square. 1846.

THE expression, "discharged servants are always suspicious as witnesses," used by a contemporary in reference to this very book, frequently obtruded itself on our mind while pursuing the 'Revelations of Austria.' When or why M. Koubrakiewicz was discharged from the Austrian service, or whether he discharged himself, we neither know nor inquire; we are simply informed that he "held office for many years under the Austrian government in Galicia, or Austrian Poland," which he principally describes: from this circumstance we may infer, with the editor, that the author is likely to afford "the best evidence to be obtained respecting the character and effects of the Austrian despotism, since he was born and bred under its rule, and long initiated into its service." The editor judiciously refers to the superior value of all the statements given on the author's personal testimony, over those derived from hearsay or speculative reflections; and he evidently considers it requisite that the indignant tone of the 'Revelations' should be received with a qualification, since he observes that—

"It has never happened to the author to hear any Pole, whose knowledge was only local, whether from Russian, Prussian, or Austrian Poland, give any detail of the oppression of his portion of the country, but what he declared it to be worse than in the other states."—P. 7.

The fact is, that despotism in every form is an evil, no matter whether spiritual or temporal, Papal, Austrian, or Russian; and it is not surprising that a people smarting under the oppressions of a *system*, should transfer their hatred of that system to its supporters and upholders.

The editor further very properly warns the reader against regarding as facts all that M. Koubrakiewicz has written upon the past history of the Austrian empire; and indeed there is a necessity for caution in this respect in regard to everything not given from the personal knowledge of the author. The editorial foot-notes to a certain degree serve to counteract the evil; but it would have been a more judicious plan to withdraw all the irrelevant matter, and it is to this that the objection chiefly applies: the material retained would have presented much that is new and interesting to the English reader, while it would have possessed the additional recommendation of being trustworthy; as it is, we read with doubt, and hesitate to accord our assent to many statements which may really be facts, though possessing all the air of fiction.

It is a pity, too, that the editor did not so far modify the 'Revelations,' even if he had retained all the author's material, as to have thrown them into somewhat of a narrative form, since they are now broken up into short sentences, which give the book much more the appearance of a collection of rough notes, than of a work properly prepared for publication.

About half of the second volume is devoted to the particulars of the massacre in Cracow and Galicia, in the early part of the present year. It is asserted that this massacre was organized and commanded by the Austrian government in anticipation of a national insurrection:—

"The Polish insurrection (says the author) was to have broken out on the 22nd or 28th of February, and the paternal government was forewarned of it. It might have had the conspirators arrested and tried, but judicial proceedings are long and expensive, and proofs difficult. It would be necessary to acquit—there not being sufficient proof—persons dangerous to the anti-national government. It would have been necessary to issue amnesties, not to pass for barbarous and cruel in the eyes of Europe. On the other hand, how arrest the judges of the land themselves, and imprison one or two hundred thousand conspirators? The Czar [Emperor of Russia] whose cruelty is more open, has the conspirators seized, judged, and hanged. In proportion as the Czar publishes himself does the Kaiser [Emperor of Austria] dissemble. The paternal government, therefore, anticipates the conspiracy, sends assassins ten days before its outbreak to massacre the nobles, priests, and patriots, the most dangerous to despotism. After they had all the persons suspected of liberalism or nationalism assassinated in this manner, and after having confiscated their property, the Kaiser will interfere in favour of the priests and nobles, will deplore the catastrophe, shed tears, grant a general amnesty, after having had three or four thousand patriots murdered, and the German hiring press will chaunt the clemency and generosity of the good Kaiser (Landesvater). To give proof of his justice and good-will, the Kaiser will maintain the rebot, or change it into a quit-rent, because it is necessary to the system that the lords should always be the objects of hatred and execration of the peasantry, so that their eyes may be averted from the real author of their misery."—P. 140.

The Austrian-Polish peasantry are declared to be "much more unfortunate than the Russian peasantry, and, past comparison, more unhappy than the Russian-Polish peasantry;" but the massacre of February, 1846, is declared to be due to other causes than a desire on the part of these peasants to get rid of the oppression of their nobles. The author, a few pages preceding the passage above quoted, thus exposes the system:—

"We have already observed that there are besides peasants of whom the Kaiser is at the same time lord; and these peasants constitute the domains, and are called *Kammera's*. It is of these peasants that the paternal government made use to

massacre the priests and Polish nobles. It is not the peasantry of the nobles who assassinated their lords. No; it was the Kaiser's peasantry, commanded by Colonel Benedik, and soldiers disguised as peasants, who went from castle to castle, murdering the Polish nobles, men, women, and children, without having seen them, and delivered the bodies to the circles in consideration of ten florins a head; Metternich in his note does not deny the premium promised of ten florins. The regular monarchical government boasts and publishes in the papers that the peasantry bring in every day bodies of the nobles. Instead of arresting the assassins, as any other regular government would do, the paternal government pays and encourages them to fresh exploits. The paternal government knew some time back the general dissatisfaction which its rapacity must necessarily produce, and it expected an insurrection; it has also for some time past treated the crown peasantry with caution, to unleash them with greater success against their nobles and their peasantry."—P. 138.

This is a grave charge, but we fear one not without foundation. The letter from the correspondent of the 'Notionist,' and published in that paper of June 7, mentions some facts which would go far to prove it. He says—

"At Vienna, as you know, it is asserted that no premiums were given to the assassins. Well; the whole of Tarnow would, however, prove the fact. If the peasants were not paid, let them tell us, then, why the peasants brought the dead bodies from such distances into the towns of this circle. Question the bystanders who witnessed these funeral arrivals, who saw the dead bodies counted, and then money shared out to the peasants; let the Austrian government guarantee against persecution those who will give evidence of the truth, and Europe will then soon know which of us has lied. I am not aware of what nature were the instructions given to the commanders in the circles of Tarnow and Bochnia. I do not know whether they acted contrary to the orders of their government; but what is certain is, that they paid for all bodies dead or alive brought to them. It is even said, that the resources of the circles being exhausted, money—would you believe it?—was taken from the fund destined to relieve the victims of the inundations last year."—P. 163.

It is difficult to bring the mind to believe in the existence of such inhuman cruelty in any government; at the same time it is equally difficult to resist the testimony of such evidence as has transpired, in spite of the vigilance of the paternal government of Austria. And this evidence would seem to be still further strengthened by the revelations during the late discussion in the House of Commons.

THE WORKS OF FREDERICK SCHILLER. Historical. London: H. G. Bohn, York-street, Covent Garden, 1846.

THIS volume of Mr Bohn's 'Standard Library' contains Schiller's 'History of the Thirty Years' War,' complete, and his 'History of the Revolt of the Netherlands, to the Confederacy of the Gueux,' being the end of the third book. The two works are translated from the German by the Rev. A. J. W. Morrison, M.A. The series of Schiller's Historical works will be comprised in four volumes, the fourth to contain his life. We need hardly say that the present volume is got up in the same admirable manner as its predecessors.

MEDICAL, ETC.

ON THE ANTIDOTAL TREATMENT OF THE EPIDEMIC CHOLERA. By John Parker, M.D., &c. London: W. H. Allen, Leadenhall street, and S. Highley, Fleet street.

THE remedy which Dr Parker states he has employed with signal success

in every stage of the epidemic cholera is simple, and completely at the command of every one, besides being in itself a pleasant beverage.

"Thirty grains of the powdered carbonate, bicarbonate, or, as it is now termed, sesquicarbonate of soda or potash should be put into a large tumbler, with a wine-glassful of water, to which is to be added a dessert spoonful of any simple syrup; mixing the two ingredients together, so as to form an homogeneous mass. Then take twenty grains of citric or tartaric acid, and dissolve it in half a wine-glassful of water, when the solution is to be poured on the contents of the tumbler, and the mixture drank off immediately, before the effervescence has subsided."—P. 28.

The object of the syrup is to prevent the too rapid escape of the carbonic acid gas, carbon being the active principle in this remedy. Carbon may also be administered in the form of finely levigated fresh-made charcoal; but the effervescent draught above recommended is by far the more elegant and pleasant mode of exhibiting it. In preliminary diarrhoea the dose is to be repeated every two hours.

CLINICAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE DISEASES OF INDIA: AS exhibited in the Medical History of a Body of European Soldiers, for a Series of Years from their Arrival in that Country. By William Geddes, M. D., M.R.S.Ed., &c. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 65 Cornhill. 1846.

THIS work is drawn up from the materials collected by Dr Geddes, during the period in which he was connected with the Madras European Regiment in India. Shortly before the commencement of the author's connexion with the regiment, the greater number of the men composing it had joined; and consequently at an early period of his engagement as their chief medical officer, he had the opportunity of making himself acquainted with the state of health of the men under his charge, soon after their arrival on a new sphere of habits and duties in an intertropical climate, as well as of noting every circumstance worthy of remark connected with the succession and course of their various diseases. So far the author was well qualified for the preparation of the work before us. The Introduction contains a considerable amount of statistical and medical information relating to Indian diseases affecting the army; and the body of the work is classified under the heads of Fevers, Diseases of the Head, Thoracic Inflammation, Hepatic Inflammation, Abdominal Inflammation, and Rheumatism. The author hopes to publish a second volume, which will contain his—

"Researches over the remaining diseases of which he has records in his possession. These comprise the varieties of bowel complaints, and the other disorders referred to in the official returns; and when this survey is completed, the original object of the author will have been fulfilled: that of affording a minute and practical view of all the diseases with which a body of European soldiers has been affected, within a certain period, and under usual circumstances, in the climate of the East Indies; the probable causes of their sickness, the treatment employed therein, and its results."—P.

AN EASY INTRODUCTION TO CHEMISTRY. By George Sparkes, late Madras Civil Service. Second Edition. London: Whittaker and Co., Ave Maria lane. 1846.

THIS excellent little book has been entirely re-written, and nearly seventy pages of new matter have been added. The additions comprise all the really important discoveries in chemistry which have been made subsequently to the publication of the first edition, including a full exposition of the connexion of chemistry with medicine and agriculture. It is still

further improved by the introduction of numerous illustrative wood-cuts, and by the addition of an index, neither being contained in the first edition. Notwithstanding all these additions and improvements, the price remains the same; and we have no hesitation in saying that it is the best introduction to the science of chemistry that was ever published.

EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCHES ON THE FOOD OF ANIMALS, AND THE FATTENING OF CATTLE. With Remarks on the Food of Man. By Robert Dundas Thomson, M.D. Lecturer on Practical Chemistry, University of Glasgow. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, Paternoster row, 1846.

HAND-BOOK OF ANATOMY FOR STUDENTS OF THE FINE ARTS. With Illustrations on Wood. By J. A. Wheeler. London: S. Highley, 32 Fleet street, 1846.

A very pretty "illustrated pocket hand-book of the bones and muscles of the human figure," in which the plates are arranged so as to be easily referred to, and the different parts clearly and correctly expressed. Both the anatomical student and the artist will find this a very useful introduction to larger and more extensive works on anatomy; whilst, from its portability and comprehensiveness, it will be found a perfect *vade mecum* by those whose studies are more advanced. The illustrations are beautifully printed by Bentley.

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE TO A COURSE OF MILITARY SURGERY, DELIVERED IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH [May 4, 1846]. By Sir George Ballingall, Surgeon to the Queen, Regius Professor of Military Surgery in the University of Edinburgh. Printed by Hugh Paton, Adam square.

This lecture contains numerous short but interesting notices of the various hospitals and schools of medicine, on the Continent and elsewhere, visited by the author during the autumn of 1843. From materials collected during his tour, the author is enabled to compare what is done in other countries for the instruction of their army and navy surgeons with what is effected in our own. He advocates the formation of new schools for the study of military surgery, and the foundation of additional professorships, as a means of carrying out a measure of the greatest importance to our army and navy. The same subject is more fully treated in 'Letters to Sir R. Peel, and to the Editors of the Medico-Chirurgical Review, on Schools of Instruction for Military and Naval Surgeons.'

LECTURES ON ETHICS. By Thomas Brown, M.D., late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. With a Preface, by Thomas Chalmers, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the Free Church College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: W. Tait. London: Simpkin & Co. Dublin: Cumming and Ferguson, 1846.

NOTES ON THE EPIDEMIC CHOLERA. By R. Hartley Kennedy, M.D., &c. Late Physician-General, and President of the Medical Board, Bombay, Second Edition, revised. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 65 Cornhill, 1846.

THE author, in his preface, states that—

"The experience of twenty years, since 1826, has afforded him very many opportunities, both as a practising and a superintending medical officer, to witness the ravages of cholera under every aspect, and in its worst epidemic form; and studiously avoiding, as he hopes he always has endeavoured to avoid, any bigoted views in favour of his own theories, and thinking only of being useful to others, he still feels no desire to alter a single opinion delivered in 1826; and prefers to reprint this volume, with its many deficiencies, from the original edition, rather than to revise and alter it, by more carefully studied composition, into what might have the appearance of a new work."

THE PHILOSOPHY OF GEOLOGY. By A. C. G. Johert, late Editor of the 'Journal de Géologie,' one of the Authors of 'Recherches sur les Osemens Fossiles du Puy-de-Dôme.' First part. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., Stationers' Hall court. Paris: A. and W. Galignani and Co. 1846.

PRACTICAL OBSERVATIONS ON MINERAL WATERS AND BATHS; with Notices of some Continental Climates, and a Reprint (the third) of the Cold-water Cure. By Edwin Lee, Esq. London: John Churchill, Princes street, Soho. 1846.

LIKE the same author's work on the 'Baths of Germany,' this book contains a considerable amount of useful practical information on the subject upon which it professedly treats. It is devoted to a description of mineral waters in general, both natural and artificial, their employment, effects, and adaptation to various states of disease; together with remarks on bathing and sea baths, and notes on continental climates. To this is appended a history of the Cold-water Cure, its rise and progress, with the treatment of the patients, and their mode of life at the principal seats of the system.

URINO-GENITAL DISEASES. Part I. By George Franks, Surgeon. London: published by the Author, 90 Blackfriars' road. 1846.

THE WHY AND THE WHEREFORE; OR, THE PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE, HEALTH, AND DISEASE: New and Original Views explanatory of their Nature, Causes, and Connexion; and of the Treatment of Disease upon a few General Principles, based upon the Laws of Nature and Common Sense; with Rules for the Preservation of Health and Renovation of the System. The Fruit of Thirty Years' Observation and Professional Experience. By Charles Searle, M.D., M.R.C.S.E., and late of the E.I.C. Madras Establishment. London: John Churchill, Princes street, Soho, Edinburgh: MacLachlan and Co. Dublin: Francis and Co. 1846.

THE subject of this volume, the title of which we have given above in full, is such a knowledge of the principles of life and health as may enable us to enjoy the one and secure the other, by teaching us to avoid those conditions which induce the state of disease. The author says that—

"Every disease, it is obvious, consists, intrinsically, or virtually, in the derangement of health; and health, it must be equally apparent, is but the normal or natural condition of life. To comprehend disease, therefore, a knowledge of life is an indispensable requisite."

And he proceeds:—

"If I mistake not, I have, in this work, made it appear (the laws of Nature being

in all cases simple, when known), that all diseases are allied in character, and consist in a few abnormal conditions of the vessels of nutrition and of the blood's circulation; and that the derangements of these vessels constitute the disease essentially, whatever its kind, and wherever it may be located. And if so, that the treatment of all may be embraced in a few general principles—definite in kind, though, doubtless, modified in degree, by the constitution and age of the individual, and the particular circumstances of the case; and that the remedies also are accordingly and proportionably few in number.”—Pref. p. iv.

A brief analysis of the contents of Dr Searle's book will exhibit his manner of treating this important subject. He commences with a consideration of “the nature, source, and production of life in the system,” and proceeds to an investigation of “the functions of the several organs composing the body and subservient to life,” such as digestion, and the assimilation and conversion of food into blood, together with the aëration, circulation, and purification of the blood. This is followed by a description of the brain and nervous system, with their varied phenomena, and an explanation of “the connexion existing between the mind and the body.” Then succeed some observations on “the maintenance of life and health by the operation and agency of air, food, beverage, warmth, sleep, and exercise;” and an explanation of the action of those influences and agents “on the system and mental emotions in the production of disease.”

“After thus investigating the phenomena of life and health, and establishing the fact, that health consists in, or is essentially connected with, a due action of the capillary vessels—or life as it first manifests itself in the organic structure—we perceive or deduce the fact, that all diseases, or derangements of health, consist intrinsically and virtually in the disorder or derangement of this, the primary organic action—that is to say, that of the capillary vessels and the functions they fulfil. And as we next show the disorder and derangement of these vessels to consist in a condition of congestion, or passive fulness; or of irritation, or preternatural excitement; or of inflammation, or extreme excitement; we determine and assume that one or other of these conditions of the capillary or organic vessels is the primordial condition or essence of every disease; that all disease is therefore intrinsically and essentially of the vascular system; that one or other of the conditions above mentioned, and which run into each other by insensible gradations, constitutes the disease virtually wherever it may be located; and that all the various forms in which disease manifests itself, are but the localisation of this the essential disease, modified in character by the nature or structure and function of the part in which it is centralized, and combinations founded upon the derangements which successively ensue.”—Pref. p. xlx.

“If the treatment of all disease may be thus embraced in a few leading principles, our remedies are necessarily reduced proportionably in number also. And as the principal and most important remedies in the treatment of these affections of the capillaries appear to consist in calomel and bloodletting, I have next treated of those remedies; explaining the indications they fulfil, their operation, and the influence they possess, and the necessity for caution in having recourse to them.”—P. xxi.

The author next treats upon disease in its different phases, and thus proceeds:—

“The subject of fever is next treated of, and an explanation of its phenomena in all their various forms and complications is supplied. It was in treating of this subject that I first deduced the fact, or arrived at the conclusion, that all disease consists, as I have represented, in derangements of the organic capillary system. My explanation of the phenomena and character of the various diseases treated of, I did not indite to suit this theory; but the latter arose out of what I had written of them; which leads me to hope that, with facts for its foundation, the superstructure will prove equally solid.”—P. xxiii.

This theory is further developed in a description of the successive stages of fever; its various forms and complications, and the principles to be

pursued in their treatment, are explained; the work being concluded by a supplement, in which are given some general rules for the preservation of health, and the renovation and strengthening of the system, "in which the true principles of Hydropathy have been explained, and its practice to a certain extent approved." The utility of small bleedings is also treated on.

The author alludes to the correspondence between his own views and those of Liebig; and in explanation, says "Liebig has followed in my wake—not I in his." In 1830, Dr Searle published a work on 'Cholera: its Nature and Treatment,' the title of which "embodies the subject-matter of Liebig's celebrated work on Animal Chemistry, in its application to Physiology and Pathology," first published in 1842. This is stated by the author in justice to himself.

The book appears to deserve a careful perusal, and we doubt not many valuable hints may be gleaned from it.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE BOOK OF THE FEET; A History of Boots and Shoes, with Illustrations of the Fashions of the Egyptians, Hebrews, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, and the prevailing Style throughout Europe during the Middle Ages down to the Present Period; also, Hints to Last-Makers, and Remedies for Corns, &c. &c. By J. Sparkes Hall, Patent Elastic Boot Maker to Her Majesty the Queen, the Queen Dowager, and the Queen of the Belgians. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1846.

ON the subject of boots and shoes, Mr Sparkes Hall is quite *au fait*: and his pretty little book, by the evidences of research and taste displayed in its pages, is a sufficient guarantee that in his case the patronage of royalty has not been ill bestowed. He has here given us a history of shoes and shoe-making from the time of the Egyptians down to the present day; the illustrations of the boots and shoes of earlier periods are derived from high authority, and are exceedingly well executed, and the descriptive portion is well written. Independently of the importance of the subject to every one who has a foot to stand on, Mr Hall's 'Book of the Feet' will assuredly afford an hour's pleasant and instructive reading, in which the practical and the poetical are very judiciously and tastefully blended.

THE BRAIN AND ITS PHYSIOLOGY: A Critical Disquisition on the Methods of determining the Relations subsisting between the Structure and Functions of the Encephalon. By Daniel Noble, M.R.C.S.E. London: John Churchill, Princes street, Soho. 1846.

THE attempt to give anything like an analysis of Mr Noble's book would be equivalent to a general review of the *pros* and *cons* of the phrenologists and their opponents, so elaborately has the author treated his subject, and so minutely examined the objections of those who would deny the claims of phrenology to rank as a science, to which distinction the author contends it is entitled, as much as are chemistry and geology, "the one furnishing an example of a science well matured, and the other of one in its infant condition." He contends that—

"If it be a correct definition of inductive science to state that it is the knowledge which, gained by observation of natural phenomena, leads to the development of principles; and if chemistry and geology have been rightly considered with reference to this definition, phrenology clearly possesses a just claim to a position amongst the inductive sciences, provided the propositions announced as its general

laws, or principles, result fairly from the evidence accumulated in their favour, and provided the facts affirmed in each axiom be universally true."—P. 390.

The first general law or principle of "phrenology, as an inductive science, is, that *the brain is the organ of the mind*;" and the second, "that particular parts of the cerebral map are the organs of the particular faculties of the mind:" and the chief object of Mr Noble's book seems to be to prove the legitimate deduction of these laws from the evidence produced, as well as the truth of the facts affirmed in their support. That the author has entirely succeeded in this, we cannot affirm; but that he has most industriously collected a mass of evidence, on which he as ingeniously argues, we willingly bear testimony. We quote the summary:—

"In bringing this work to a close, the author will briefly recapitulate the argument by which he hopes, in some measure, to have accomplished the purpose with which it was undertaken. And he would here reiterate, that his intention has been, not to exhibit the brain and its physiology in any point of view, involving extended or systematic detail, but to show rather the *method* by which the physiology of the brain should be determined. His first aim was to demonstrate the fallacy of certain modes of procedure too much in vogue, in this inquiry, amongst many able men,—to show that vivisections, comparative anatomy, and pathology, are all inadequate to the primary revelation of the functions of particular parts of the encephalon, however well adapted facts from their sources may be, in the corroboration and elucidation of inductions, gained by a process more just and philosophical. The exposition of this process became his next object; and, in this respect, he conceives himself to have shown that coincidence of particular functional manifestation with particular structural development, in a single species, alone supplies decisive evidence concerning the physiology of different parts of the encephalon; and the defence of this proposition was succeeded by some account of the results to which the proofs had led. It was then shown, that such results harmonise completely with all sure information procured from collateral sources, with every well-ascertained fact in the anatomy of the brain and nervous system and in mental philosophy, with all certain results of encephalic mutilation, with the knowledge furnished by researches in comparative anatomy, and with the irregular phenomena recognised in pathological investigations. Having advanced so far, he felt it right to dwell at some length on the intimate quality of structure as modifying functional manifestation, in order to show that what, in this respect, obtains in cerebral physiology, harmonises completely with all parallel circumstances in general physiology, and, indeed, in nature at large. In the present chapter, he has striven to establish that phrenology has just claims to rank amongst the inductive sciences, from the circumstance that its facts admit of generalisation, so as to evolve principles, or inductions: which latter, he has attempted to distinguish from the deductions, which, almost as a matter of course, phrenologists will varyingly make in tracing their science to its real or supposed consequences. And, last of all, he has indicated briefly the extent to which phrenology is susceptible of practical application."—P. 432.

The author properly insists on the importance of attention to method in pursuing phrenological researches. He considers the method founded on Gall's discoveries to be the only one likely to lead to purely scientific results, since the opponents of that method, "though many of them men of talent and boundless industry, have failed in the attempt to discover a physiology of particular portions of the brain, which has met with any very general approval, or which has been applied to any practical purpose." The author throughout the present work has steadily kept in view the results of Dr Gall's experiments, and the inductions derivable from them.

CAMP AND BARRACK-ROOM; OR, THE BRITISH ARMY AS IT IS. By a late Staff Sergeant of the 13th Light Infantry. London: Chapman & Hall, 186 Strand. 1846.

WE have read this new volume of Chapman and Hall's Monthly Series with great pleasure, and strongly recommend it to the notice of every one who feels an inclination to "go a-soldiering." From ill-health, the sphere of the author's campaigning was pretty much confined to the precincts of the camp and harrack-room, and consequently he was not in a condition to bring before us much of the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war," yet his plain straight-forward narrative is not a whit the less valuable for presenting to our view the reverse of the glittering picture, in the shape of what we believe to be faithful delineations of the innumerable annoyances and privations the soldier, and especially the sick soldier, has to put up with, both on his passage out, and after arriving at his destination abroad; his situation, if in point of intellect or education he is in any degree above the common run, being rendered tenfold more disgusting by the manners and habits of those with whom he is compelled to associate to a certain extent.

There are many passages we should have been glad to quote, had we now time and space to do so; for the narrative of the author's career, from the period of his enlistment to that of his discharge, is full of interest and instruction: circumstances however compel us to be content with heartily wishing that the 'Camp and Barrack-room' may attain the consideration which by its merits it is fairly entitled to.

COMMENTARIES ON THE PRINCIPIA OF SIR ISAAC NEWTON, &c. By the Author of a 'New Theory of Gravitation,' &c. London: Whittaker. 1846.

THE object of this work is to controvert the theory of Newton, that the forces of the gravitation of the planets are inversely as the squares of their mean distances from the sun. The author contends that "the forces are inversely as the square roots (not as the squares) of the mean distances." Those who take an interest in these subjects are referred to the work itself for the author's reasonings and calculations.

JOURNAL DES ECONOMISTES, Revue Mensuelle d'Economie Politique et des Questions Agricoles, Manufacturières et Commerciales. Nos. 55 to 57. May to August, 1846. Paris: Guillaumin et Co. London: G. Luxford, 1 Whitefriars' street, Fleet street.

WE are glad to believe that this excellent periodical is beginning to be more extensively circulated in England: sure we are, that it only requires to be known to have its value duly appreciated. The names of Léon Faucher, Horace Say, Frédéric Bastiat, Hippolyte Passy, Joseph Garnier, and other eminent French political writers of the present day, are a sufficient guarantee for the excellence of the articles, which consist of original communications, reviews of books, and reports of the various events of the month; and though political economy, the avowed subject of the journal, is never lost sight of, yet the variety of the topics discussed, and the spirited style in which they are treated, prevent that feeling of sameness which might be expected to characterise a journal devoted to what has generally been looked on as a dry branch of science.

The last number contains the records of two events, of opposite character indeed, yet of equal moment and interest to the political world,—the sudden death of M. Théodore Flix, one of the warmest and most able supporters of the *Journal des Economistes*, and the proceedings at the brilliant free-trade banquet given in honour of Mr Cobden at Paris. There is also a brief though good article by Horace Say, on "Le Grand Feuilleton du Constitutionnel et son Roman Socialiste." M. Hippolyte Passy, Peer of France, contributes an article entitled "De la Répartition de la Propriété Territoriale;" and several other papers of equal ability and interest are from the pens of well-known French authors.

LANGUAGE IN RELATION TO COMMERCE, MISSIONS, AND GOVERNMENT.

England's Ascendancy and the World's Destiny. Submitted to the consideration of Merchants, Statesmen, and Philanthropists. By EIS ECTETIKWN. Manchester: A. Burgess and Co., Victoria Arches. 1846.

THE author, considering that "England, being destined to be not merely the workshop of the world, but also the mercantile exchange of every trading company, is no less fitted to become the central source of the religious regeneration of mankind, and of the intellectual, if not the political, emancipation of every race," contends that the common language of all trading nations ought to be and will be English. He says that the only contest remains between the French and English, but that "in politics, philosophy, and religion, England has now the pre-eminence;" and consequently that, sooner or later, the language of England will become the "common language, a *lingua franca* for commerce."

THE LAW OF EXTRADITION, Comprising the Treaties now in Force between England and France, and England and America, for the Mutual Surrender, in Certain Cases, of Persons fugitive from Justice; with the Recent Enactments and Decisions relative thereto. By Charles Egan, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-law, late Fellow-Commoner of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. London: W. W. Robinson, 69 Fleet street. 1846.

IN this pamphlet the author gives a clear and succinct view of the usual practice of nations, relative to the mutual surrender of criminals, previous to the year 1842, when the treaty between this country and the United States was entered into; which was succeeded, in the following year, by the ratification of a Convention between Great Britain and France, having the same object, namely, the mutual surrender, in certain cases, of persons fugitive from justice. Both the treaty with America, and the Convention with France, are given at full length. These are followed by notices of the cases which have occurred respecting the extradition of criminals since the promulgation of these Treaties; and the author continues:—

"The Treaties we have cited above have been in operation now upwards of three years; and, as it is extremely desirable to ascertain how and in what manner they have been fulfilled, we shall stand excused for taking a glance of the results which have occurred under them. In this respect we must admit that applications by the English Government to France and America for the delivery of fugitive criminals have, in every instance, proved *successful*; while, on the other hand, applications by France and America to England have, in every instance, proved *unsuccessful*."

In the American case alluded to, that of J. Clinton, claimed by the

American Government for uttering forged bonds of the United States Bank, the culprit was liberated, on one charge, on the ground that the Act of Parliament had not a retrospective effect; and in the other because original documents had been produced before the magistrates instead of copies. In the case of Jacques Basset, the Freuchman, his ground of discharge was that "the offence with which he was charged (as an accomplice in a fraudulent bankruptcy), although provided for by the French code, was one unrecognised by the English law."

"Our Extradition Conventions, therefore, evidently require 'the amending hand;' and indeed we hope, at no distant day, to see those Treaties remodelled, and more extensive powers given to all the high contracting parties, so as to embrace a variety of other crimes not comprised in the present Conventions; amongst which, we may suggest, should be included, frauds committed by executors and trustees of private individuals; frauds and robberies committed by clerks and others on banking and commercial houses; and frauds committed by parochial trustees, and those committed by public servants on the revenue. With regard to the last species of offence, there are extant various precedents to prove, that those who in former times had wronged or defrauded the revenue in England, were rendered amenable to justice by the princes to whose territories they had fled."

"That our Extradition Treaties should embrace more particularly the offences referred to becomes fully apparent, when we consider the vast amount of public money which has of late been embezzled in England."—P. 59.

The author also properly suggests "the propriety of Extradition Conventions being entered into with Belgium, Holland, Austria, Prussia, and, indeed, as far as possible, with every other civilized power."

The pamphlet contains a useful digest of all available information on the subject of which it treats.

MEMOIRS OF THE COURT OF CHARLES THE SECOND. By Count Grammont.

With numerous Additions and Illustrations, as edited by Sir Walter Scott.

Also, the Personal History of Charles, and the Boacobel Tracts. London: H. G. Bohn, York street, Covent garden. 1846.

Of the same size and price as the volumes composing Mr Bohn's 'Standard Library,' and got up in the same style, this interesting volume is excluded from that series for reasons well expressed in the following extract:—

"The memoirs of Grammont, although universally admitted to be among the most witty and entertaining that have ever been written; described by Gibbon as 'a classic work, the delight of every man and woman of taste;' praised and edited by Sir Walter Scott; printed in almost every language and every form; and found in every good historical library; are, it must be confessed, too much imbued with the leaven of Charles the Second's days to suit the severe code of the present age. The book, however, is full of curious historical information, and must always be a *standard-library* work, under whatever denomination it may be presented; and the prudish reasons which should keep it inaccessible to the great mass of readers, would be equally applicable to nearly all the writers of the Charles-the-Second period, including Pepys; as well as to Ariosto, Fontaine, Beaumont and Fletcher, Massinger, Ford, Byron, and even Shakspeare and Pope.

"But the publisher feels that the subscribers to his 'Standard Library,' after having been led on by such samples of his intentions as the works of Robert Hall, Roscoe, Schlegel, and Sismondi, with the prospect of others of the same sterling character, have a right to count upon his not altering the tone of that series by including anything which may not unhesitatingly be put into the hands of the most fastidious; and they have some evidence of his wish to deserve such confidence by the course now pursued."

That is, to publish the present, and probably other works, in a separate series, under the name of "Extra Volumes;" and to this judicious course

surely no exception can be taken. An exquisite portrait of Nell Gwynne appropriately graces the present volume.

The copious notes and illustrations to Grammont's memoirs form a most interesting portion of the volume; and are followed by Charles the Second's personal history, carefully compiled from various authentic sources; they, with the King's account of his escape after the battle of Worcester, and the Boschotel Tracts, altogether make up a most agreeable volume, which, as the publisher truly says, "could not, in any other shape, be procured for twenty times the price."

PASIOLOGIA: AN ESSAY TOWARDS THE FORMATION OF A SYSTEM OF UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE, BOTH WRITTEN AND VOCAL; with Suggestions for its Dissemination throughout the World; including a Succinct Review of the Principal Systems of similar character heretofore published. By the Rev. Edward Groves. Dublin: M^cGlashan. London: W. S. Orr and Co. Edinburgh: Fraser and Co. 1846.

AFTER his "General Observations on the Universal Language, its Practibility and Utility," and a summary of "Opinions for and against the System," the author gives a sketch of the "Attempts at making a known language the organ for the universal communication of thought," and an interesting condensed review of fifteen of the principal systems which have at various times been promulgated. This is followed by a sketch of the proposed system, with its grammar, and a plan for its universal dissemination. The appendix contains much miscellaneous information on the subject of a universal language. The author has evidently studied the question with great assiduity, and his plan seems to be an ingenious one; but, after all, we greatly fear that it is a much easier matter to lay down the principles of a universal language, than to enforce or induce its universal adoption when formed.

SUGGESTIONS TOWARDS A GENERAL PLAN OF RAPID COMMUNICATION BY STEAM NAVIGATION AND RAILWAYS: Shortening the Time of Transit between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. By Edward M^cGeachy, Esq., Crown Surveyor, Jamaica. Illustrated with Maps. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 65 Cornhill. 1846.

MR M^cGEACHY's plan embraces the "establishment and general junction of Railway and Steam communication throughout all available parts of the western world, on a scale sufficiently extensive to meet the wants and convenience of every place." This he proposes to do by uniting all the points which are at present "points of concentration" of steam navigation, in such a way as to economize time by reducing the length of voyage to the lowest possible amount: so that, for example, "the whole time occupied in the transit from Jamaica to Ireland will be fourteen days five hours; and from New York to the same place about nine days." For further explanation and details of the plan we would refer to the pamphlet, where it is well illustrated by maps.

VILLAGE TALES FROM THE BLACK FOREST. By Berthold Auerbach. Translated from the German by Meta Taylor. London: Joseph Cundall, 12 Old Bond street. 1846.

A CHARMING addition to the stock of light literature, imported from Germany and other parts of Northern Europe, and rendered familiar to the English

reader by the elegant translations of Mrs Austin, Mary Howitt, and others. Such sketches of character do more to make us acquainted with a people than the most elaborately wrought histories; and Auerbach's tales, in addition to their intrinsic beauty, have the charm of novelty, since they relate to a part of Germany with which we are less conversant than with some others. In the preface, Mrs Taylor says :—

"Few persons, I think, can read the 'Village Tales' of Berthold Auerbach without being struck with their truth to nature, and their moral value; they present a fair, unvarnished picture of life, marked with all the force which simplicity and truth impart; nor will their interest, perhaps, be less appreciated by the English reader, because they introduce him to a new state of society, and to habits of life differing in many respects from those of his own country. Human nature is everywhere the same, whilst the points of variance in national character and institutions may suggest an interesting, and perhaps a profitable comparison."—P. iv.

In the introduction prefixed to the tales, we have "a short sketch of the state of the country to which they relate, and of the political and social life of its inhabitants."

In her translation Mrs Taylor has well preserved the style of the original, and we suspect that, in his new dress, Auerbach will not be slow to recognise and acknowledge the advantage of being introduced to the British public in the version of a fair countrywoman.

We are glad to see a promise that if the present volume be acceptable to the English reader, which it cannot fail to be, it is to be followed by a second.

THE TINY LIBRARY. C. Wood and Co., Poppin's court.

THE first volume of a penny weekly journal, published for the amusement and instruction of children, illustrated with wood cuts. A good work of the kind has long been required, and this is fairly adapted to its object. The title led us to anticipate an attempt to write down to the capacity of children—a common error; but the information contained in this little publication is neither too childish nor too abstruse for young persons, at the age at which they usually begin to take an interest in reading, and is calculated to awaken a love of knowledge.

THE WORKS OF WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR. In two volumes. London: Edward Moxon, 44 Dover-street. 1846.

GREATLY as we were previously indebted to Mr Moxon for his numerous elegant reprints of standard works, the literary world must now consider itself doubly his debtor for the present beautiful edition of one of the most elegant of modern authors. The reputation of Landor's 'Imaginary Conversations' is co-extensive with the knowledge of the English language; but in this, their new dress, they themselves would almost pass for novelties, as indeed in some measure they are, since both the first and second series are much enlarged; and for the pieces now first printed, right worthily do they occupy their position beside those delightful compositions with which we have longer been acquainted.

In reading Landor, no one can avoid being struck with admiration at the versatility of his genius. His characters so varied, yet so natural, even those in the delineation of which he has been the least successful, seem to start from the pages breathing and life-like, and people the chamber of the solitary student with a glorious company, their forms flitting before his mental vision, and their voices ringing in his ears with all the vividness of reality. Witness among others the *Pentameron*,—witness, too, though

rather too long, the Citation of Shakspeare, and the exquisite Pericles and Aspasia. But needless is it to particularize, and useless as needless: opinions may and must vary as to the quality and merit of the different pieces: but no one can take up Lander's volumes without finding much that is suited to his taste, and we will venture to say he will close them with regret.

Among the miscellaneous pieces the following struck us as being rather a clever hit at the Game question:—

“ Yesterday, at the Sessions held in Buckingham,
The Reverend Simon Shutwood, famed for tucking ham
And capon into his appointed maw,
Gravely discuss a dreadful breach of law,
And then committed to the county jail
(After a patient hearing) William Flail:
For that he, Flail, one day last week,
Was seen maliciously to sneak,
And bend his body by the fence
Of his own garden, and from thence
Abstract, out of a noose, a hare,
Which he unlawfully found there;
Against the peace (as may be seen
In Burn and Blackstone) of the queen.
He, question'd thereupon, in short
Could give no better reason for't,
Than that his little boys and he
Did often in the morning see
Said hare and sundry other hares
Nihhling on certain heaths of theirs.
Teddy the seventh of the boys,
Counted twelve rows, fine young savoy's,
Bit to the ground by them, and out
Of ne'er a plant a leaf to sprout:
And Sam, the youngest lad, did think
He saw a couple at a pink.
'Come!' cried the reverend, 'come, confess!'
Flail answer'd, 'I will do no less,
Puss we did catch; puss we did eat;
It was her turn to give the treat;
Nor overmuch was there for eight o' us
With half a gallon of potatoes:
Eight; for our Sus lay sick a-bed,
And poor dear Bessy with the dead.'
'We cannot listen to such idle words'
The reverend said, 'The hares are all my lord's;
Have you no more, my honest friend to say
Why we should not commit you, and straightway?'
Whereat Will Flail
Grew deadly pale,
And cried, 'If you are so severe on me,
An ignorant man, and poor as poor can be,
O Mister Shutwood! what would you have done
If you had caught God's blessed only Son,
When he broke off (in land not his they say)
That ear of barley on the sabbath-day?
Sweet Jesus! in the prison he had died,
And never for our sins been crucified.'
With the least gouty of two doe-skin feet
The reverend stamp'd, then cried in righteous heat,
'Constable! take that man down stairs,
He quotes the Scripture and eats hares.' ”

MUSIC.

HYMNS AND ANTHEMS. By Eliza Flower, Addison and Hodson, 210 Regent street.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF CONGREGATIONAL SINGING, WITH A PLAN FOR ITS IMPROVEMENT. By W. H. Plumstead. Sharpe, Skinner street.

THE DUTY AND ADVANTAGE OF LEARNING TO SING; a Lecture. By John Hullah.

LOVERS of choral music will thank us for the information that several of the more popular of Miss Flower's compositions have been re-printed in a separate form, and may now be had apart from the entire collection of her works. Among them are 'Laudamus Dominus,' 'Defend the poor and desolate,' and 'Now pray we for our Country;' the impression of which will never be forgotten by those who were fortunate enough to hear these admirable compositions sung last winter by a full choir at Crosby Hall. The latter, 'Now pray we for our Country,' is one of those happy inspirations that would have done honour to the genius of Handel, and will live as long as the National Anthem, if not destined one day to supersede it.

The object of Mr Plumstead's pamphlet is to point out a mode by which congregational singing could be improved, with the co-operation of the ecclesiastical authorities, at an inconsiderable expense. It is to form districts of adult classes, and children's schools, to be taught by the same masters, visiting each class or school in turn. The plan is perfectly feasible, and corresponds, in fact, with that which is usually adopted in private boarding schools, for Italian, German, dancing, &c., itinerant masters being employed instead of salaried teachers. In some towns on the continent itinerant masters for arithmetic, writing, &c., divide their labours among the different public schools in the same manner; relieving each other at stated periods, and thus practically reducing the expense of efficient instruction to that of our imperfect but economical monitorial system.

A writer in the 'Athenæum' having inquired where Mr Plumstead has lived, not to have heard of Mr Hullah's labours for the promotion of the same object, it is but right to state that Mr Plumstead was a predecessor of Mr Hullah; although the latter has followed the more successful career, partly from his superior tact and address as a teacher, and partly from the high patronage by which he was introduced to the public. We find, however, in Mr Hullah's 'Lecture' the following remark:—

"Early in February, 1840, I gave my first class-lesson to about twenty boys, a few of whom could sing a little by ear, and three or four of whom knew the names of the musical notes."

The boys here alluded to, "who could sing a little by ear," &c., had been Mr Plumstead's pupils at Norwood (where he was professionally employed as a singing master), and happened to be the best singers among a thousand children in Mr Aubin's establishment, from which they were removed to the training school at Battersea. Mr Plumstead's silence on this subject is, to our thinking, in better taste than Mr Hullah's observation and suppression of fact.

Mr Hullah's 'Lecture' professes to give a correct history of the recent introduction of class-teaching in vocal music; a history which he thus prefaces:—

"It is now about eight years since I first turned my thoughts to the probability of extending the benefits of musical knowledge more widely than was possible by any amount of individual or private teaching."

Nothing is said by the lecturer of the attention of any other persons having been previously drawn to the same subject; although a society expressly formed for the encouragement of vocal music among the people was at the time in existence; but, in speaking of musical grammars, as compared with his own 'course of instructions,' he tells us that—

"The few attempts of this kind that had been made by certain benevolent amateurs indicated notions much in advance of the musical profession in the art of teaching of itself; but, as might be expected, manifested considerable deficiencies in those points common to all pursuits, which are rarely mastered save by professional effort."

Those who laboured in the cause, without fee or reward, from an earnest desire to promote it, before Mr Hullah was heard of, and knew, therefore, how little he had to do with originating the impulse which led finally to the lucrative patronage he himself received, might forgive the egotism and *suppressio veri* of these statements, if the object itself had been finally attained by his efforts. We need hardly, however, remark that his success has been almost wholly confined to the preparatory adult classes of choral societies and normal institutions, and that he has failed generally to connect music with the primary instruction of elementary schools. The Wilhem method, even under the able superintendence of M. Huber, is not popular in France; and the Hullah adaptation of it in England has been found altogether unsuited to the capacities of children, wherever it has been tried with pupils below the age of twelve. It is, however, only as a branch of national education—that is, through the medium of children's schools—that music can be rendered a national pursuit.

ISRAEL IN EGYPT. By G. F. Handel.

A new edition, edited by Mendelssohn, of one of the most effective of Handel's many oratorios; printed on excellent paper, and altogether got up in a manner to reflect the greatest credit upon the Handelian Society, for whom it is published. We trust the society will proceed in its task, and give us a complete and worthy edition of the whole of Handel's works. Simultaneously with these full-score copies, we should like to see a separate collection of Handel's songs, duets, and other compositions best adapted for chamber music. The double choruses of 'Israel in Egypt' can of course only be executed by a numerous choir.

MUSINGS OF A MUSICIAN: A Series of Popular Sketches, illustrative of Musical Matters and Musical People. By Henry C. Lunn, Associate of the Royal Academy of Music. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1846.

We renew our acquaintance with some of Mr Lunn's agreeable 'Musings,' in their present collective form, with the same feelings of pleasure as we experienced when we first read them in a musical periodical. They are written in a pleasing popular style; and though relating almost exclusively to music and musicians, we think we may venture to say, they can scarcely fail to be appreciated even by the most unmusical reader: while to those who love the art, they must prove doubly acceptable, since the papers contain much matter for thought, and abound in just and truthful reflections upon many matters connected with Music.

NATURAL HISTORY.

OBSERVATIONS IN NATURAL HISTORY: WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON HABITS OF OBSERVING, AS CONNECTED WITH THE STUDY OF THAT SCIENCE. Also a Calendar of Periodic Phenomena in Natural History: with Remarks on the Importance of such Registers. By the Rev. Leonard Jenyns, M.A., F.L.S., &c., Vicar of Swaffham Bulbeck, Cambridgeshire. London: John Van Voorst, Paternoster Row. 1846.

PRECISELY the sort of book that we should rejoice to see emanate from every county, nay, almost every parish in the kingdom. Gilbert White, the *facile princeps of out-of-door* naturalists, said that "every parish, every district, should have its own monographer;" and it is such observers as the Rev. Mr. Jenyns (and a few others) that are peculiarly qualified to execute the task. The present volume appears calculated both to lead to an increased number of observers, and, what is of far greater importance to science, to induce more correct habits of observation; for it is only from the combination of these two conditions that we can ever hope to see natural history placed upon a footing of equality with other sciences. In the words of the author—

"A man may never aim at being anything more than a mere observer, and yet employ his time usefully to others, as well as agreeably in himself. He may restrict himself to simply noting and recording what falls under his own *autopsia*, and unconsciously be laying the foundation of the most important generalizations. For observation, though not itself the true end of the science of Natural History, is nevertheless a means to that end; and, whatever principles we ultimately arrive at, it is only observation that can have ensured their correctness or permanence. Hence the facts and observed phenomena collected by such persons may be of much value to others, though the observers themselves make no immediate use of them."—P. 4.

Of late years it has become too much the fashion for the systematist to deery the labours of the observer; forgetting that the facts collected by the latter constitute the material with which he himself works, he uses the term *observer* as one of reproach, apparently wishing to exalt his own course by depreciating that of his fellow-labourer. On this score Mr. Jenyns' remarks are very just.

"There is a great deal, as regards the real advancement of the science of Natural History, which can be done only at home, where there is quiet and leisure, together with ready access to a well-stored library; and there is a great deal likewise, as we have just seen, that can be done only abroad. And it is absurd for either of these two classes of naturalists to throw contempt and censure upon the other, as sometimes has been the case; seeing that they both work together for the good of the science, and labour in a common cause, although in different ways. The in-door naturalist cannot do without the out-of-door, and the latter, one might suppose, would never undervalue the inquiries of the former, which tend to increase the importance of his own researches."—P. 8.

Among the other recommendations of a study of Nature, that of its affording a constant mental resource is thus insisted on:—

"When a man has learned to take an interest in the varied operations of Nature, which are everywhere being carried on about him, and has acquired the habit of directing his attention to such matters, and keeping his senses always alive to any new information thereby afforded him, he has made himself almost independent of outward circumstances. He has opened to himself a source of occupation and mental enjoyment, but little affected by the ordinary vicissitudes of life. Of how few of the pursuits of the world in general can this be advanced! How few can secure those who follow them from disappointment and ennui, or are of that nature that they can be carried on in every possible situation, without prejudice or inconvenience to

others! The pursuit of Natural History is itself a relief from anxiety, and from many of the unavoidable anxieties to which the human mind is exposed."—P. 17.

And again:—

"It is no little solace to have an occupation which will hold by us, as White tells us it did by him, even to declining years; which may tend to quiet and compose our minds under the infirmities of age; and even serve a still higher purpose, when accompanied by those religious feelings which it ought continually to strengthen, and when aided by the help which revelation so bountifully affords; thus preparing us for our last great change, and raising our thoughts from this lower world to Him who made it, 'in whose presence is fulness of joy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for evermore.'"—P. 46.

The author's remarks on the "Habits of Observing" may be studied with profit by every young naturalist, as may also the style in which the observations are recorded. At the same time scientific and popular, the work cannot fail to please even the most careless general reader. Every page teems with interesting notes on the habits and manners of quadrupeds, birds, fishes, insects, &c.; many we would gladly quote, but must content ourselves with advising our readers to purchase the book itself, promising them a rich treat from the perusal.

PAMPHLETS.

THE INDIAN MEAL BOOK: comprising the best American Receipts for the various Preparations of that Excellent Article. By Eliza Lealie, of Philadelphia; Author of American Domestic Cookery, &c. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 65 Cornhill. 1846.

A LECTURE ON THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIRST CONSTITUENTS OF CIVILIZATION. By Francis Lieber. Columbia, S.C., Morgan, 1845.

SECOND REPORT OF A MISSION TO THE OTTAWAS AND OJIBWAS, ON LAKE HURON. By the Rev. F. O'Meara. London: Rivingtons, &c. 1846.

TABLE OF THE UNITY OF RELIGION IN THE SCHOOL OF NAZARETH, WITH REMARKS. Third Edition. London: W. Pickering. 1846.

POETRY.

THE BILIAD; OR, HOW TO CRITICISE: A SATIRE, WITH THE DIRGE OF REPEAL, AND OTHER JEUX D'ESPRIT. By T. M. Hughes, author of 'Revelations of Spain,' 'The Ocean Flower,' &c. Third Edition, considerably augmented. London: printed for the Author, and may be had of all Booksellers. 1846.

THE author disclaims all personal motives in penning his satire, or we should have supposed, from the similarity of the subject, as well as from a certain measure of family likeness in the style, that it owed its origin to circumstances akin to those which called forth Byron's celebrated 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.' The one author directed his shafts against the "Blue and Yellow" of the Modern Athens, in which his juvenile rhymes

had been somewhat roughly handled: the other takes up the cudgels in behalf of certain brother authors, with whom he denies all connexion or acquaintance, but whose labours he conceives to have been unfairly criticised in a well-known weekly sheet, published in the *Modern Babylon*. Against this publication the author is especially irate, and professes to unmask the "scandalous ignorance," the monstrous assumption of its conductors, as well as to expose their brigand-like *modus operandi*. In his own words, he conceives it to be a "needful task and paramount duty—

"To pluck the jay of the quills with which its tail is bestuck, and show to the world what a pattern of Swift's 'forked radish,' what a naked and shivering straw head, mounted upon wires, is the Sir Oracle whom fools have worshipped."—P. 5.

While, however, he does this, he is especially careful to disclaim all personality, saying,

"It is the system alone that I attack; the vile and abominable system of illiberal and groundless depreciation of all new authors and their works (a favoured few excepted), upon speculation that the abuse will be piquant and will pay."

"To be mocked by Medusa, and taxed with uncleanness by a shoe black, is not very flattering to self-love; but to be twitted with ignorance by an ignoramus, and condemned as vulgar by an unshining shoe-black, might be compared for exquisite torture to the dripping of an icy spigot upon an unshaven crown. Between the horns of that terrible dilemma—Death or Hanwell Asylum—there is but one alternative, rushing into print. Midas confided his distress to a hole in the ground: by Pan and Apollo's leave, I mean to give the wrongs of authors to the world."—P. 8.

Almost in Byron's words* the author declares—

"To every trade, save starting a review,
Apprenticeship's the sacred avenue."

And in support of this assertion proceeds to give sundry examples, drawn from "the four numbers [of the periodical alluded to] for a single month, October, 1845." In these four numbers, he tells us—

"I have detected in the edition of a London literary journal the most scandalous ignorance of the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese languages, as well as of manners, statistics, costumes, and literature."

And funny enough in all conscience are some of these blunders; but why Byron's example of—

"Classic Hallam, much renown'd for Greek,"

with his astute criticism on Pindar's verses, should he be classed among the "modern instances," when so many others, equally *à propos*, could easily have been collected, without going so far back, we are at a loss to understand; surely the critic's reprobation of Longfellow's neglect to translate the works of *English* poets into the *American* language ought to have sufficed!

"O'er every sense of honest shame victorious,
A snarling scurra to the last censorious,
If any dog but he through all the town
Should dare to bark, how Bilk will bark him down!
And flourishing his pipe as 'twere a truncheon,
Like some drunk porter straddling on a puncheon,
Not British brains alone he assumes to sway,
But French, *pardie*, and Yaukee must obey!

* "A man must serve his time to every trade
Says censure,—critics all are ready made."—Eng. Bards.

Even Longfellow, the stolid rogue discards,
Translating specimens of Europe's bards,
Because he gives no Britons—lucid pate—
As if a Yankee English could translate !"—P. 62.

We conclude with two other extracts :—

" Since railway paces writers most esteem,
And literary eggs are hatch'd by steam,
Each week's production like a Leipsic fair
And authors stumbled against everywhere,
The critic aims to keep the number down
By cutting throats and blasting their renown.
Thus Malthus would have checked the population,
Thus Swift have served up babes for a collation.
Well, be it so ; but let's be bullet-bored,
Or perish by a courtly damask sword,
Not foully slaughter'd in ignoble strife
By hangman's rope or butcher's brutal knife."—P. 30.

A few pages further on the critic's ferocious Malthusian-like propensities are placed to the score of his want of success in "staggering:"—

" ' The iron enters ' now the critic's ' soul,'
And railing flourishes from pole to pole.
The poet's back, beneath remorseless whip,
Must pay for the reviewer's sins of scrip !
Your finest thoughts the murderous rogue will ravage,
Because increasing discounts make him savage.
The poet now must conquer critic scorn,
And cold indifference rouse with Roland's horn !
Must pink a duke or knock a bishop down,
Ere blaze his name like gas along the town,
Like nightmare squatted Bilk incessant cries,
' Thou hast no speculation in those eyes ;'
Because *his* speculations were a bite,
Resolved to make the poet cease to write.
The cataract of Niagara cork
Or stop the ocean with a silver fork !
In vain thou tear'st the bard's Promethean heart ;
Still he defies thee, vengeful as thou art !"—P. 57.

MAN IN THE REPUBLIC: A SERIES OF POEMS. By Cornelius Mathews.
New Edition. New York: Pain and Burgess, 62 John street. 1816.

A series of short addresses in verse, to man in his various relations ; not destitute of poetical merit, and acceptable to our Transatlantic brethren, as is sufficiently shown by the present being a new edition.

THE MOUNTAIN MINSTREL; OR, POEMS AND SONGS, IN ENGLISH. By Evan M'Coll, author of 'Clarsach nam Beann.' A new Edition, enlarged.
London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. Edinburgh: Oliver, Boyd, and Co. 1846.

Ir, on the score of *poetry*, we find nothing requiring especial notice in Mr M'Coll's 'Mountain Minstrel,' we are quite willing to accord the meed of praise to one who, though accustomed to think in Gaelic, has obtained sufficient mastery over the English language to be able to clothe his thoughts in such a dress as will entitle them to pass muster, and with honour, among the host of verses daily issuing from the press. His Gaelic

effusions have been highly spoken of, and, as a good specimen of his English pieces, we quote the following :—

“ HOME.

- “ O why am I sad when I leave my own cot?
 Why the sweet daisied green not in absence forgot?
 Fair dells, where first bashful the love-song I wove,
 Why seem ye still fairer the farther I rove?
 Why are friendship's fond accents, unheeded before,
 Now thought on, with rapture, a thousand times o'er?
 'Midst nature's far grandeurs half mournful why roam?
 Let him answer who wanders from friendship and home.
- “ Though courteous the stranger—the city though fine—
 Though music and beauty to charm me combine—
 Though rich be the banquet, and high be the cheer,
 Why still am I joyless?—My home is not here.
 Then let me again seek the cot on the moor,
 And learn from my wand'rings to prize it the more;—
 From an Eden afar, I, with transports, would come,
 To the glen of my birth—to my sweet Highland 'Home.'”—P. 37.

THE ODES OF HORACE, LITERALLY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH VERSE. By Henry George Robinson. London: Longman and Co. 1846.

MR ROBINSON'S translation is almost as literal as Smart's, while it possesses the additional merit of being cast in a metrical form, which, notwithstanding sundry indications of stiffness, inseparable from the undertaking, we greatly prefer to Smart's bald prose. The following are fair specimens.—

ODE IX.

TO THALIARCHUS.

- “ See, how old Soracte's height
 Stands with snowy mantle white,
 How the forest's labouring bough
 Scarce sustains its burden now,
 And the river's flow is lost,
 Stiffen'd with the icy frost.
- “ Dissolve the cold; upon the fire
 Pile the ample faggot higher:
 And in thy two-eared Sabine bowl,
 O Thaliarch, with liberal soul,
 From thy cellars draw profuse
 The four-year-old's enmellow'd juice.
- “ Leave unto the Gods the rest:
 They, as soon as their behest
 Has lull'd the tempest winds to sleep,
 Struggling with the boiling deep;
 Nor aged ash nor cypresses
 Are longer shaken by the breeze.
- “ What to-morrow may transpire,
 Seek, oh! seek not to inquire;
 Every day that we obtain
 From fortune, set it down as gain;
 Nor, my boy, disdain to prove
 The joys of dancing, or of love,

"While old age, morose and gray,
Keeps from thy green youth away.
Now oft and oft frequent again
The public walks, the martial plain,
And whisper'd vows at night repeat,
When at the chosen hour you meet.

"And let there oft repeated be
The giggling laugh of maiden glee,
Betraying where the damsel lies
In yonder nook, while love's sweet prize
Is from her arm or finger reft,
Which ill resents the wish'd-for theft."

ODE XVI.

TO HIS MUSE.

"By the Muses loved, I cast
Fear and sorrow to the blast;
On its wanton wings to be
Wafted to the Cretan sea.

"Who's the monarch dreaded most
'Neath the frozen Arctic coast,
What may Tiridates fright,
Is to me indifferent quite.

"Sweet Pimplea, maiden wont
To joy thee in the purest font,
Weave me flowers that sunniest blow,
Weave them for my Lamia's brow.

"Wanting thee, my praise were vain;
With Lesbian lyre and newest strain,
To render Lamia's name divine
'Tis thy sisters' part, and thine."

We congratulate the author on his successful treatment of these portions of his task; and honestly say we have no fear for the remainder.

THE POEMS OF ALFRED B. STREET. Complete Edition. New York: Clark and Austin. 1846.

It is long since we met with a volume of poetry from which we have derived so much unmixed pleasure as from the collection now before us. In a short and modest preface the author tells us that his early life—

"Was spent in a wild and picturesque region in the south-western part of New York—his native state. Apart from the busy haunts of mankind, his eye was caught by the strongly-marked and beautiful scenes by which he was surrounded; and to the first impressions thus made may be attributed the fact, that his subjects relate so much to Nature and so little to man. Instead, therefore, of aiming to depict the human heart, he has endeavoured to sketch (however rudely and imperfectly) the features of that with which he was most familiar."

And right eloquently does he discourse of Nature, her changeful features and her varied moods, as exhibited in his own "America, with her rich green forest-robe;" and many are the glowing pictures we would gladly transfer to our pages did our limits permit, in proof of the poet's assertion that "Nature is man's best teacher." But we must only quote—

" A FOREST WALK.

A lovely sky, a cloudless sun,
 A wind that breathes of leaves and flowers,
 O'er hill, through dale, my steps have woo,
 To the cool forest's shadowy bowers;
 One of the paths, all round that wind
 Traced by the browsing herds, I choose,
 And sights and sounds of human kind,
 To nature's lone recesses lose;
 The beech displays its marbled bark,
 The spruce its green tent stretches wide,
 While scowls the hemlock, grim and dark,
 The maple's scallop'd dome beside;
 All weave on high a verdant roof,
 That keeps the very sun aloof,
 Making a twilight soft and green,
 Within the column'd vaulted scene.

" Sweet forest odours have their birth
 From the clothed boughs and teeming earth;
 Where pine-cones dropp'd, leaves piled and dead;
 Long tufts of grass and stars of fern,
 With many a wild flower's fairy urn,
 A thick, elastic carpet spread;
 Here, with its mossy pall, the trunk,
 Resolving into soil, is sunk;
 There, wrened'd but lately from its throne,
 By some fierce whirlwind circling past,
 Its huge roots massed with earth and stone,
 One of the woodland kings is cast.

" Above, the forest tops are bright
 With the broad blaze of sunny light:
 But oow, a fitful air-gust parts
 The screening branches, and a glow
 Of dazzling, startling radiance darts
 Down the dark stems, and breaks below;
 The mingled shadows off are roll'd,
 The sylvan floor is bathed in gold:
 Low sprouts and herbs, before unseen,
 Display their shades of brown and green;
 Tints brighten o'er the velvet moss,
 Gleams twinkle on the laurel's gloss;
 The robin, brooding in her nest,
 Chirps as the quick ray strikes her breast,
 And as my shadow prints the ground,
 I see the rabbit upward bound,
 With pointed ears an instant look,
 Then scamper to the darkest nook,
 Where, with crouch'd limb and staring eye,
 He watches while I saunter by.

" A narrow vista, carpeted
 With rich green grass, invites my tread;
 Here showers the light in golden dots;
 There sleeps the shade in ebony spots,
 So blended, that the very air
 Seems outwork as I enter there.

The partridge, whose deep-rolling drum
 Afar has sounded on my ear,
 Ceasing its beatings as I come,
 Whirrs to the sheltering branches near ;
 The little milk-snake glides away,
 The brindled marmot dives from day ;
 And now, between the boughs, a space
 Of the blue laughing sky I trace ;
 On each side shrinks the bowery shade ;
 Before me spreads an emerald glade ;
 The sunshine steeps its grass and moss,
 That couch my footsteps as I cross ;
 Merrily hums the tawny bee,
 The glittering humming-bird I see ;
 Floats the bright butterfly along,
 The insect choir is loud in song ;
 A spot of light and life, it seems
 A fairy haunt for fancy's dreams.

"Here stretch'd, the pleasant turf I press,
 In luxury of idleness ;
 Sun streaks, and glancing wings, and sky
 Spotted with cloud-shapes, charm my eye ;
 While murmuring grass, and waving trees
 Their leaf harps sounding to the breeze,
 And water-tones that tinkle near,
 Blend their sweet music to my ear ;
 And by the changing shades alone,
 The passage of the hours is known."—P. 90.

The volume is beautifully printed and tastily "got up," and is altogether a charming specimen of American literature.

THE UNION OF CHRISTIANS. A Poem. By John Tod Brown. London : Seeley, Burnside, and Co., Fleet Street. 1846.

We shall best exhibit the design and style of this *poem*, by giving a few extracts. And first, of the—

DISUNION OF CHURCH ON EARTH.

"Now turn to earth, the school-house of the sky,
 What there perplexes contemplation's eye ?
 The cross of Christ hath saved each saintly soul ;
 The cross its starting-point, the cross its goal ;
 The cross its sign-post, which the child of God
 Ponders and hastes him from the downward road :
 The cross, the tree that healing balsam yields ;
 The cross, the talisman Devotion yields ;
 The cross, the rod that draws the lightning down,
 And straight transmutes that lightning to a crown.

"Yet, though substantially in faith the same,
 Sprung from one Father, baptized in one name,
 Lured by one hope, and soaring to one dome,
 Where all shall chant Redemption's harvest-home,
 What countless sects God's family divide !
 The spawn intolerant of schism and pride !
 Each fondly deems its church the circle charmed,
 And vainly feels for all without alarmed ;

'Ours is the Ark, with us thou dost not sail—
 Beware, lest thy dissenting skiff should fail.'
 'Nay, we the patent pilgrim path have found
 (Pilgrim, if fewness consecrate the ground).
 Come, walk with us; thy highway is so wide,
 It needs to hell must popularly glide."
 'We,' others cry, 'the pearl of truth possess,
 And all besides in earth-born baubles dress.'
 Thus all who hold the Head are right and wrong,
 No matter be their tenets short or long;
 Right, since in Jesus riveted their faith;
 Wrong, if they damn their brother's devious path.
 Each, when Death lifts the burden from his back,
 Shall find the marvellous money in his sack;
 Christ, the soul's price, hid in the holy breast,
 At last emerging as its gracious guest."—P. 12.

We next encounter equally poetical descriptions of the various churches and sects into which we Britons are split; and here the author lays about him, right and left, most manfully—friends or foes—no matter, all come in for their full share of fustigation. No wonder, then, in the author's own words, that, with such an opponent,

"Like a covey, on September first
 (For ginger-beer and blood when fowlers thirst),
 Our nervous Theologians prick their ears,
 And skim and circle round their fields of fears,
 Starting, as frightened, if a boy's whip crack,
 As if Jock Manton volleyed forth, whack! whack!"

Beginning with the Church of Rome, we proceed through Episcopacy and the Scottish Kirk, to the Wesleyans, who are thus characterised:—

"Now, lend thine ears to these respected rooks,
 That sound so wise—small thanks to schools or books;
 Round Mother Church's towers they fondly caw,
 Unable to shake off their filial awe;
 See! on that new-built barn they perch, and gloat
 O'er straws on which it duty seems to doat;
 Forbear their self-important fuss to check,
 There lacks not wheat amidst the chaff they peck;
 John Wesley was a great man and a good,
 Though, as a mere Wesleyan, somewhat crude."

INDEPENDENTS.

"But what the porcupine that bristles there,
 And darses you to invade his lonely lair?
 If quills thick-set and sharp be a defence,
 Disturb him not on any slight pretence:
 He for protection chiefly wields his pens,
 Yet sometimes wages war in other dens;
 Too independent, let him not maintain
 That brother bodies drag the clog and chain,
 Would rather that his deadly darts were thrust
 Through the foul heart of unbelief and lust!"

PRESBYTERIANS.

"We Presbyterians blue, replete with starch,
 Naked as elephants, majestic march,
 With knees that scarce can bring their joints to bend,
 An trunk, that nut-shells down for truth would send;

At times our tusks have shown that they can gore,
And self-conceit contaminates our lore;
Still, o'er our Synod sterling sense presides,
No blind authority our back bestrides;
If in our castle you should chance to light,
It courts the day, and execrates the night."

BAPTISTS.

"A fowl domestic waddles o'er the ground,
Which ne'er is right, till half in water drowned;
Not of the genus goose, and yet allied,
A strange embodiment of humble pride;
If as a duckling wetted, 'twill not do,
The full-grown duck must get a ducking too;
As if the sign of grace forbidden were
To babes, who grace confessedly may share!"

The Quakers next come in for a full share of abuse; the author in his *tolerance and humility* saying:—

"Can that be Christian Christ which thus denies?
No; but a haze of visionary lies:
Hence, chamois shade! 'tis not worth wisdom's while
Thy weak hallucinations to revile;
In vain by alms, and phrase, and dress unique,
Your cloudy creed to justify you seek;
Good works, without sound principle, are void
As the child's watch that ticks not at his side;
Its face seems right, but if inside you try,
Straight you detect the stationary lie."

The perfect union of Christians is typically expressed, according to our author, by the orderly behaviour of the beasts, birds, insects, &c., while living together in the ark at the time of the deluge.

"But in that mighty life-boat who are seen?
Men, reptiles, beasts, and birds, clean and unclean;
Of every country, climate, species, race,
All snatched from death by comprehensive grace.
Think you in different cages they were pent,
Lest they should snarl and bite, on battle bent?
If so, they showed a sanguinary soul,
Extremely little skilled in self-control.
Life, the great boon, secured them by the ark,
With life they hoped are long to disembark:
Whate'er their feuds, what idiocy to show
Their teeth, since soon they all at large must go!
How much more dutiful to praise their God,
The architect who planned that safe abode.

"The Ark is Christ, to him the saints have fled,
The godless world around, swamped, drowned, and dead;
What though apart they heavenward move along,
Him the sole refuge they united throng,
His heart the hiding-place that holds them all,
Large as the circuit of East's convict ball.
And is it right this Noah to neglect,
And make a Christ of your short-sighted sect?
Nay, to the Ark betake thee, and learn thence
How very childish orthodox offence!"

Well, betaking ourselves to the ark, we find that *all*, clean and unclean

were alike admitted *inside*, none being obliged to hang on, half swamped, as our author tells us Quakers and Papists must expect to do.

" These all (if Christians), their debates despite,
Their croaking, growling, jealousy, and spite,
The Ark, the passage-boat to heaven, have gained,
And praise their God for safety thus obtained ;
The Friends and Papists seem nor in nor out,
But off and on, hang drenched, the door about ;
The rest—the Dove with leaf of olive bail,
And make for Ararat above full sail."

After further developments of the author's views on the union of Christians, and the causes of disunion, the poem ends with landations of " some of the leading friends " of union—Bickersteth, James, Baptist Noel, Bunting, Chalmers, &c. &c. ; and with one more quotation, we take leave of the book : we give the words, but leave the application to those whom it may concern. The author gives his two-fold reason " why non-essential truths mislead the eye ; " and thus proceeds with his portrait :—

" But chief—oblivion of the golden rule,
Makes the believer a contentious fool,
Sharp to split hairs, but oneness slow to find,
Dark, yet not mild, as Belisarius blind ;
His heart, a stone ; Pandora's box, his head ;
With scarce a latent love-spark 'neath its lid ;
Forth from his controversial skull there flits
The noisy brood of his polemic wits ;
Like David prompt, the Philistines to fight,
But not like David, soothing psalms to write !
A very Paul, when logic must be had—
But never gentle John, in meekness clad !
Oh Bigotry ! the witch of Endor ! thou !
With idiot inspiration on thy brow ;
Around thy murky form float mists of pride,
That vainly seek thy cloven foot to hide ;
Hag, in thy heart thou weav'st with touch of gall,
For Charity—thy Dejanira pall !
Thou Ishmael !—armed with fratricidal knife !
Parent of schism ! and patroness of strife !
For wisdom's pearls Thou scatterest dragon teeth,
Sure to spring up the demagogues of death !
Zeal to be wise beyond what God has given,
An echo lends thy voice, as if from heaven ;
To Truth—thy beldame finger points indeed,
But not through thee should her behests be read ;
Weakness unmans, where'er thy sway is felt,
Thy presence, sacrilege—thy counsel, guilt—
Professing all to teach, and yet a fool—
The Christian must forego thy fatal school,
Shake off thy spells, and straight resort to God,
Nor seek, like Saul, thy perilous abode !"

Notwithstanding that this extraordinary *religious poem* is dedicated to Sir Culling Eardley Smith, and the other members of the Evangelical Alliance, we may be allowed modestly to express our doubt of its being exactly the sort of thing to promote Christian Unity.

THE YEAR OF THE WORLD; a Philosophical Poem on 'Redemption from the Fall.' By William B. Scott. Edinburgh: William Tait. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co. 1846.

THE title chosen, says the author in his preface, 'The Year of the World,' "is the Pythagorean term used two thousand years ago, with much the same significance as it is intended to bear on the title-page of this present work, viz. the entire cycle of time in connexion with human history on earth." "In the first Canto the influences of nature are represented as beings in spontaneous obedience to man (the vital energy), while he remains with his sister (the spiritual) in Eden; but, on the influx of thought, receding from him, to reappear in the end of the poem in the analogous character of 'Echoes.'" In the second Canto the author describes the heroic efforts of Lyremmos, as the invention of artificial fire; the destruction of wild beasts; agriculture, pasturing, and vine growing; the working of metals; music and poetry, writing, and the plastic art. In the third Canto, we have indications of the cosmogony of the Hindoos, Egyptians, and Chaldeans, under the characters of demon voices offering to explain the great mystery. "In the fourth Canto the curious ancient story of the pilot hearing the voice on the sea, calling out, 'Great Pan is dead,' is introduced among the signs of the approaching advent. The impersonation of Pantheism is visited by the Holy Family." And "the poem ends with the re-appearance of the spiritual, the active intellect being now harmonized with it, when the vision necessarily collapses into perfection." Such is a brief outline of the argument of this poem, which is a production not to be understood by merely skimming through it, but must be read again and again before its beauties are revealed to the reader.

From the second Canto we give an extract, descriptive of the labours of Lyremmos—the energy—in the early ages of the world:—

"Man hath begun his journey: farewell, rest,
And light, and harmony, and beauty, all
Spontaneous or instinctive sense, farewell.
No retrograde, no turning the tired foot,
Even for respite or repose, a force
Of infinite impulsion drives him on;
No lurking back along the path he clears
As he advances, for the wings of clouds
Close after him. No silence, for the boughs
Are rent, and with his giant arms the rocks
Are broken and removed, and mammoth beasts
Howl at him from afar. He builds himself
A throne—he passes on, and in that throne,
A shadow of himself remains, a form
Like a phosphoric mist amid the blackness,
Whose limbs are chained as if an agony
Had fixed them in that coil for evermore,
And in whose hand a flaming torch appears
To which the stars are weak. With shouts of joy
At each new light, man raises as he goes
Torches and fires, strange light and warmth exhaling,
Through which cloud, rock, and beast with gleaming eyes,
Shrink terror-stricken. Now another throne
He rears, another demigod is crowned,—
The mighty hunter! whose unerring arm
Holds the death-loaded reed, and his clear eye

Looks from a smooth brow—while the herded wolves
 And panthers, and the lion, fly in vain :
 A shout exulting doth the labourer send
 Along the world, and round his loins the skin
 Of the striped tiger now behold, and on
 His feet the wild bull's hide. Again I hear
 Acclaim, a mixed acclaim, and to his rest
 The pastoral patriarch ascends—the plain
 Spreads out, a vast expanse girt in by bills ;
 Obedient flocks and herds are gathered here,
 Obedient birds frequent. Upon the grass
 The shepherd's crook is seen. Upon the earth
 The sower's wallet—Evoe ! the wheat sheaves !
 Io ! oh joy, the vine with trained stems
 Fills the great vat with wine. Close following him
 A form heroic and yet matronly
 Gathers her woven skirts, and round her head
 Draws the fair woven hood, as in the gloom
 Of antique mythos she becomes enthroned :
 The distaff holds she and the twirling spindle,
 Comfort with blessings rife. Again the line
 Of thrones which will encompass yet the world
 Receives another reared of molten brass.
 And he who now ascends those brazen steps,
 Is he not Tubal Cain, beyond all honour,
 Father of crafts, and conqueror of toils ?
 The armed wanderer quickens in his speed,
 The labourer works now easily, advancing
 As if with winged speed. Anon he looks
 Upon his blackened limbs, and in the stream
 Laving, resumes his travail, more composed.
 Again the line of giants is increased,
 The sweet inaugural hymn prolongs even yet
 Through these millenniums of past history
 Its happy echoes ; for this spirit holds
 A stringed shell, and with exhaustless words
 Evolves the sense of nature, and reforms
 The solid world, that man and woman sees .
 The paradise they long for, the true vision
 Of the interior heart of all things—Hia !
 What dubious giant follows this, the loved one ?
 Light flames around him, but the form is dark,
 And terrible his lidless eyes look out
 As when he slew the dragon, and its teeth
 Sowed in the furrowed ground, to bear a crop
 Of strife unending ; or as when he taught
 The record of the past its permanence
 Upon the graven tablet and the scroll,
 Who next appears ?
 Another lovely and beloved, behold !
 The perfect shall be with us from henceforth,
 And the deformed, debased, shall not alone
 Environ life, the beautiful appears
 Answering the Idea, plastic will
 Grasps at the symbol. In unfading youth
 He leans upon the pillar of his shrine,
 The brown hair falls around his neck, the brow
 Warm as a living mortal's, and the style
 Hangs in his subtle hand."—P. 34.

We subjoin an extract from the fourth Canto. The period is immediately preceding the advent of the Saviour:—

“ A sense of change creeps through the earth like spring ;
 Another change ; the journey lies still on,
 And the refreshed traveller from the porch,
 Whither with hope and joy he had repaired,
 Hurries to meet the birth of coming years.
 The giant of the Tiber towards all shores
 Thrusts his insatiate spear ; no more the waste
 Harbours chimeras, or a ridge of hills
 Bounds the known world. Is not the strongest king ?
 The sword interrogates, nor waits reply,
 But ruthlessly affirms his right with blood.
 Isis appears in Rome, and Roman gods
 Share with Osiris Alexandria's fane,—
 Adonis is forgot by Syrian maids,
 With annual outgoings and lamentings sweet,
 The voice from Delphi's eav'n faltering fails,—
 Mithras bewails th' unfrequent sacrifice,
 As magi gaze upon propitious stars,
 And with mute confidence await their Lord ;
 The Hebrew groans beneath the iron hand
 Of the sword-bearer ; and prophetic shrieks,
 With gnostic mysticism by the gates
 Of Solomon, had long been heard ; all eyes
 Wait for the advent of the Holy One.
 Who shall describe Him, the new conqueror,
 The promised one of old ! With greater force
 Opposing force, shall be with sound of trump,
 Be a triumphant swordsman ? Shall he come
 Learned and wise, a sage among the sage,
 Illumining the great profound. He comes !
 ‘ Great Pan is dead,’ the pilot hears becalmed ;
 ‘ Great Pan is dead,’ he hears repeated thrice,
 On the wide sea, as if it were the moon
 Uttering to the deep this mystery.
 Crumble all temples, and expire all flames,
 Hitherto ever burning on the shrines :
 Let the white smoke, upon all altars cease ;
 Free ye the filleted heifer and the lamb !

“ A youth sits singing on a fair flower-field,
 Of marvellous beauty, and of strength unknown.
 Naked as at his birth, save that his neck,
 His ancles and his wrists bore many strings
 Of diamond and of amber, and his hair
 Fell black unto his loins, with fragrant oil
 Anointed. Through his hair his gracious eyes
 Looked lovingly around upon all things ;
 Albeit the long eyelash seemed to lend
 An indolence, and threaten hasty night
 To each emotion, and his parted lips
 Wavered between a sorrow and a joy,
 As if surprise was their continued guest.
 Upon the green earth, thick with flowers, he sat :
 But chief of all these flowers narcissus grew,
 And by the Nile, which kissed that flowery mead,
 The lotus. With a subtle setive hand
 Wrought he in red clay from the caverned ground,

Small lares and penates infinite
 In symbols and device, and as he wrought,
 Orphic rhapsodies to the earth sang he,
 And the sweet tale of *Psyche* lately taught
 By the great sage.

"So sat he and so sang,
 While the world went rejoicing through the heaven,
 And the sun passed from sign to sign, and they,
 The Man, the Woman, and the Child, appeared,
 Pilgrims from *Bethlehem*."—P. 73.

Lyremmos questions the pilgrims as to their reasons for visiting *Egypt*:
 "the child" replies to his inquiries, declares the purpose of his coming
 into the world, and describes the child-like trust and simplicity required of
 those who would be his followers.

"The youth turned down his supplicating eyes,
 Unto the earth, as if to ask for help,
 No answer did the earth return; those strange
 And cunning figures that his hand had made,
 Melted away, the likeness of a cross
 Remaining only; on his knees the youth
 Bent humbly to the child with clasped hands."—P. 81.

There is much grace and beauty in the outline illustrations, which have
 all been executed by the author.

RELIGION.

ON THE HISTORY AND MYSTERY OF (THOSE CALLED) THE SACRAMENTS, showing
 them to be Jewish Institutions, and not Ordinances, appointed by Christ,
 to be observed in his Church. By Jacob Post. London: C. Gilpin, 5
 Bishopsgate Without. Aylott and Jones, Paternoster Row. 1846.

An argument, drawn from history and the testimony of modern writers, in
 favour of the validity of the views entertained by the author, in common with
 the Society of Friends, of which he is a member, on the subject of the outward
 and visible celebration of baptism and the Lord's supper. It is generally
 known that the Society of Friends look upon water baptism, and the formal
 meeting together for the purpose of celebrating the Eucharist, as merely
 Jewish rites or ordinances, instituted long before the birth of Jesus, and
 observed by himself and his disciples only as Jews, and in accordance with the
 custom of their country. They believe that the true baptism and communion
 are to be experienced inwardly and spiritually, and require no outward and
 visible celebration; and contend that whenever Christ and the apostles insist
 on the necessity of participation in these rites, it is spiritually, and not
 outwardly, that they command the administration.

The author has clearly and candidly stated his views on the subject, and
 his little book may be consulted with advantage, even by such as entertain
 opinions contrary to those therein set forth.

THE LIFE OF JESUS CRITICALLY EXAMINED. By Dr D. F. Strauss. Trans-
 lated from the fourth German edition. Three vols. Chapman Brothers,
 Newgate street. 1846.

ON THE SCRIPTURE DOCTRINE OF FUTURE PUNISHMENT: AN ARGUMENT. In two parts. By H. H. DOBNEY. Second edition. London: Ward and Co., Paternoster row. 1846.

AN argument, in the form of a new and enlarged edition of the author's 'Notes of Lectures,' in favour of the doctrine that immortality and everlasting happiness will constitute the reward of the righteous, and that the final punishment of the incorrigibly wicked will consist in their utter destruction; and not in an eternal and never-ending state of misery, as taught by the generally-received doctrine.

SERMONS OCCASIONED BY THE DEATH OF THE REV. HUGH HEUGH, D.D., GLASGOW. Delivered in Regent Place, Secession Church, Glasgow, on Sabbath, June 21, 1846: with the Address before the Interment. Published by request. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. Edinburgh: Oliphant. Glasgow: D. Robinson.

ON THE SPECULATIVE DIFFICULTIES OF PROFESSING CHRISTIANS. London and Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons. 1846.

A SERIES of letters originally addressed to an individual, and now printed for the benefit of those who, like him, "being already persuaded upon the whole of the Divine origin of Christianity, are, notwithstanding, disturbed by some specific sceptical objections, which, at the same time that they do not overwhelm their faith, yet seriously interfere with their comfort, and interrupt them in the discharge of duty." In the letters the author combats objections on the following particulars—Inspiration, Doctrines imperfectly comprehended, Scriptural misinterpretations, and Adaptations of Christianity, and refers to certain objections which have been abandoned, such as those deduced from the various Scriptural readings, the claims set forth by some for a greater antiquity of the earth than the Scriptures warrant, &c.

THE WORSHIP OF GENIUS, AND THE DISTINCTIVE CHARACTER, OR ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY. By Prof. C. ULLMANN. Translated from the German by Lucy Sanford. London: Chapman Brothers, 121 Newgate street 1846.

"THE worship of genius," says Strauss, "is the only worship left to the cultivated of the age from the religious disorganization of the last;" and by this writer Christianity itself was classed under the worship of genius, since he assigns to its founder the first place among those men of genius who have promoted human progress. Dr Ullmann's Essay on the worship of Genius is an examination of Strauss's doctrine, called forth by remarks on Schwab's oration on the occasion of the inauguration of Schiller's statue at Stuttgart. The author observes:—

"The worship of genius, in the widest sense, we may define as that deep, enthusiastic homage, amounting to the highest veneration, which we pay to the most important and influential manifestations of the human mind, or to those individuals who, in whatever sphere of life, in the department of art, of science, of politics, morals, or religion have contributed in some new and extraordinary manner to its development;—in a word, the greatest possible veneration for great men and their performances; a veneration which, when of the right kind, prompts appropriate manifestations of respect to such individuals, and stimulates him who entertains it to similar exertions, so far as his abilities permit."—P. 4.

In this sense, as the author well observes, the worship of genius is nothing new. All the nations of antiquity were moved by it, nor is the attempt to substitute this worship for the more especially religious feeling altogether a novelty, since it has been "silently practised by not a few in modern times;" "but," says the author, "it has never before been declared, as now, that the worship of genius is the only form of devotion remaining, or truly applicable to our age." He thus continues:—

"We are thus led to treat of the worship of genius in a *twofold sense*—according to its general meaning, as it has been always more or less practised, and according to the special interpretation which some now seek to put upon it. And with reference to this distinction, my judgment, which I hope you will approve, is in general terms as follows:—The worship of genius has its truth and its justice as opposed to something lower, but is untrue and unjust as opposed to something higher; it is beautiful and praiseworthy as a natural enthusiasm, for the highest manifestation of the human intellect; but reprehensible and destructive as a substitute for the worship of God, and for the true living Christian faith."—P. 5.

After some further observations as to the distinctive characteristics of the worship of genius and true religion, the author thus sums up his remarks:

"Religion, when of a sound and healthy character, is applicable to every condition and circumstance of life. She is, when allowed her full rights, the heart, the regular pulse of the whole being. Nothing is too mean for her to sanctify and illumine; nothing too encroaching and absorbing for her to reduce within fitting bounds. Not alone in moments of spiritual excitement and elevation, but also in those of depression and deepest sorrow, the thought of God can soothe, reconcile, and bless. The worship of genius has not this all-sufficing power; the poetic excitement can endure only in moments of exaltation; when these are over, the poetry gives place to a dull prose, to a vacancy uncheered by the consciousness of God's presence. Religion is simple, wholesome food—the bread of spiritual life, always nourishing and palatable; the worship of genius is a stimulating, highly-seasoned dainty, agreeable at times, but incapable, when the soul longs for the highest good, of affording permanent sustenance. The same holds good of communities, no less than of individuals. Religion, even in its lowest stages, has a tendency to bind men together, to unite them into brotherhoods; and, in its absolute consummation, must be all-embracing, satisfying the human mind in every state of progress. Uniting the Deity with humanity, earth with heaven, it is also a fraternal tie between the highest and the lowest, the weakest and most gifted of mankind; even those of different degrees of religious advancement stand, as it were, on an equality in their infinite distance from the Deity. But this worship of genius, for whom is it? Its advocate himself says, 'For the *cultivated* of our age.' It is the religion of the cultivated. The uncultivated are thus at once excluded; and, indeed, those who can scarcely read, who know little of the deeds of great men, would voluntarily withdraw from it. But who are the cultivated? Those who, because they can read, hold themselves as such? Among these, again, we find numbers who are incapable of appreciating genius, who cannot enter into that enthusiasm which its worship requires. These, then, again, must be excluded. And lastly, for men of genius, what religion remains? We, other mortals, not possessing genius, yet cultivated and susceptible, revere genius; but *men of genius?*—shall they revere themselves, or have they no religion at all? Thus religion, which should be the bond of union between all, would become, as the worship of genius, the cause of the greatest dissension; withdrawing from the heights and the obscure valleys of humanity, it would entrench itself on a middle ground, difficult to be defined; the few possessors of genius would stand *above* religion, the vast body of the uncultivated and apathetic *below*; the former would, perhaps, vibrate between the worship of themselves—of the so-called God within their breast—and that of genius in the aggregate; the latter, knowing nothing of genius, and incapable of revering it, would be deprived of the bread of spiritual life, at the same time that they are, perhaps, scantily supplied with bodily nourishment. This, my friend, is a state of things which we can none of us desire; an aristocracy of the worst kind, which,

though proposed as a remedy for the decay of religion among the cultivated, would lead to their ruin, as well as to that of the uncultivated."—P. 33.

In the Supplementary Remarks, the author enters into an examination of the affinity and the difference between the 'Modern Worship of Genius and the Ancient Genii-worship,' showing that:—

"In both, concentrated, commanding, spiritual power is the object of reverence; for, according to the ancient idea, a man's genius necessarily expresses his best and highest qualities, his better self, the spirit in which he acts, the power which he exercises, the form which his life assumes. So far the ancient genii-worship was a worship of human nature; but of human nature in its purity, perfection, and ideality. Here the modern idea coincides with the ancient; but at this very point the difference becomes apparent. To the ancient world, the Genius was indeed the ideal of humanity, whether individually or in the abstract; but at the same time it was to them a something personally divine, a real existence, however closely bound up in some wider or narrower sphere of human life. To moderns, genius is not an independent divine existence, beyond and above man, but it is the divine principle within man; in fact, human nature itself, though viewed on the best side. With this difference of conception, the modes of worship must also be essentially different. Among the ancients genii-worship was a real religion; the genii had altars, temples, and sacrifices, and in their worship lay something mysterious and awful. A man could prostrate himself in deep earnestness before his own genius, and still more so before those of superior individuals, or of whole communities. The genii-worship stood not in opposition to that of the gods, but was organically connected therewith; the one led upwards to the other, and might even, as the gods also had their genii, blend with it. Finally,—and this is a principal consideration,—it was of popular and universal interest; for its spirit and application might be brought home to the very lowest. But all this is inconceivable with respect to the worship of genius, in the modern sense. A veneration for great men, in their merely human character, can never become religion, properly so called; but, by merging into idolatry, it stands in direct opposition to the adoration of God, instead of being intimately connected therewith. Its objects being only such conspicuous and superior individuals as are appreciated by none but the more cultivated, its character becomes wholly aristocratic; and by excluding the mass of mankind, the poor in mind and body, it excludes itself from the title of religion. But the conclusion to be drawn from the above remarks is this:—not, that the ancient genii-worship would be for us a satisfactory embodiment of the religious principle, or that we should aim at revising it under the form of angel-worship, the idea most nearly corresponding to it in the Christian world; but only that in this ancient worship, in its connexion with paganism, there was more religion, properly so called, than can or ever will be found in the modern worship of Genius as connected with Christianity."—P. 51.

In the Essay 'On the Distinctive Character, or Essence of Christianity,' the author aims to substitute truth for the errors he has exposed in the Essay to which it is appended. We may quote, in conclusion, the author's epitome of the argument:—

"That which constitutes the specific, distinctive character of Christianity, is not its doctrine, its moral law, nor even its redeeming power; but the peculiar office, the moral and religious authority of its Founder, as the individual in whom the union of the divine with the human was fully manifested. For doctrine, law, and redemption, derive their force from this individual manifestation, not it from them. This it is, which exclusively belongs to Christianity, while all the other proposed characteristics have been shared to a certain degree by other religions.

"Thus viewed, Christianity assumes a perfect organic form, developing from an individual centre all its powers and gifts; it addresses itself to all mankind, whom its mission is to gather into one kingdom of God; to organize into one fully-compacted community of God-like men."—P. 104.

TRAVELS.

A VISIT TO THE ANTIPODES; WITH SOME REMINISCENCES OF A SOJOURN IN AUSTRALIA. By a Squatter. London: Smith, Elder and Co., Cornhill, 1846.

THE Squatter has here presented us with a very agreeable volume, embodying the principal occurrences of his five months' passage out, and of his subsequent residence in "the bush." There is no attempt at fine writing; but the statements evidently convey the author's "natural and first impressions" of these distant colonies.

None but those who have experienced it can form an idea of the wearisome monotony of a long sea-voyage; and this may excuse the prominence occupied by his log in the volume before us. In the words of the author:—

"The scene from the deck soon wearies, as it never changes. Water, water, always the same, sometimes bluer and sometimes smoother than at other times, but always bounded by the same distinct line, which if we were to gain, we should see water still, and that for hundreds and hundreds of miles. Our bulwarks are our prison walls, and the utmost range of our liberty is the extent of the deck."—P. 25.

Can it then be wondered at, that all whose liberty is thus circumscribed should be more or less affected by

"The spleen which confinement engenders—that ingenious process which every man is possessed of for destroying his own happiness and comfort—(which) tinges every occurrence with a painful sense of annoyance, restlessness, and irritation perfectly unbearable and insupportable."—P. 45.

Nor can we wonder at the importance given to the trifling occurrences which now and then serve to break the sameness of a life on ship-board; even the excitement of a storm is in some cases hailed with pleasure, notwithstanding, as the captain says, the ship and her freight, living and dead, are knocked about as if they "belonged to nobody, and cost nothing." But man will get used to anything; and the voyager, on finding himself in port, almost regrets the termination of his voyage; and the first ramble on shore makes up for all previous privations.

"I believe that every person landing for the first time after a long voyage experiences an intensity of pleasure that amounts almost to childishness, and those were certainly my feelings, as, for the two hours following, I rambled through the straggling streets, staring at everything and everybody, with unaffected wonder, smoking perpetually from pure inanity."—P. 70.

For a narrative of the author's doings in Australia, and his various encounters with the natives, with other matters, all which are detailed in a pleasing style, we must refer the reader to his book. We, however, quote one anecdote, which, though related to the author as a fact, for the honour of humanity we would fain hope is not true.

"It was stated of a man who had a sheep station at Port Lincoln, that he had suffered repeatedly from depredations of the natives. On one occasion he had left the hut, and found on his return that it had been forcibly broken open, and robbed of everything it contained. He was so exasperated at the outrage, that he had recourse to a means of revenge of a most successful but remorseless nature.

"He took a flour-sack, which he filled with a joint mixture of arsenic and flour, in equal proportions, and sufficient to ensure death to whoever consumed an ordinary quantity; having done this, he affixed to each side of the bag a piece of paper, on which was written, in large letters, 'Arsenic! Poison!'

"Having done this, he left the hut, as usual locking it up after him, taking care that nothing else should be left behind that could be serviceable to the

natives. He was absent the whole of the day, and returning, he found everything pillaged. The bag which he had prepared was thrown down and its contents scattered about.

"In some little time after a great many of the natives in that district began to die, and the missionaries there having made inquiries as to the cause, this person was examined before the government resident on charge of having poisoned them. He stated that he had mixed this material to poison the rats, which were very troublesome to him, and that in so doing he had taken every precaution, having labelled the bag in such a way as to caution every person reading against making use of it; and so he had, without doubt. The mischief had arisen solely from the ignorance of the blacks on the subject of letters. This, though a defensive measure, was a most repulsive one; and one which no person with civilized ideas can regard without abhorrence and painful regret."—P. 124.

The author's remarks on the subject of colonization and emigration are sensible and well-timed.

"Colonization is a necessary consequence—I had almost said evil—of an overgrown community. That it is an injury, there can be little doubt. The industrious and intelligent of our labouring population are expected to try their energies on a new field. Look at it in what way you like, it is a loss to the old country. The colony is an integral part of the empire, true; but the colonist becomes an alien. The same trial which was required to send him from his native country, severs his affection from it; his associations are to re-form, and when formed, are antagonistic influences to civilized tastes and habits, and that co-operation which tells in an old and unanimous community, exists no longer, except for the local interests to which it is confined.

"With regard to a new colony there must always be much disappointment. There is everything to do to make it like the place left behind, and very little done towards it. The country is settled, for the most part, by people of intelligence and enterprise, who have exiled themselves for the sole purpose of making money. Many of them are induced by expectations which must inevitably be disappointed, and many are determined to sacrifice personal comfort to accomplish this one object. This gives a similarity of feeling to every one, inasmuch that the term colonial, in this sense, has passed into a proverb. There is just one leading idea—a hankering, hungering, thirsting after money.

"The opportunities for improving the condition are more numerous than in England; but for most men, unless impelled by necessity to take such a step, the sacrifice is too great. There is a delusion as to the real objects of life, or men would not tear themselves from every tie, and break up a domestic circle whose happiness had become identified with their own, for the sole purpose of advancing their individual interests. Life is short enough to dispose of on secondary objects; and that of providing for the mere externals of existence must surely stand secondary to the purer, the holier, emotions of the affections, without which life would be a barren and painful nonentity.

"In treating of the subject of emigration, an opinion as to its necessity may be naturally expected; but it is a question in which feeling and association are so much blended, that the task is one of considerable difficulty. On the one hand is urged the hardship of a man tearing himself from his native soil, his severing old associations, and doing all that, to one in whom love of country is strong, is most trying and painful; but on the other, a dark and fearful reality stares him in the face, like a grisly phantom, pleading, with stern severity, a truth which we cannot, if we would, deny.

"A short time ago, I saw the body of a man who had died from starvation, exposed in the charnel-house, as usual, for the purpose of recognition. His flesh was wasted to the bones; his thin limbs told of a more fearful inroad than the sword, in its most destructive exercise, could effect; the pallor of his shrunken and ghastly cheek went to my heart: I was horrified.

"The question naturally arose—Was there no land where this poor being could have earned a subsistence? A question which I could not but answer in the affirmative. Had he emigrated he could not have starved; his labour would have been

valued, his services sought after. As it was, alas! in some obscure den, in a dark city, unfriended in life, and in death unknown, he had shrunk under a fearful and appalling doom."—P. 184.

A PEER INTO TOORKISTHAN. By Captain Rollo Burslem, 13th, Prince Albert's Light Infantry. London: Pelham Richardson, 23 Cornhill. 1816.

CAPTAIN BURSLEM'S very interesting narrative affords another proof of the worse than folly of attempting to penetrate the all but unexplored regions of Northern India, when the adventurers assume no higher title than that of "simple travellers."

In June, 1840, during the deceitful calm which preceded the events that led to the Cabul disasters, Lieut. Sturt, of the Bengal Engineers, was ordered to survey the passes of the Hindoo Koosh; and our author obtained permission to accompany him, in the hope of reaching Balkh, the capital of the ancient Bactria, where he expected to reap a rich harvest of antiquities, such as coins, gems, and other relics of former days, which are abundant at Balkh and in the neighbouring localities; but, notwithstanding Captain Sturt's semi-official employment, the envoy, Sir William M'Naghten, had declined to furnish our travellers with credentials, lest, as Capt. Burslem says, the inhabitants should fancy they were invested with political power. There is now no doubt that the similar refusal of credentials was one cause of the detention and ultimate death of Stoddart and Conolly; and our travellers themselves were more than once placed in an awkward predicament for want of them. The author says—

"Sturt had not been supplied with any introductory letters from Sir William M'Naghten, although he was sent on duty, for it was uncertain what kind of a reception we might meet with amongst the chiefs of Toorkisthan, and it was therefore deemed unadvisable to give us the character of accredited agents, which would necessarily tend to mix us up with politics. Though this plan may have been very wise on the part of government, yet it by no means contributed to our comfort, as we found ourselves frequently the objects of suspicion. Some of the chiefs plainly said, 'You are come to survey our country, and eventually to take possession!'"—P. 87.

And again, at Koollum, our travellers seem to have been under considerable apprehension, and apparently not without reason, that the Meer Walli would at least detain them there as prisoners, and nothing but the assumption of a bold front appears to have averted this measure. Nothing could prevail on him to allow the author and his friend Sturt to proceed onward to Balkh, the Meer feeling persuaded that some political design must necessarily be concealed under the professed object of their journey:—

"From the expression of the Meer's sentiments during this interview, we concluded that, however great a rascal his highness might eventually prove, still his present policy was to be on good terms with us, and all anxiety on our part as to being forcibly detained was allayed, so that we began now seriously to determine on our future proceedings. As one of the principal objects I had in view on joining Sturt was to procure coins and those relics of antiquity so abundant in the neighbourhood of Balkh, I was most anxious to prosecute my journey thither, and accordingly took an opportunity of explaining to the Meer my wishes and intentions, requesting him to furnish me with an adequate escort for my protection. He evinced a decided unwillingness to facilitate my advance, treating my anxiety to collect coins as an assumed reason to conceal some other more important motive. This was very provoking, but, by this time, we were so much accustomed to have the true and simple account of our plans and intentions treated with civil incredulity, that we felt almost disposed to allow the frequent insinuations of our con-

vealed political character to remain uncontradicted, so useless were all our endeavours to satisfy the natives as to our real position. In vain I urged upon the Meer the emptiness of all his professions of friendship if he now declined to assist me in the manner I clearly pointed out; all was of no avail; on the contrary the more urgent I became the more obstinate he grew, and I at last was painfully convinced, not only that he disbelieved me, but that he had not the slightest intention of permitting us to proceed across the frontier in the direction of the territories of the King of Bokhara. He objected that it was a long journey from Cabul to Balkh merely to pick up 'rubbish;' and though the actual danger was only for a short space, yet, if any accident happened, if, as he declared was highly probable, we were seized and carried into slavery, he should have to answer to the British Government."—P. 154.

Failing in all their attempts to get permission to proceed, there remained no alternative but to submit, and, accordingly, the travellers "turned their thoughts homewards." But, continues the Captain,

"No sooner was it rumoured in the bazaar that we were about to return to Cabul, than several Hindoo bankers waited upon us to pay their respects and offer whatever sums of money we might require for the journey. They were all very anxious to lend, and were much dissatisfied at the insignificant amount of the cash we required, though the only security was a written promise that we would pay the amount to a certain banker in Cabul on our return; they offered us as much as ten thousand rupees, and appeared very anxious to avail themselves of the opportunity of sending money to Cabul. At all events their confidence was a gratifying proof of the high estimation in which the British name was held in that remote country."—P. 157.

The return to Cabul was varied by a divergence from the former route at Heibuk, the travellers passing through Ghoree, where they were obliged to leave a portion of their men, who were ill with the Koondooz fever; they then explored a part of Toorkisthan probably never before visited by Europeans. The country between Ghoree and Badjghar, a distance of eighty miles, is described as being most wild and romantic, consisting of a succession of defiles of a difficult and perilous character.

"The last of these was the famous Dushti Suffaed, which leads to Padjghar. There is a sameness in the features of these Toorkisthan passes which renders a faithful description tedious from its monotony, and the necessary repetition of similar characteristic features; yet the reader will hardly fail to draw important conclusions from the immense difficulty and almost practical impossibility that a modern army of considerable numbers, with all its incumbrances, through such a country with any hope of its retaining its efficiency, or even a tithe of its original numerical strength, will encounter. And when we consider that the passes of Toorkisthan embrace only a small part of the distance to be traversed by an army from the west, we may well dismiss from our minds that ridiculous impression, once so unfortunately prevalent in India, that is now justly denominated *Russophobia*. What a fearful amount of human suffering might have been averted! What national disgrace might have been avoided! and what millions of treasure saved, had the authorities in India but examined the practicability of an invasion which Russia had too much wisdom ever seriously to contemplate."—P. 176.

On the 29th of August, the day after they left Ghoree, Captain Burslem and some of the guard lost their way among the rocks, on the road to Keune: they were set right by a solitary individual, who was at first dreadfully frightened, never having seen a European before; and certainly our Captain's appearance could not have been altogether respectable, if we may judge from the following portrait, drawn by himself:—

"I was armed with a huge old-fashioned sword of the 11th dragoons, purchased at the Cabul bazaar, and clad in a green Swiss frock. I had a coloured turban wound in copious folds round my head, as a protection from the sun, a beard of

nearly three months' growth, and, accompanied by a ferocious-looking tribe of Affghans, all unshorn as well as myself, created anything but a prepossessing impression to a stranger: the reader will not, therefore, feel surprised at the man's hesitation in meeting us."—P. 180.

The party had intended to proceed to Badjghar by the Surrak Kulla pass, but were dissuaded from taking this route by a traveller, who informed them it was infested by a tribe of robbers, from whom he had escaped only in consequence of having nothing to lose. The travellers then took the Espion pass; and well for them they did so, for on arriving at Badjghar they learned that the robbers had reached the point where they turned off, in a large body, only two hours after the party left the road.

Captain Sturt was seized with Koondooz fever at Badjghar; but the whole party, including the men who had been left at Ghoree, ultimately succeeded in reaching Cabul.

In many parts of his interesting narrative Captain Burslem speaks in high terms of the fidelity of his escort. This "consisted of thirty Affghans belonging to one of Shah Soojah's regiments, under the command of Capt. Hopkins." The following incident occurred at Koollum, during an interview with the Meer Walli, from whom treachery was apprehended by our travellers. They had been invited to visit the Meer, and are seated with him in his garden:—

"It was now evident to us that on our approach to Koollum the Meer Walli was undecided whether he should treat us as friends or foes; it seemed that for the present he had determined in our favour, but distrusting his capricious disposition, we were only the more anxious to get out of his reach, though we both agreed that the wisest and safest plan would be to carry our heads very high and put a bold front on all our proceedings. This decision we came to while sitting in the garden in the presence of the Meer. Suddenly we heard a confused murmur behind us, and the heavy sound of the butt-end of several muskets striking the ground as in 'ordering arms;' we turned sharply round and perceived with astonishment, not unmingled with satisfaction, that six or eight of our Affghan guard, notwithstanding the numerous followers round the Meer, had entered the garden of their own accord, and placed themselves immediately in our rear with bayonets fixed. The Meer appeared to take no notice of this extraordinary intrusion, and after a few compliments permitted us to withdraw.

"On returning to the caravanserai, we inquired why the guard had acted thus without orders; they told us they had secretly heard that treachery was intended by the Meer towards us, and that therefore they had deemed it their duty to protect us from any surprise; moreover that ten of the guard had been stationed close outside the garden, ready to support them at a moment's notice. Our own opinion was, that at that time nothing of the kind was in contemplation, but it was satisfactory to view the determined spirit which animated our men. Strange anomaly, that these very men, who now came voluntarily forward to protect our persons from insult at the imminent risk of their lives, should have been found amongst those who, with their arms and accoutrements, had deserted in a body from the British, to the side of the ex-Ameer, at the battle of Bameean, a few months after!"—P. 146.

But we must reluctantly leave Captain Burslem's book, referring the reader to its pages for much really delightful matter, detailed in a frank and manly style, in every respect becoming the gallant soldier. His adventures in the ice-caves and other caverns at Yeermalik, the story of the Dragon's Mouth, accounts of skirmishes, descriptions of scenery, and other matters, will well repay perusal; and we only regret that our limits forbid their transfer to our pages.

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The Public are informed that the separate editions of the '*Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Reviews*,' will, after the present number, be discontinued, and that the two Reviews will appear for the future only as one work, under the title of the '*Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review*.'

Of this union, or amalgamation, it need only be observed, that the announcement corresponds with the fact. The hitherto distinctive features of the two Reviews have been combined, with the assistance of their several contributors and editors. The political and practical objects of the '*Westminster Review*,' as promoted during the last seven years, remain the same; and under the same direction as heretofore. The Editor of the '*Foreign Quarterly*' continues his labours in the department of Foreign Literature.

The result anticipated was a work of improved general interest, (of which the reader will judge), and an enlarged sphere of utility.

The '*Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review*' will be sustained by the same motives which influenced the original founders of the '*Westminster Review*,' in 1823. An organ was required for the expression of honest convictions, independent of party; and it is still needed. The '*Quarterly and Edinburgh Reviews*' deservedly take a high place in the ranks of periodical literature; but there are truths which cannot find expression in their pages without offence to one or other of the great parties by which this country is governed; truths which must win their way to public favour, and the countenance of statesmen, through opposing prejudices and hostile interests. The '*Westminster Review*' has long been recognised as a medium for free and fearless discussion; but as such it has had to fight many up-hill battles, and sometimes to encounter scorn and obloquy for principles at last deemed worthy of universal acceptance, and now embodied in legislative enactments. Its history has been that of struggles, defeats, and ultimate triumphs. Of its defects and many short-comings much might be confessed; but that it has performed many public services, and fairly earned a claim to the support of all friends of human improvement, few are perhaps indisposed to admit. There is yet work to be done; and from the present alliance with the '*Foreign Quarterly*' the '*Westminster*' will derive new strength for new exertions.

THE
FOREIGN QUARTERLY
AND
WESTMINSTER
Review.

- ART. I.—1. *Contemplations on the Solar System.* By J. P. Nichol, LL.D., F.R.S.E., Professor of Astronomy in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh: William Tait. 1844.
2. *Thoughts on some Important Points relating to the System of the World.* By J. P. Nichol, LL.D. Edinburgh: Tait. 1846.
3. *The Planetary and Stellar Universe.* By Robert James Mann. London: Reeve, Brothers. 1845.
4. *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Sciences.* Paris: 1846. Nos. 22, et seq.
5. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London for the Year 1840.* London.

OF all the physical sciences, that which investigates the laws of surrounding planets—which extends the views of man to other spheres of existence, those “multiplied masses of increased and still increasing light,”—Astronomy—unquestionably is the most spiritualizing: contemplated as one grand whole, it is the most beautiful monument of the human mind, the most noble record of its intelligence. In the earlier ages of the world, before science had shed a light upon the human understanding, Man, seduced by the illusions of his senses, and led away by his self-love and vain-glory, for a long time deemed the earth on which he trod to be the centre of the motion of the heavenly bodies, and justly was he punished for his pride by the vain terrors they inspired. The slow discoveries of ages have gradually withdrawn the veil which covered the systems of the universe, and, taught by Astronomy, man has learned that he is but the inhabitant of a third-rate planet, almost imperceptible in the vast extent of the solar system, that system itself only an insensible point in the

of this field, where no bounds can be set to our speculations, peculiarly shows the pre-eminence of Astronomy among all other pursuits of human wisdom. In metaphysics, in literature, in the arts, ignorant as we are, we can assign limits, and supply, in imagination at least, all that may be wanting to perfection ; but, in the works of nature, beyond our power of scrutiny, we see no end to our inquiries ; we perceive only the littleness of man, and the nothingness and vanity of all his boasted attainments.

It must always be a speculation of great interest to trace the growth of any science, from the first feeble efforts which mark its infancy, to the majestic and matured systems which have been strengthened by discovery and established by time. In no science is this progressive improvement so well marked as in Astronomy. Its onward march has been so rapid, and at the same time so progressive and continued, that we can follow its steps as distinctly and satisfactorily as we can trace the events of our own lives. For this reason, as well as to enable the uninitiated reader to comprehend the extent of the researches and the value of the discoveries in this branch of science, which have distinguished our own age, we propose briefly to recapitulate the leading features which mark the advancement of physical Astronomy, from its first dawnings to the state of excellence in which we now behold it ; and, in the second place, to explain, as clearly and with as few technicalities as possible, the nature of these most recent discoveries, which have not only added to our knowledge of the structure of the universe, but have destroyed erroneous hypotheses which for years had been looked upon as true. Astronomy is, in all probability, the most ancient of all the sciences, and may even be considered to be coeval with the infancy of society itself, if the rude observations of shepherds and herdsmen may be taken into account. The shepherd, as he watched his flocks by night, and the children of the nomade patriarchs, as they made their couches beneath the cloudless Asiatic sky, would, from the curiosity naturally inherent in the human mind, be induced to fix their gaze upon the brilliant spectacle of the heavens constantly before them ; and their attention once drawn to a contemplation of the firmament, they would remark the invariable position of the greater number of these bodies with regard to each other. Nor could they fail to observe that certain remarkable stars that were seen overhead in the evening twilight at any particular season, presented themselves upon the western edge of the celestial hemisphere at the corresponding hour, when two or three months had glided by ; and then, after a

considerable time, again appeared overhead in the twilight. Hence, by some denomination or other, we should have a distinction made between what we now call fixed stars, and the planets; while the sun and moon are in their appearances sufficiently distinct from the rest of the heavenly bodies, as to have called for a further distinguishing appellation, and to have claimed the particular regard of these rude observers.

This was, in all probability, the origin of Astronomy, and in this state, doubtless, did it remain for many ages, and in many countries, unknown to and unconnected with each other. Thus, for example, amongst the savage inhabitants of our own island, when discovered by the Romans, some of the simple facts of Astronomy were well known. Thus, Pomponius Mela, speaking of the Druids, says, "*Hi terræ mundique magnitudinem et formam, motus cœli ac siderum, ac, quid Dii velint, scire profitentur;*" and Cæsar thus writes to the same effect, "*Multa præterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum naturâ, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant, et juventuti tradunt.*" From this, as well as many other similar statements in reference to the barbarous inhabitants of other nations, we deem it more than probable that the observation of the simplest facts in connection with the heavenly bodies was common to all nations; and, as a consequence thereof, the length of a year, the duration of a lunar revolution, the particular rising of certain stars at certain seasons, and a few other common and obvious phenomena, might be predicted with a certain degree of accuracy, long before those observations assumed a scientific form, and long anterior to that time from which we date the origin of Astronomy as a science, properly so called.

The honor of arranging these observed facts into something like order, and, consequently, the invention of the science of Astronomy, is attributed by different writers to various nations, viz:—the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, the Chinese, and the Indians. Beneath the fine climate and in the level plains of Chaldea, the spectacle of the heavens, everywhere so striking, must have forcibly arrested the attention of a people just emerging from a state of barbarism; and the habit of observation was perhaps increased by the addiction of their sages to judicial astrology, and to endeavours to discover the imagined relations between the movements of the stars and human destinies. From the plains of Chaldea, this habit of observing astronomical changes made its way to the valley of the Nile, and hence the Egyptians soon became as well versed therein. The Chaldean and Egyptian records furnished materials from

which the motions of the sun and moon could be calculated with sufficient exactness for the prediction of eclipses; and some remarkable cycles or periods of years, in which the lunar eclipses return in very nearly the same order, had been ascertained by observation: but when we remember, that in order to account for eclipses, these people supposed that the great luminaries were on fire on one side only, and that the temporary presentation of their darkened side towards the earth was the cause of the phenomenon, we can scarcely allow that they possessed any really scientific pretensions. Nor was this the only theory on the matter; another, equally absurd, was believed, to the effect that the sun and moon were carried round the heavens in chariots, closed on all sides, with the exception of one round hole, the occasional closing of which was productive of the eclipse. We might cite many other theories equally ridiculous, all of which tend to show that their whole knowledge of Astronomy was confined to a few plain and simple phenomena, the result of observation alone. Nor can we indeed wonder at this, for, considering the extreme imperfection of their means of measuring time and space, this was, perhaps, as much as could have been expected at that early period.

The Chinese date back their knowledge of astronomical science to a very early period, and they assert that in the year 2752 before the Christian era, Fohi, their first emperor, computed astronomical tables. So great indeed was the esteem in which Astronomy was held, that the sceptre of the empire was given to Chueni on account of his knowledge of the heavenly bodies. Their observations and records of eclipses are very accurate. The first eclipse recorded by the Chinese occurred in the year 2167 B.C.; but the account of it is so confused, that modern calculations have not been able to verify it. Thirty-six of these phenomena, however, are recorded by Confucius, of which thirty-one have been verified by modern calculations. But, notwithstanding this fact, it seems certain, that in the study of the heavens, the Chinese satisfied themselves chiefly with a few practical results and calculations. They were possessed of patience but not of genius; they observed the heavens with unremitting assiduity, but they never ventured to reason or combine. The process of generalization seems to have exceeded the reach of their faculties, and notwithstanding the genial temperature of their climate, the perpetual serenity of their sky, and the liberal encouragement held out by their emperors, the Astronomy of the Chinese has never risen to the dignity of a science.

If to the observed facts already stated as constituting the

astronomical knowledge of the Chaldeans and Egyptians, we add the arbitrary collection of stars or groups of stars into constellations; the division of the zodiac into twelve signs, corresponding to the months of the year; of the month into 27 or 28 days, answering to the changes of the moon; an obscure idea of the revolution of the earth upon its axis, afterwards lost; the knowledge of five planets, and some contradictory notions respecting the nature and motions of comets; we have a correct picture of the Astronomy of the Greeks. Nor is it matter of wonder that these people, highly civilized as they were, made so little progress in this branch of physical science, when we remember that the philosophy of Aristotle laid it down as a principle, that the celestial motions were regulated by laws proper to themselves, and bearing no affinity to those which prevail on earth. By thus drawing a broad and impassable line of separation between celestial and terrestrial mechanics, it placed the former altogether out of the pale of experimental research, while it at the same time impeded the progress of the latter, by the assumption of principles respecting natural and unnatural motions, hastily adopted from the most superficial and cursory remark, undeserving even the name of observation. Astronomy, therefore, continued for ages a science of mere record, in which theory had no part, except in so far as it attempted to conciliate the inequalities of the celestial motions with that assumed law of uniform circular revolution, which was alone considered consistent with the perfection of the heavenly mechanism. Hence arose an unwieldy, if not self-contradictory, mass of hypothetical motions of sun, moon, and planets, in circles, whose centres were carried round in other circles, and these again in others, without end, "cycle on epicycle, orb on orb," till, at length, as observation grew more exact, and fresh epicycles were continually added, the absurdity of so cumbrous a mechanism became too palpable to be borne. But even amidst these confused hypotheses and erroneous notions, a glimpse of the truth seems to have illumined the mind of one philosopher, Pythagoras, to whom it occurred, that were the earth a solid globe revolving upon an axis, and at the same time advancing in a circular orbit round the sun, many of the irregularities of the heavenly motions would be thereby simply and at once accounted for. This notion, so extraordinary and incomprehensible in an age when, by the generality of men, the earth was conceived to be an extensive circular plain, overhung by a hemispherical canopy of sky, suspended upon nothing, was embraced by some few of his pupils, and by them transmitted downwards through half a dozen centuries, until it was finally dismissed by Ptolemy, who formed a

new theory, to the effect that the earth was a solid globe, at rest in the centre of the universe, with the various planetary bodies revolving, in larger and larger circles, according to the order of their distances, which order ran thus:—the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. From this period until the 16th century, Ptolemy continued to be the supreme authority upon astronomical subjects, and his system remained the admitted theory of the universe. But about the middle of the 16th century, Copernicus, a native of Prussia, revived the Pythagorean doctrine. He was led to do this from his observation of the planet Mars, which appeared to be much larger sometimes than it did at others. He spent forty years of his life meditating upon the possible cause of this appearance, and at length came to the conclusion that the theory of its revolution round the earth was perfectly incompatible with this observed fact; while the theory which Pythagoras had advanced so long before, and which made the planet Mars and the earth both revolve about the sun, the former at a greater distance and in a larger circle than the latter, was amply sufficient to solve the difficulty. He had also long observed that apparent motion was not real, and concluded, therefore, that, although the sun appeared to move, it might really be at rest, while, on the other hand, the apparent rest of the earth might be but the illusion of our senses. With great boldness, therefore, he launched the solid earth from the position of rest assigned to it by Ptolemy, replaced the sun in the centre of the solar system, and showed how simply, by this new arrangement, he could account for the apparent motions of the sun, moon, and planets.

It may appear somewhat surprising to some of our readers, that such confused notions respecting the constitution of our system should have so long prevailed, and that there should have been such difficulty experienced in acquiring a true notion of the disposition of its parts. Mr. Jackson,* an elegant writer on this and other subjects, has briefly and neatly accounted for them. "We see it," he observes, "not in *plan* but in *section*." And Sir John Herschel, who quotes this remark, adds the following observations:†—"The reason of this is, that our point of observation lies in its general plane; but the notion we aim at forming of it is, not that of its section, but of its plan. This is as if we should attempt to read a book, or make out the countries on a map, with the eye on a level with the paper. We can only judge directly of the distances of objects by their sizes, or

* 'Letters on various Subjects.'

† 'Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy.'

rather, of their change of distance by their change of size; neither have we any means of ascertaining, otherwise than indirectly, even their positions, one among the other, from their apparent places as seen by us. Now, the variations in the apparent size of the sun and moon are too small to admit of exact measure without the use of the telescope, and the bodies of the planets cannot even be distinguished as having any distinct size, with the naked eye."

This system of the universe, originally conceived by Pythagoras and revived by Copernicus, was first propounded to the world by the latter philosopher in a work entitled '*The Revolutions*,' published about the middle of the 16th century. It was well received by the generality of accurate thinkers of that age, but it, at the same time, met with great opposition; and among its chief opponents was the celebrated Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe. Noble and wealthy by birth, and enjoying the friendship of Frederick of Denmark, this philosopher converted a small island in the Baltic into a magnificent observatory, and devoted all his wealth to the erection of vast instruments to aid him in his constant observation of the heavenly motions. The result of his unremitting labours of twenty-one years' duration was an elaborate catalogue of the right ascensions and declinations of the stars, a knowledge of the true nature of comets, which, before his time, were conceived to be merely meteors, floating within the earth's atmosphere, together with a mass of observations, which subsequently fell into the hands of his friend and pupil, Kepler. Upon the death, however, of Frederick, Tycho was driven by persecution from his beloved observatory and his country, and found a refuge in Bohemia, being received with honour by the Emperor Rodolph, at Prague. Here did he continue the labours which had been interrupted at Uraniberg, and here did he receive a visit from a young enthusiast, Kepler, a name which deservedly stands high in the annals of astronomical history. Kepler found himself a welcome guest at Prague, and soon afterwards received, at the hands of the emperor, an official appointment, which installed him as the calculating assistant to his Danish friend.

Kepler was one of those rarely gifted men whom nature has given to the world, to enlarge the boundaries of science—to enrich it by discoveries—and to lay the foundations of systems which the labours of future philosophers might ripen to maturity; he was ardent in temper, an enthusiastic theorist, and invariably framed an hypothesis before he set to work to find out the facts that would serve for its establishment. Not so with Tycho—he was cautious, patient, enthusiastic, and persevering, and his

whole life was spent in gathering material. Kepler had the advantage of a constant residence with his great master during the latter years of his life, and at his death he obtained the accumulated mass of observations which the incessant labors of Tycho had enabled him to collect. These observations, in fact, formed the groundwork of Kepler's discoveries; and the great services they were thus the means of rendering to Astronomy, sufficiently atone for the erroneous ideas they led Tycho to adopt in his rejection of the Copernican system of the universe. In the hands of Kepler, they produced the three most important discoveries which have ever been made in natural science. These discoveries have since passed by the name of Kepler's laws, and are to the following effect. First—That the planets revolve in elliptic orbits of small eccentricity, having the sun situate in one of the foci;* secondly—that each describes, about the sun's centre, equal areas in equal times; and thirdly—that the squares of the periodic times in which the several planets revolve are to each other in the same proportion as the cubes of their mean distances from the sun are. In this third law, Kepler prophesied that this simple proportion would be found to exist between the times and distances of all the planets; so that, if the distance and periodic time of any one of them were known, and if the periodic times of the rest were observed by their successive returns to the same point of the sky, their respective solar distances might be all ascertained. "These laws of Kepler's constitute," remarks Sir J. Herschel, "the most important and beautiful system of geometrical relations which have ever been discovered by a mere inductive process, independent of any consideration of a theoretical kind. They comprise within them a compendium of the motions of all the planets, and enable us to assign their places in their orbits at any instant of time past or to come (disregarding their mutual perturbations), provided certain purely geometrical problems can be numerically resolved."

But even the great mind of Kepler was led away by some of

* To appreciate the importance of these laws, it must be remembered that Copernicus and his followers conceived that the planets moved in circles, with an uniform motion. Fortunately, Kepler fixed upon Mars, as the planet whose motion he should first investigate; the orbit of this planet is one of the most eccentric in the system; so that the inequalities, and consequently the laws of its motion, were more easily detected. By a train of observation and reasoning of the most masterly and profound nature, he came to the conclusion that the orbit must be *oval*, or an ellipse. His enunciation of this discovery is as follows:—"Orbita planetæ non est circulus, sed ingrediens ad latera utraque paulatim, iterumque ad circuli amplitudinem in perigee exiens, cujusmodi figuram itineris ovalem, appellant."—*De Motibus Stellæ Martis*, p. 213.

those most extraordinary speculations and theories which frequently hold captive even the greatest genius. In 1619 he published a work on 'Harmonics,' in which he informed the world the earth was a living animal; for, "when a stone was thrown into the deep clefts of a high mountain, a sound was returned from them; and when it was thrown into one of the mountain lakes, which, without doubt, were bottomless, a storm immediately arose; just as a ticklish animal would shake its head, or run shuddering away, when a straw was thrust into its ear or nose." The same work also contains an assertion that the heavenly bodies were engaged together in performing a concert of music, in which Jupiter and Saturn took the bass; Mars, the Earth, and Venus the tenor; and Mercury the treble.

At the very period when Kepler was working out his beautiful generalizations, Galileo was constructing that instrument, by the aid of which so much has since been effected,—the Telescope. In the early part of the 17th century, the children of an optician of Middeburg, named Jansen, while amusing themselves in the shop, accidentally arranged a couple of magnifying glasses in such a way, that when they looked through them at the church steeple, it appeared to them both larger and nearer. Jansen took advantage of the discovery and fitted up a similar combination in a rude frame, but proceeded no farther in the matter. The rumour of this discovery reached Galileo while on a visit at Venice, and he immediately set about experimentally ascertaining its truth, although he had never seen the contrivance, and must therefore be regarded as the true and sole inventor of the instrument in that form alone in which it could be applied to any scientific use or discovery. He carefully adjusted a convex and concave lens of glass to each other, and found that any object viewed through them became undeniably larger and more distinct. The problem was solved, and Galileo had presented the first telescope to the world. The interest excited by this discovery transcended all that has ever been inspired by any of the other wonders of science. After having exhibited his new instrument for a few days, he presented it to the senate of Venice, and constructing another for himself, he proceeded with that to examine the heavens. He had not long directed it to this, the field which has ever since been its principal domain, before he was rewarded with a succession of brilliant discoveries. The belts and satellites of Jupiter for the first time revealed themselves to the human eye; other stars, unseen before, met him in every quarter of the heavens to which he turned. Saturn showed his singular encompassing ring. The moon unveiled her mountains. The sun himself discovered spots of dark lying in the midst of his

brightness. But a singular confirmation of the truth of the Copernican system remains to be related. It had been objected to that system that, were it true, Venus should appear sometimes horned like the moon. To this Galileo replied by admitting the conclusion, and averring that, should we ever be able to see its actual shape, it *would* appear so. It is easy to imagine with what force the application would strike every mind when the telescope confirmed this prediction, and showed the planet just as both the philosopher and his objectors had agreed it ought to appear. But Galileo's support of the Copernican system drew down upon him a religious persecution. An outcry was raised by the ignorant bigotry of the time, on the ground that in maintaining the doctrine of the earth's motion round the sun, he was contradicting the language of Scripture, where, it was said, the earth was constantly spoken of as at rest. For the remainder of his life he was subjected to the persecution of the Inquisition, was imprisoned, and was compelled to abjure his doctrines. At length, weighed down by persecution and sorrow, the old man breathed his last at the advanced age of seventy-eight.

But the mantle of Galileo fell upon a worthy successor, Newton, whose discovery of the great and universal principle of gravitation must be looked upon as the next great step in the progress of Astronomy. Before his time, Kepler had caught a glimpse of the general law of the inertia of matter, as applicable to the great masses of the heavenly bodies, as well as to those with which we are conversant on the earth. Galileo, too, by his investigations of the laws of falling bodies and the motions of projectiles, contributed to lay the foundation of a true system of dynamics, by which motions could be determined from the knowledge of the forces producing them, and forces from the motions they produce. Hooke went yet farther, and obtained a view so distinct of the mode in which the planets might be retained in their orbits by the sun's attraction, that, had his mathematical attainments been equal to his philosophic acumen, and his scientific pursuits been less various and desultory, it can hardly be doubted that he would have arrived at a knowledge of the law of gravitation. But all these researches must be looked upon as only smoothing some of the minor obstacles, and preparing a state of knowledge in which powers like Newton's could be effectually exerted. The discovery by Newton of the great and universal principle of gravitation is so generally known, that it would be utterly out of place to attempt to enter into any detail concerning it, or the train of reasoning by which the gigantic mind of its discoverer was led to detect, or by which he successfully proved it. Suffice it then to say, that all the

celestial motions known in his time were shown by Newton to be consequences of the simple law that every particle of matter attracts every other particle of matter in the universe, with a force proportional to the product of their masses directly, and the square of their mutual distance inversely, and is itself attracted with an equal force. From this law he explained how an attraction arises between the great masses of which our system consists, regulated by a law precisely similar in its expression; how the elliptic motions of planets about the sun, and of satellites about their primaries, according to the exact rules inductively arrived at by Kepler, result, as necessary consequences, from the same law of force; and how the orbits of comets themselves are only particular cases of planetary movements. Thence proceeding to applications of greater difficulty, he explained how the perplexing inequalities of the moon's motion result from the sun's disturbing action; how tides arise from the unequal attraction of the sun, as well as of the moon, on the earth and the ocean which surrounds it; and, lastly, how the precession of the equinoxes is a necessary consequence of the same law. Such is a brief abstract of the discoveries of Newton. And we may add that they are clearly explained and elegantly illustrated in one of the works now before us—'The Planetary and Stellar Universe,' to which we refer such of our readers as may be desirous of becoming more fully acquainted with them. Of the mode by which gravity, that mysterious power, which alike guides the apple in its fall to the earth and the planets in their vast revolutions, causes its effects, we are entirely ignorant. It is, nevertheless, a circumstance extremely curious, that effects, such as are those of gravity, should be produced; that apparently so small a body as Mars, for instance, should be able sometimes to impede and at other times to expedite the earth in its course. The more we reflect on this matter, the more mysterious it appears. It is truly wonderful that planetary influence should exist, and that the ingenuity of man should have detected it. Astronomy reveals things scarcely inferior in interest to the mysteries of astrology. It does not, indeed, pretend to show that the planets act on the fortunes of men, but it explains after what manner and according to what laws they act on each other. And to this we may add, that this mysterious power of gravity, emanating from the source of all power, and incessantly acting, furnishes us with an impressive illustration of a never-failing Providence. *Each* particle of matter, *every* instant shares in the superintending power of the Great Being who wills that the system of the world shall be upheld by the principle of universal attraction. By whatever agency He has ordained the operations and laws of gravity to be

executed, we cannot but ultimately refer them to His immediate care.

Men in general know nothing of this interesting power. They consider the sun as dispensing merely light and heat; they perceive that our earth, without its benign influence, would be a dark lump of matter, barren and desolate. Few know that, besides the effects of light and heat, we derive from the sun another source of preservation. Solar gravity is as essential to our welfare as light and heat; the effects of the latter, indeed, we feel instantaneously, but the former is not perceptible to our senses. It silently and incessantly operates in preserving to us all that gladdens our existence here. Nor would its suspension be immediately observed. But a continued suspension would inevitably be followed by a complete annihilation of the human race, and that under circumstances the most deplorable that the mind of man can imagine.

But we must in this place remark, that not only do the planets of our system gravitate towards the sun, but that they are also attracted towards each other, according to the same law laid down by Newton, that is to say, with forces that are directly as their masses, and inversely as the squares of their distances. This attraction of one planet by another naturally produces a different motion to what would have been the simple effect of the gravitating power of the sun. Thus, for example, there are certain inequalities in the earth's motion produced by the disturbing forces both of sun and moon; and, therefore, to trace the orbit it describes, and to find its position at any given time, we must take into account these antagonistic forces. These inequalities in a planet's motion, caused by the attraction of a third body, are called its *perturbations*; and we are more particularly anxious to draw attention to this matter, since, as we shall hereafter have occasion to see, it was from the observation of the perturbations of the planet Uranus, that the most recent astronomical discovery was effected. We allude, of course, to the discovery of the new planet. The problem of two bodies gravitating to one another was fully solved by Newton; but when he attempted by a similar process to find the place of a body attracted by one, and at the same time disturbed by another body, the instruments he employed were insufficient to combat the extreme difficulties of the case. His inquiries, however, were not altogether fruitless; he detected five very remarkable inequalities in the moon's motion, which he explained by the disturbing force of the sun; and his theories, verified by the researches of succeeding mathematicians, and by methods of calculation essentially different from those which he employed,

create in us the greatest astonishment, that a man, by the force of his single genius, no way benefited by the speculations of those who went before him, no way assisted by the efforts of his contemporaries, should have made such progress in a science so abstruse. "To estimate his merit," remarks a clever writer,* "we must take science as he found it and as he left it; he did not merely add to or beautify a system. Newton's merit was more than that of having left marble what he found brick, for he laid the very foundations of physical Astronomy, and furnished the means and materials for putting them together." And Sir J. Herschel,† speaking of this great man, remarks—

"Whichever way we turn our view, we find ourselves compelled to bow before his genius, and to assign to the name of NEWTON a place in our veneration, which belongs to no other in the annals of science. His era marks the accomplished maturity of the human reason, as applied to such objects. Everything which went before might be more properly compared to the first imperfect attempts of childhood, or the essays of inexpert, though promising, adolescence. Whatever has since been performed, however great in itself, and worthy of so splendid and auspicious a beginning, has never, in point of intellectual effort, surpassed that astonishing one which produced the *Principia*."

For years after the death of Newton his followers had full occupation in verifying his discoveries, and in extending and improving the mathematical methods which, it had now become manifest, were to prove the key to an inexhaustible treasure of knowledge.

"The legacy of research which had been left by Newton was indeed immense. To pursue through all its intricacies the consequences of the law of gravitation; to account for all the inequalities of the planetary movements, and the infinitely more complicated, and to us, more important ones, of the moon; and to give, what Newton, himself, certainly never entertained a conception of, a demonstration of the stability and permanence of the system under all the accumulated influence of its internal perturbations; this labour and this triumph were reserved for the succeeding age, and have been shared in succession by Clairaut, D'Alembert, Euler, Lagrange, and Laplace. Yet so extensive is this subject, and so difficult and intricate the purely mathematical inquiries to which it leads, that another century may yet be required to go through the task. The recent discoveries of astronomers have supplied matter for investigation, to the geometers of this and the next generation, of a difficulty far surpassing anything that had before occurred. But the resources of modern geometry

* Woodhouse—'Elementary Treatise on Astronomy.'

† 'Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy.'

seem, so far from being exhausted, to increase with the difficulties they have to encounter; and already, among the successors of Lagrange and Laplace, the present generation has to enumerate a powerful array of names, which promise to render it not less celebrated in the annals of physico-mathematical research than that which has just passed away."

Thus wrote Sir John Herschel, nearly twenty years ago; and we shall have occasion to see, that even in that short period, we have to boast of many brilliant astronomical discoveries, and many important additions to our knowledge of that interesting science.

But, during the progress of discovery thus briefly narrated, the telescope was not neglected. The original instrument of Galileo, consisting, as it did, of a combination of lenses, depended upon the phenomenon of the refraction of light for its utility. Refracting telescopes are still in use, and their illuminating power depends entirely upon the dimensions of the object glass. In the year 1666, Newton turned his attention to telescopes; and, finding that there were many disadvantages to contend against in refracting substances, he was led to the construction of what has since been called the Newtonian, or reflecting telescope. Some years after the construction of the Newtonian, another class of reflecting telescopes was invented by Dr. Gregory, in which, from a difference of arrangement, the observer is stationed in a line with the object, whereas, in the former he is at right angles to it. The larger reflecting telescopes of the present day are usually constructed on the Newtonian plan, but smaller ones are more frequently fitted up after the manner of Dr. Gregory. Just as the illuminating power of the refracting telescope depends upon the size of its object glass, so the illuminating power of the reflecting telescope is determined by the area of its object speculum, because it is of the light which this receives, that the image in the focus is formed. The first reflecting telescope ever made was moulded by the hands of Sir Isaac Newton, and was furnished with an object speculum, measuring two inches and three-tenths in diameter. Hadley first used a speculum of six inches; Watson, Short, Ramage, and Tulley, by slow degrees, extended its dimensions to nine inches, fifteen inches, and three feet.

Towards the close of the last, and in the beginning of the present century, the improvements in the construction of telescopes received a vast impulse from the labors of Sir William Herschel. Educated under circumstances by no means favorable to great powers, the ardour of his mind surmounted every opposing difficulty; and from a humble, though respectable station

in life, he raised himself to a rank in society, which genius, when directed and sustained by virtue, seldom fails to reach. Though his scientific studies did not commence till he had arrived at the middle period of life, yet he pursued them with all the energy of youthful devotion, and with that dauntless perseverance which renders genius almost omnipotent. Every step, indeed, of his astronomical career was marked by discoveries of the most splendid character. New planets, new satellites, new celestial bodies, were successively presented to science; and man was enabled to extend the power of his senses, as well as the energy of his reason, to those remote regions of space where his imagination had hitherto scarcely dared to wander. His invention of instruments and methods of observation, too, were no less surprising than the wonders which they disclosed. Obstacles insuperable to other men he speedily surmounted. The telescope, which Galileo held in his hand as a portable toy, became, under Herschel's direction, a machine which supported the astronomer himself, and which mechanical energy was requisite even to move. There was no continuity, in short, between his inventions and discoveries, and those of astronomers immediately preceding him. He ventured upon a flight which left them at an immeasurable distance; and he penetrated into regions, of which they dared scarcely form a conception. After having constructed a great variety of telescopes, both of the Newtonian and Gregorian forms, he at length determined to make one of a still larger size, and after some failures, and many obstacles, surmounted by his patience and genius, he completed, in the year 1789, his gigantic telescope. This instrument was forty feet in focal length, and its object speculum four feet in diameter, weighing, when newly cast, 2,118lbs. But the triumph of mechanical achievement, in the construction of the telescope, has been reserved for Lord Rosse, a nobleman, who, imitating the example of his great predecessor, Tycho Brahe, devotes his wealth, as well as the energies of his mind, to astronomical research. By the application of beautifully devised machinery to the task of polishing, he has recently completed a telescope whose object speculum is of the enormous diameter of six feet, while the metal of which it is composed is of faultless material and perfect form. Lord Rosse commenced his investigations and labours in the year 1826, with a host of discouraging facts before him, of which the great difficulty of casting and polishing the specula was not the least. In addition to this, public opinion favored the refracting telescope; it had just received great strength, in consequence of the introduction of large achromatic lenses made by Guinand. Never-

theless, he continued these investigations, which extended over a period of eighteen years, for he found that he had nothing in history to assist him. The failure of Herschel's four-feet speculum (it having been removed in 1822, and replaced by an eighteen-inch reflector), the reluctance of the opticians to make large specula, on account of the risk attending it, and the ignorance of the world of the method by which Short had been so successful in the construction of his Gregorian telescopes, did not, however, discourage Lord Rosse. He began at the beginning, and so perfected the whole: his attempts were first directed to the construction of fluid lenses; these being unsuccessful, the whole energy of his mind was turned to the reflector, and, after having completed one with a three-feet object speculum, he commenced, and has completed, at the expense of £12,000, a larger telescope, whose object speculum is of the enormous dimensions of six feet.

It would be entirely out of place, in an article whose object is to give a detail of the most recent and most interesting discoveries in Astronomy, to enter into any description of the means by which the noble philosopher was enabled to perfect this mighty instrument, of the alloys on which he experimented, or of the beautiful machinery contrived for polishing the immense speculum, when cast.* Our remarks on the telescope have been simply intended to show how, from the mere toy in the hands of Galileo, it has been brought, by human ingenuity, to the comparative perfection exhibited in the instrument of Lord Rosse. But before we quit this subject, we may be permitted a few remarks as to the comparative powers of former instruments and that to which we have above adverted. On this subject thus writes Dr. Nichol:—

“The size of the lens or mirror is not merely a *general* indication of the power of the telescope, inasmuch as if each instrument were tested separately, in respect chiefly of the reflecting or transmissive qualities of the metal or glass, we might obtain by means of it much more than a general or rough comparative estimate. But since nothing is dependent on minute exactness in speculations concerning the enormous distances we are about to mete out within infinitude, it is enough for present purposes that we can reach a tolerable approximation. Now, regarding his own telescopes, Herschel computed that the seven-feet reflector had a power to penetrate into

* We would refer those of our readers who may be desirous of further information on this matter, to the ‘Philosophical Transactions’ for 1840, and to the address of Lord Rosse to the British Association, in 1844, published in the ‘Year Book of Facts,’ for 1845.

space, which, compared with that of the naked eye, was $20\frac{1}{2}$; the ten feet a comparative power of $28\frac{1}{2}$; the twenty feet of 75; the twenty-five feet of 96; and the forty feet, with its four feet mirror, the immense power of 192. It is not easy to compare Lord Rosse's telescopes with these instruments, inasmuch as their various relative qualities would require to be ascertained by direct experiment; but if, as seems fully established, his Lordship's three feet speculum is much superior in space-penetrating power to the largest disc in possession of his great predecessor,* we shall be obliged to endow the six feet mirror with an efficacy to pass without difficulty into space at least 500 times further than is possible for unassisted vision: in other words, it will desery a single star 6000 times more remote than an average orb of the first magnitude; or, though it were separated from our abodes by an interval so tremendous that, were a new star, at a similar distance created now, its light, even though its velocity be next to inconceivable, would travel through the intervening spaces probably for more than *sixty thousand years*, ere, by reaching this earth, it could tell of a new existence having been summoned from the void."—'System of the World,' pp. 7, 8, 9.

Can we, by any possibility, form any conception of distances so enormous? In round numbers it may be said that light travels at the rate of 192,000 miles in a second, or that it performs its journey from the sun to the earth, a distance of 95 millions of miles, in about eight minutes. And yet, by this instrument, we are informed, that there are stars and systems so distant, that the ray of light which impinges on the eye of their observer, and enables him to detect it, issued from that orb sixty thousand years back. Thus, while we gaze upon that star, we view it not as it may exist at present, but as it did exist many thousand years ago. Such an idea takes us back into an eternity of time, in which the mind loses itself as in a dream.

In closing his remarks on the gigantic telescope of Lord Rosse, Dr. Nichol gives it as his opinion that we have closely approached the limit of attainable, that is, of useful telescopic power; and it must be allowed that he gives some very excellent reasons for such an opinion; the chief of which are, the difficulty in the employment of great telescopes, the necessity of obtaining eye-pieces corresponding in power to the specula of the instruments, and the unsteadiness of the currents of our atmosphere,

* "It is wrong to suppose the space-penetrating power of a telescope simply depending on its aperture. Certainly, a most important feature is the *definition*, arising from the figure of the speculum. Lord Rosse's telescopes derive their superiority chiefly from their excellence in this latter respect. To look through Herschel's four feet mirror, compared with the three feet, is like a short-sighted person looking at the stars without his spectacles."—Nichol, note to the above.

which are, of course, more highly magnified, as the power of the telescope is increased. "Precision and definiteness entirely vanish; and we are told, with sufficient emphasis, that there is a Fate the loftiest genius will never vanquish—that which confines man's successes within possibilities constituted by the conditions of his Earth." But, although we are willing to acknowledge that such obstacles are great, and, indeed, at the present time may appear insuperable, yet we should hesitate in thus setting a limit to telescopic improvement. The history of every science furnishes us with examples of difficulties almost as great, overcome by the patience, ingenuity, and increased knowledge of mankind; and we may remark further, as we had occasion more particularly to show in the last number of this Review, that many of our most important discoveries in science would still have remained unknown to us, had the predictions of philosophers been so far attended to, as to have deterred others from venturing on the path which led thereunto. We do not, for a moment, wish to be understood as asserting that there is no limit to telescopic improvement: in our desire to see yet more powerful instruments, we may be carried away by hopes never to be fulfilled; but at the same time, with so many instructive lessons before us, we repeat our belief that it is a dangerous venture to prescribe any limit to scientific progress.

But we must now turn our attention to the recent discoveries in Astronomy, and particularly to the revelations of the mighty tube of Lord Rosse, with its vast eye of *six feet diameter*. These revelations as yet have not been very numerous, for it must be remembered that, from the very nature of the objects to be examined, and the multiplex obstacles presented by the atmosphere and conditions of our earth, years must elapse before its task be greatly advanced; yet its very earliest revelation was of the utmost importance, since it destroyed an erroneous but beautiful theory, which has long been cherished by many as true. Nor can we for a moment doubt the ultimate utility of Lord Rosse's ennobling labors, nor entertain any other belief than that he will yet bring from their recesses in the heavens, secrets that have not hitherto been revealed to mortals.

And first, then, of the planetary system. Up to the beginning of the present century, six planets were known to exist; viz., Mercury, Venus, the Earth, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, revolving round the sun in elliptic orbits, and in the order in which we have named them, Mercury being nearest to the sun, Saturn the farthest removed from it. At the close of the last century Sir William Herschel discovered another planet beyond

the planet Saturn, at a distance of 1,840,000,000 of miles from the sun, and completing its revolution round that luminary in about eighty-four years. In compliment to his patron, Herschel named this planet the *Georgium Sidus*; but both in England and on the continent it has since been better known as *Herschel*, or *Uranus*. That this system of worlds is a connected cluster, is evident from the following facts: the sun rotates upon its axis, each planet revolves in an orbit round it, and rotates upon its axis; and in the same direction, that is, from west to east; the satellites or accompanying moons, of which the Earth has one, Jupiter four, Saturn seven, and Uranus six, revolve round their primary planets, and also rotate around their axes in the same normal direction;* the whole, planets and satellites, move in a plane nearly coinciding with the direction of the sun's equator. The respective distances of the several planets from the sun is determined by a law which admits of simple and definite expression; the area or space included between any two contiguous orbits is twice as large as the area included in the next planetary interval, proceeding inwards, and half as large as the next interval, proceeding outwards. This harmonious law, however, which so satisfactorily proves that the individual planets of our system are united together by some comprehensive relation, which has meted out their several distances, and appointed to each the orbit in which it shall roll, was not fully ascertained until the present century. Until that period, a void was conceived to exist between Mars and Jupiter; but, at the commencement of the present century, several astronomers, struck with the regularity of the respective distances of the other planets from the sun, and from each other, conceived the idea that this supposed void might contain the orbit of another planet, till then unknown, and they therefore deliberately set themselves to the task of searching for it. The result was, the discovery of two new planets, *Ceres* and *Pallas*, to which *Juno* and *Vesta* were soon afterwards added. These four minute planets move in orbits nearly coinciding each with the other, and all pass through one common point of space at one point of their revolutions. Their discs appear to be not circular but angular; and it is conceived, that, at some distant period, they constituted one large sphere, which was broken up by internal violence into the fragments now circling in orbits of

* The satellites of Uranus are an exception, although the only one to this law; they have the remarkable character of moving in a retrograde direction, and in orbits nearly in the same plane, and almost perpendicular to the ecliptic.

their own, and all returning, from time to time, to the same position in space which was occupied by the four at the moment of disunion. When the first two were discovered, Sir William Herschel, who gave them the name of asteroids, from their resemblance both to planets and comets, predicted that many others would be discovered; a prediction soon after verified by the discovery of Juno and Vesta, and more recently by that of Astræa. This small planet, which, if the supposition above alluded to be true, must also have formed, with the four other asteroids, one large planet, was discovered at the latter end of last year, by Herr Hencke, of Berlin, and has since been noticed at the chief observatories of Europe.

But the interest of the discovery of an obscure asteroid sinks into insignificance when compared with that which has so recently been made known to the world; we allude to the body which at present goes by the name of Le Verrier's planet, and which is one of the largest of our system. This discovery of itself is an event of no inconsiderable consequence; but it assumes a new interest, when it is remembered that it was not the result of chance or of a fortunate supposition, nor was it even effected by the increased power of our telescopes, but was the consequence of the unaided power of profound thought, and of abstract mathematical reasoning. There has not, in the whole history of science, occurred any more striking event than this. In general, it will be seen from what we have before said, observations have preceded science, and theories have been the result of previously known facts; but, in this instance, science has only had to follow the steps of theory, and to look at the exact point indicated for the unknown planet which theory had alone as yet seen.

Until the present year, then, as we have already observed, Uranus was supposed to be the last and farthest planet of our solar system; and its immense distance from the sun, a distance amounting to 1,840,000,000 of miles, gave rise to the supposition that either it was, indeed, the most remote orb of our system, or that, if there were others still further removed, they could never be detected. Thus, in one of the works now before us, we have an expression of this opinion in the following passage:—

"It is conceived that the planet Herschel, or Uranus, as it has also been named, is attended by six satellites; two annular appendages have also been suspected to surround it. But into that chill corner of space, where the cheerful sun has dwindled to a minute inconspicuous star, scarcely exceeding the planet Jupiter in size, and where its vivifying influence is less than with us by 1,360

times, the restless curiosity of man has failed to penetrate with any certainty ; the dull, cold Herschel, upon the threshold of endless night, draws the curtain of obscurity around the theatre that has been granted to the searching investigations of human intellect, and beyond lies the unknown, unmeasured, star-filled universe of God !" — '*Planetary and Stellar Universe*;' pp. 71-72.

Such conceptions as these, in which a line is marked out beyond which intellect is supposed to be unable to pass, have, indeed, been common in almost all of the physical sciences ; but, one after another, these artificial barriers have been thrown down ; and, in virtue of the prerogatives given it by God, inquiry has, as in the instance before us, disowned the restraint and burst all bonds. For, outside that which seemed to be the extreme verge of our system, it is now clearly proved that a mighty planet, exceeding Uranus in size, has been rolling in orbits of 217 years, unknown in its outer darkness, until its blind but strong influence on the motions of Uranus have at length betrayed its presence. The account of this discovery, and the calculations on which they are founded, are contained in several of the last numbers of the '*Comptes Rendus*,' but, as they are extremely lengthy, we must content ourselves with an outline of them.

The irregularities of the orbit of Uranus having been for a long period a difficulty to astronomers, induced M. Le Verrier to a more close examination of that planet's motions, and he found, that of the whole amount of irregularity in its path, or of its *perturbations*, only a comparatively small part could be accounted for by the attraction of any known forces. Upon examining, too, tables which had been constructed of the orbit of Uranus, he found that they in no way agreed with the latest observations. These discrepancies he conceived might be either due to want of precision in theory, or want of exactness in observations ; or Uranus might be subject to other attractions than those of the sun, Jupiter, and Saturn ; and he resolved to endeavour to determine the cause of these perturbations. Finding so much inaccuracy in the data and calculations on which the previous tables of the planet's orbit were founded, he set himself to the laborious task of investigating and calculating everything afresh, with the utmost rigour, and, after much perseverance, he determined with great nicety the amount of perturbation in the orbit of Uranus due to the attraction of Jupiter and Saturn. With these corrected data before him, he proceeded to compare the *calculated* path of the planet with its actually observed positions ; and he came to the conclusion, not merely that there was difficulty and discrepancy in the comparison, but that, on grounds of

the strictest geometrical reasoning, none of those known forces were adequate to produce the observed irregularities of the planet's course. Several ways had been already suggested of getting rid of the difficulty—the resistance of the ether—a vast satellite of Uranus—some variation in the law of gravity at that enormous distance from the sun—the shock of a comet, or, lastly, an unknown planet. But M. Le Verrier showed that all these suppositions, except the last, were inadmissible, and that, if the disturbing force proceeded from an unknown planet, the stranger must be, not *within* the orbit of Uranus, because, if a large body, it would disturb Saturn's orbit; if a small 'one, it would not be adequate to produce the actual amount of disturbance in that of Uranus: nor, for the same reasons, *near* on the outside of the orbit of Uranus; but far enough *without* the orbit of Uranus to act upon it, without acting upon that of Saturn, and large enough to act upon Uranus for long and continuous periods of time. According to Bode's law of planetary distances which we have already enunciated, namely, that the planets double on one another in their distances from the sun as they are more remote in the system, this new planet ought to be *twice* as far from the sun as Uranus. And this probability became almost a certainty; for, as its distance cannot be much less, so it cannot be greater, *e. g.*, *treble* the distance of Uranus; because, as in that case it must be of enormous mass, it must act upon Saturn as well as Uranus, and its great distance from *both* planets would make its influence on each *comparable*; whereas, there is no trace of any such influence on the orbit of Saturn. Further, such a body, acting on the orbit of Uranus, must be, without doubt, in much the same plane as that planet; *i. e.* must be looked for nearly in the ecliptic.

The paper, of which we have made this abstract, was read before the Academy of Sciences on the 1st of June in the present year; and in a second paper ('Comptes Rendus,' August 31, 1846), Le Verrier proceeded to fix still more exactly the place, size, and distance of the yet unseen planet.* His idea was, that it was a body many times the size of the earth, and not much less than Saturn, taking more than two centuries to revolve about the sun, at a distance thirty-three times greater than the Earth. Within one month after M. Le Verrier had thus minutely fixed, beforehand, the place of this mysterious body, it was actually seen. On the 23rd of September, Dr. Galle, of the observatory

* To this paper we must refer the reader who may be desirous of acquainting himself with the elements given by Le Verrier. They are too abstruse and too technical for an article general in its nature.

at Berlin, received a letter from Le Verrier, urging him to look out sharply for the new star, which possibly might be recognized by its disc. That very evening, Galle, on comparing Bremiker's excellent map with the heavens, observed, near the place fixed by Le Verrier, a star not marked by Bremiker. It was compared three times that night with a known fixed star, and a planetary motion was suspected; the following night it was again observed, and its motion was confirmed, and agreed perfectly with its discoverer's announcement; and, on the third night, September 25th, Galle observed it five times, and Encke ten, and the place of the planet had again changed, and, as Encke observed "the place of the planet agrees *within one degree*." This slight difference between the calculation as to the position of the new planet by the theory of Le Verrier, and the actual observation by Galle and Encke, is perhaps the most striking fact connected with the discovery. In a note by M. Le Verrier to the Academy, on this point, he observes:—

"My error in calculation will be found exceedingly small, when the slight nature of the perturbations, upon which I determined the position of the new planet, is taken into consideration. This success must inspire a hope, that after thirty or forty years' observations of the new planet, astronomers may use it in its turn as a means of discovering the next that follows in the order of distance from the sun. They will, unfortunately, soon arrive at stars invisible on account of their immense distance from the sun, but whose orbits may be correctly ascertained by theory."

Since this discovery, the planet has been frequently observed, both in our own country and in many parts of the continent. Its present distance, expressed in common measure, is about 3,200,000,000 English miles from the sun, and about 3,100,000,000 from the earth. Its distance from Uranus, whose motions it disturbs, is about 140,000,000 of miles. Its diameter is estimated at 50,000 miles, that of Uranus being 35,000, of Jupiter 86,000, of Saturn 79,000, of the earth 8,000, while the diameters of the other planets are less than that of the earth. Thus, with the exception of Jupiter and Saturn, the new planet is the largest in our system. Its cubic bulk is to that of the earth as 250 to 1. Considering that Jupiter, Saturn, and Uranus are each attended by a train of satellites, it appears extremely probable that the new planet will have a similar accompaniment. Indeed, a subsequent observer, Mr. Lassell, of Liverpool, has stated his belief that he has discovered not only one accompanying satellite, but also the existence of a ring round the planet. "With respect to the existence of the ring," observes

Mr. Lassell,* "I am not able absolutely to declare it, but I received so many impressions of it, always in the same form and direction, and with all the different magnifying powers, that I feel a very strong persuasion that nothing but a finer state of atmosphere is necessary to enable me to verify the discovery. Of the existence of the star, having every aspect of a satellite there is not the shadow of a doubt." These matters, however, cannot be determined until the observations of the planet have been continued for a longer period.

But, although the merit of this discovery is unquestionably due to the French philosopher, still it is gratifying to know that an English astronomer was following close in his wake, nay, that the planet had actually been observed in this country a month earlier, but its announcement was postponed from a desire to make more complete and accurate observations with regard to it. At the last meeting of the British Association, on the occasion of resigning the chair to Sir R. Murchison, Sir J. Herschel stated, that among the remarkable astronomical events of the past twelvemonth, it had added a new planet† to our list, adding these remarkable words, "It has done more, it has given us the probable prospect of the discovery of another. We see it as Columbus saw America from the shores of Spain. Its movements have been felt, trembling along the far-reaching line of our analysis, with a certainty hardly inferior to that of ocular demonstration." Now, the confidence with which this assertion was made, depended, first upon a statement of the late illustrious astronomer Bessel, made to Sir John in July, 1842, that the motions of Uranus could not be accounted for by the perturbations of the known planets, and that it was highly probable that the deviations in question might be due to the action of an unknown planet; secondly, from the remarkable calculations of M. Le Verrier, corroborated by Sir John's knowledge that a similar investigation had been independently entered into, and a conclusion as to the situation of the planet, very nearly coincident with M. Le Verrier's, arrived at (in entire ignorance of his conclusions) by a young Cambridge mathematician, Mr. Adams. Professor Challis has since published‡ a statement of the steps by which Mr. Adams was led, by his spontaneous and independent researches, to the conclusion that a planet must exist more distant than Uranus. As we conceive this matter to be one of great historical moment, and as it has been the cause of much

* Letter to the *Times* newspaper, published October 13th, 1846.

† Alluding to the planet *Astræa*, of which we have before spoken.

‡ *Athenæum*, October 17, 1846.

expression of bad feeling from the journalists across the channel, we need make no apology for briefly stating the real facts, which we abridge from the statement of Professor Challis.

Mr. Adams had long formed the resolution of trying, by calculation, to account for the anomalies in the motion of Uranus on the hypothesis of a more distant planet, but it was not until the year 1843, that he had time for pursuing the subject. In September 1845, Mr. Adams communicated to Professor Challis, as also to the Astronomer Royal, calculations which he had made with regard to the assumed exterior planet, deduced entirely from unaccounted-for perturbations of Uranus. M. Le Verrier's first paper, as we have already said, was published in June, 1846, and the assumed position of the planet was very nearly the same as that assigned by Mr. Adams. This coincidence as to position, from two entirely independent investigations, naturally inspired confidence, and the Astronomer Royal suggested a rigorous search after the hypothetical planet; a task which was undertaken by Professor Challis, who commenced his observations on the 29th of July. On the 4th of August, he recorded a place of the planet; and on the 12th of August, he again observed a star of the eighth magnitude in a position of the heavens which he had examined without observing it on the 30th of July. Of course this was the planet; the place of which was thus recorded a second time, in four days of observing.

"A comparison" adds Mr. Challis, "of the observations of July 30th and August 12th, would, according to the principle of search which I employed, have shown me the planet. I did not make the comparison till after the detection of it at Berlin, partly, because I had an impression that a much more extensive search was required to give any probability of discovery, and partly from the press of other occupation. The planet, however, was secured, and two positions of it recorded six weeks earlier here than in any other observatory, and in a systematic search expressly undertaken for that purpose."

To this testimony we may add, also, that of the Astronomer Royal, who corroborates in every particular the account above given.

It is matter of deep regret that a plain, straight-forward statement like this, corroborated as it is by three English philosophers, far too distinguished to have any motive for withholding distinction from others, should have been distorted into an intention to derogate from M. Le Verrier's merits, and should have been productive of the most virulent attacks from certain French journalists, as well as from several members of the Institute, men who should be above the petty jealousies of earth. The *National*, more particularly, has been very violent about

what it considers an attempt to deprive Le Verrier of the honour of his new planet. But it is certain that all this excitement cannot be of the slightest service in the matter; and it will be well, indeed, for the fiery supporters of the French philosopher, to accept the advice given in a recent article in the *Journal des Debats*. "En attendant, il est essentiel de procéder avec la plus grande calme à l'examen de cette affaire. Plus on y mettra de réserve et d'urbanité, plus, nous en avons l'assurance, l'effet sera favorable aux astronomes Français." Now the facts are, as will be seen from what we have already observed, extremely simple. M. Le Verrier has calculated—has predicted—and his prediction has been verified; he was the first to announce the existence and position of the new planet, and he is fully entitled to all the merit of the discovery. He may rest assured, that his name will be immortalized in the pages of astronomical history; no power on earth can deprive him of that well-earned immortality; nor, indeed, is there any wish to dispute his claim to it amongst the British men of science. But the more valuable M. Le Verrier's discovery, the more necessary is it that English philosophers should show that they were pursuing the same path of research; and this is clearly proved by the statements of Mr. Challis, corroborated as they are by Sir John Herschel and Professor Airy, as well as by the records of the Cambridge observatory.*

We will conclude our remarks on the new planet, which, from its historical importance, have been somewhat lengthy, by stating that at the time at which we write no name has been fixed upon to designate it, although several have been proposed, among which

* There is one fact connected with this violent dispute which we think is exceedingly honourable to the French philosophers, and which we, therefore, cannot but record. Both M. Arago and M. Le Verrier have hastened to express their indignation at the gross abuse heaped by the journalists upon Professors Herschel, Airy, and Challis, for the support which they have given to Mr. Adams, and to disclaim, as well for themselves as for the Academy, all participation in such discreditable attacks. Arago, speaking of the meeting at which the matter was discussed, thus observes:—

"Un journaliste a rendu compte de notre séance en des termes qui ont excités ma plus vive indignation. Ce sentiment a été partagé par tous les amis éclairés des sciences. J'avais besoin de vous en donner l'assurance. Veuillez l'accueillir avec bonté, et agréer l'hommage de ma très haute considération."

The letter, from which the preceding paragraph is extracted, addressed to Professor Airy, was accompanied by another from M. Le Verrier himself, in which he says, "Vous n'avez pas besoin, Monsieur, que je vous affirme que je suis dans les mêmes sentimens que M. Arago. Je désire, cependant, vous faire remarquer que nos séances sont publiques; et que les faits de la discussion sont quelquefois singulièrement altérés dans les journaux; en sorte que nous ne pouvons répondre que de notre *Compte Rendu*."

are Janus, Neptune, Gallia, and Oceanus. To this we may add, that as a reward for this discovery, M. Le Verrier has been raised to the rank of officer of the Legion of Honour, and has also been named, by the King of Denmark, commander of the royal order of the Danebrog.

Are the planets inhabited? is a question which naturally presents itself to the human mind, and for a solution of which we as naturally look to the science of Astronomy. But when the immense distance which separates us even from the nearest of the planets is remembered, it can scarcely be matter of surprise that the telescope affords no direct evidence on the question, whether the planets, like the earth, are inhabited globes. Yet, though it gives no direct answer to this inquiry, modern astronomy has collected together a mass of facts, connected with the positions and motions, the physical character and conditions, and the parts played in the solar system by the several globes of which that system is composed, which forms a vast body of analogy, leading the intelligent mind to the conclusion that the planets are worlds, fulfilling in the economy of the universe the same functions, and created by the same Divine hand, for the same moral purposes, and with the same destinies, as the earth. Thus, for example, we find that these orbs, like our own, roll in regulated periods round the sun; that they have nights and days, and successions of seasons; that they are provided with atmospheres, supporting clouds, and agitated by winds; and that thus, also, their climates and seasons are modified by evaporation, and that showers refresh their surfaces. For we know that wherever the existence of clouds is made manifest there water must exist; there evaporation must go on; there electricity, with its train of phenomena, must reign; there rains must fall; there hail and snow must descend. Notwithstanding the dense atmosphere and thick clouds with which Venus and Mercury are constantly enveloped, the telescope has exhibited to us great irregularities on their surfaces, and thus proved the existence of mountains and valleys. But it is upon the planet Mars, which approaches nearest to the earth, that the greatest advances have been made in this department of inquiry. Under favourable circumstances its disc is seen to be mapped out by a varied outline, some portions being less reflective of light than others, just as water would be less reflective than land. Baer and Maedler, two Prussian astronomers, have devoted many years' labour to the examination of Mars, and the result has put us in possession of a map of the geography of that planet, almost as exact and well defined as that which we possess of our own; in fact, the geographical outlines of land and water have been made apparent upon it. But

a still more extraordinary fact in relation to this planet remains to be considered. Among the shaded markings which have been noted by the telescope upon its disc, a remarkable region of brilliant white light, standing out in boldest relief, has been observed surrounding the visible pole. This highly illuminated spot is to be seen most plainly when it emerges from the long night of the winter season; but when it has passed slowly beneath the heat of the solar beams, it is found to have gradually contracted its dimensions; and at last, before it has plunged into light on the opposite side, to have entirely disappeared. But the opposite pole, then coming into similar relations, is found to be furnished with a like luminous spot, which, in its turn, dissolves as it becomes heated by the summer sun. Now these facts prove to us, incontestibly, that the very geographical regions of Mars are fac-similes of our own. In its long polar winters the snows accumulate in the desolation of its high northern and southern latitudes, until they become visible to us in consequence of their reflective properties; and these are slowly melted as the sun's rays gather power in the advancing season, until they cease to be appreciable to terrestrial eyes. This fact is a most striking one in reference to the present question. For, to quote the remarks of one of the authors before us :—

“If the moon has proved to us, incontrovertibly, that one of the celestial luminaries is a solid sphere, carved into elevations and depressions analogous to those familiar to us as the mountains and valleys of the terrestrial surfaces, Mars teaches us as emphatically that another among them is a world fitted with its rains, and snows, and clouds, and seasons, to the purposes and wants of organic life, which is intimately dependant upon such adaptations for its being.”

The comparative proximity of our own satellite, the Moon, has necessarily rendered it an object of the greatest interest, and it has, perhaps, in a greater degree than the other celestial orbs, been subjected to the scrutinizing observations of the telescope. Since the completion of the great instrument of Lord Rosse, that nobleman has frequently observed it, and its appearance, as seen by the great telescope, is thus described by Dr. Scoresby :—

“It appeared like a globe of molten silver, and every object of the extent of 100 yards was quite visible. Edifices, therefore, of the size of York Minster, or even of the ruins of Whithy Abbey, might be easily perceived if they had existed. But there was no appearance of any thing of that nature; neither was there any indication of the existence of water, or of an atmosphere. There was a vast number of extinct volcanoes, several miles in breadth; through one of them there was a line, in continuance of one about 150 miles in length, which ran in a straight direction like a railway. The general appearance,

however, was like one vast ruin of nature; and many of the pieces of rock, driven out of the volcanoes, appeared to be laid at various distances."

We have here a strong, nay, a complete confirmation of the most interesting recent discoveries of the continental philosophers, Maedler of Dorpat, and Baer of Berlin. The result of their curious and elaborate observations has been a map of what may now, without a figure, be called the geography of the moon, in which the surface of that satellite has been laid out with as much accuracy as that of our own globe. Of this map, a singular triumph of human ingenuity, Dr. Nichol has, in the work first in our list, given a reduced copy, besides a number of plates, representing on a much larger scale special parts of the surface. The general character of the moon is highly irregular, marked by huge mountains and pits, the height and depth of which have been accurately measured. About a third part only of the surface presented to us is comparatively regular, this regular portion being plains, and not seas, as was formerly imagined. There is no appearance of water; and although astronomers are divided in opinion about the existence of an atmosphere, we are to conclude that the moon is not, in its present state, adapted for the abode of organized beings. With regard to the mountains, a great number of them are isolated peaks, such as Teneriffe; mountain ranges, of which some reach a great elevation, are also present in the moon, though not a chief feature in its surface. At least three-fifths of its surface are studded with caverns, penetrating its body, and generally engirt at the top by a great wall of rock, which is serrated, and often crowned by lofty peaks. These caverns or *craters* as they are called, vary in diameter from fifty or sixty miles to the smallest visible space. And it is also remarkable that as they diminish in size they increase in number. In order that the general reader may obtain some notion of these vast craters, we will accompany Dr. Nichol in his ideal visit to one of them—a crater to which the name of Tycho has been given:—

"Wandering through a district perhaps the most chaotic in the moon, where ranges, peaks, round mountains with flat tops are intermingled in apparently inextricable confusion, where there is no plain larger than a common field, that, too, rent by fissures, and strewn with blocks that have fallen from the overhanging precipices—we descry in the horizon what seems an immense ridge stretching farther than the eye can carry us, and reflecting the sun's rays with dazzling lustre. On approaching this wall, through a country still as toilsome, it appears not so steep, but to have an outward sloping, which, however rough, is yet practicable to the strong of head and firm in knee. Ascend, then,

O traveller, averting your eyes from the burning sun, and having gained the summit, examine the landscape beyond. Landscape ! It is a type for the most horrible dream—a thing to be thought of only with a shudder. We are on the top of a circular precipice, which seems to have enclosed a space fifty-five miles in diameter from all the living world for ever and ever ! Below, where the wall casts its shadow, it is black as Orcus—no eye can penetrate its utter gloom ; but where daylight has touched the base of the chasm, its character is disclosed. Giddy it must be to stand on the summit of Mont Blanc, or the Jungfrau, or Teneriffe ; but suppose Jacques Balmat, when he set the first foot on that loftiest Alpine peak, had found on the other side, not the natural mountain he ascended, but one unbroken precipice, 13,000 feet deep, below which a few terraces disturbed the uniformity ; and at some ten miles distance from its base, a chasm deeper, from where he looked, by 2000 feet, than Mont Blanc is elevated above the level of the sea ! would even the stout Swiss have brought home his senses?—or rather would he have returned at all, and not lain there to this hour, fascinated as by ten thousand rattlesnakes ? But onwards, and to the bottom of this mysterious place. No foot of man can take us there, so that we must borrow a wing from the condor. Off then, down, down, and arrive ! It is, indeed, a terrible place ! There are mountains in it, especially a central one, 4,000 feet high, and five or six concentric ridges of nearly the same height, encircling the chasm ; but the eye can rest on nothing, except that impassable wall, without breach—only with a few pinnacles on its top—towering 17,000 feet aloft on every side, at the short distance of twenty-seven miles, and baffling our escape into the larger world. Nothing here but the scorching sun and burning sky ; no rain ever refreshes it, no cloud ever shelters it ; only benign Night, with its stars, and the mild face of the Earth. But we tarry no longer, so off again, and rest for a moment on the top of that highest pinnacle. Look around now, and away from Tycho. What a scene ! Those round hills with flat tops are craters, and the whole visible surface is studded with them ; all of less diameter than Tycho, but probably as deep. Look yet farther. What are those dazzling beams, like liquid silver, passing in countless multitudes away from us along the whole surface of the moon ? Favourites they are of the sun ; for he illumines them more than all else besides, and assimilates them to his own burning glory. And see !—they go on every side from Tycho. In his very centre, overspreading the very chasm we have left, there is, now that the sun has further ascended, a plain of brilliant light ; and outside the wall, at this place at least, a large space of similar splendour from which these rays depart. What they are we know not ; but they spread over at least one-third of the moon's whole surface. And so this chasm, which, in first rashness, we termed a hideous dream, is bound indissolubly to that orb, on which, when the heart is pained, one longs to look and be consoled, and through her to the beneficent universe, even by those silver though mystic cords !"—*'Contemplations on the Solar System.'*

The phenomenon of these rays is generally believed to indicate a protrusion from below, through rents or cracks in the moon's crust, extending over a vast portion of its surface, and produced by the convulsion which formed that stupendous chasm. The formation of the rays and the crater was therefore the same; and the crater is the mere mouth or point of escape of some tremendous internal and *eccentric* force. And thus, at an early age in the history of the present crust of the moon, at least 5,000 cubic miles of rock were displaced, and the solid surface in all directions rent, in one case through the length of 1,700 miles, by some terrific convulsion. But our space prevents our dwelling longer on this interesting topic. Dr. Nichol's work above quoted contains the most ample details of the discoveries relative to our satellite, discoveries so amply verified by the great Rosse telescope; and we cordially recommend it, both on account of its accuracy and elegance, to the notice of all our readers.

Turn we now to the consideration of the second part of our subject, viz. the stellar system; and for the proper explanation of the discoveries in this branch of the science, we will first briefly advert to the general facts connected with that system. Upon the most casual glance at the stars, one fact must needs strike the observer, and that is their apparent difference in size; and they are therefore classed by astronomers into magnitudes, six of these magnitudes being visible to the naked eye, and as many as sixteen to the telescope. This term, however, does not properly signify *size*, but relative distance, and consequent brightness, for there is every reason to believe that the apparent difference in their magnitudes is, in the main, the effect of varying distance. This supposition, as must be at once confessed, is not rigorously true; for it is certain that the stars do also vary in absolute magnitude, that "one star differeth from another star in glory," some being, perhaps, far more vast and majestic than our own sun, while others are less than one-third his size: but that the range of this class of variations is limited, and therefore does not, on the whole, interfere with the foregoing assumption, the general appearances of the heavens readily confirm. That these fixed stars, too, are suns, or centres of systems, is a fact now placed beyond contradiction; although, even with the present perfection of our instruments, we have as yet been unable to detect the planetary orbs which roll around them, and which derive light and warmth and gladness from their rays. The parts that enter into the construction of the starry heavens may be arranged as follows: 1st. Insulated stars. 2nd. Double stars, or binary sidereal systems. To the naked eye these binary groups appear only as one star, and the aid of the telescope is necessary to divide them; when carefully watched they are found to revolve

in elliptic orbits about each other, and, as far as we know, they obey the same laws which regulate the planetary movements. Systems they unquestionably are, with peculiar internal harmonies—systems, realizing the idea of suns connected in orbits, not precisely as the planets rolling round one great luminary, but where each constituent with its accompanying orbs revolves around an intermediate point, or a fixed centre. Now these double stars are by no means rare phenomena; on the contrary, owing to the researches of Sir William Herschel and his no less distinguished son, and to the continental astronomer, Struve, of Dorpat, we are acquainted with no less than 6,000 of these binary groups. Nor is this all; the periods of many of their revolutions have actually been discovered. More than fifty instances of change of relative position in the two stars have been sufficiently observed to ascertain the fact of circular progression, completed in some cases in a period of 43 years, in others of 342, while some must require 12,000 or 16,000 years. 3rd. More complex sidereal systems, or triple, quadruple, quintuple and multiple stars. Here, as in the former case, it has been discovered that motion and system do exist, and we are therefore compelled to apply the same interpretation to multiplex systems, and to come to the conclusion that the binary groupings are only the simplest instances of an ordinance which probably sways our entire systems of stars. 4th. Groups of stars, such as the Pleiades, and clustering stars, or firmaments of stars, such as the Milky Way. The remaining parts which enter into the construction of the heavens are the nebulae, nebulous stars, &c., of which we shall hereafter have to speak more at large, as it is necessary for us to pause here to notice two discoveries of recent date, connected with those facts we have above enumerated.

Our sun, with its attendant planets, our world being one amongst them, is placed near the centre of a bed, or firmament of stars, which, when traced throughout its different directions, is found to encircle the whole sphere of the heavens; it has the form of a flattened circular disc, with one of its edges divided in the direction of its plane throughout nearly half its circumference. The individual stars composing this bed, although of countless multitudes,* are yet at immense distances from each other, so

* "In the most crowded parts of the milky way," says the elder Herschel, "I have had fields of view that contained no fewer than 588 stars, and these were continued for some minutes; so that in one quarter of an hour's time there passed not less than 116,000 stars through the field of view of my telescope. In some parts the stars cluster so thickly that an average breadth of five degrees gave 331,000 stars. Were we to suppose every part of the zone equally rich with the space above referred to, it will contain no less than 20,191,000 stars."

great is the space comprising the whole ; it being impossible for any of these stars to be so near to us as two hundred thousand times the distance of the sun. This bed or firmament of stars, of which our sun is merely a grain of the gold-dust, is the Milky Way. But wonderful and magnificent as is this our galaxy, what shall we say, or what conception can we have of the magnitude of the universe, when we learn that it is but one out of nearly 3000 similar galaxies, incomparably larger than itself, and soluble into distinct stars ; while others more distant, yet dimly visible, only require advanced powers in the instrument of vision, to yield, according to every analogy, a similar result ! The forms of these nebulae, as they are called, are endless and varied ; but it is a curious fact, that one in particular, and that, too, situated at nearly the remotest point to which our telescopes carry us, is supposed to bear a more striking resemblance to the system of stars in which our sun is placed, than any other object that has yet been descried in the heavens. The younger Herschel describes it as a “ brother system, bearing a real analogy of structure to our own.” It consists of a bright round nucleus, surrounded at a great distance by a nebulous ring, which appears *split* through nearly the greater portion of its circumference, being the precise aspect in which our milky way would present itself to the inhabitants of an equally distant part of this visible region of creation. A curious fact in connexion with these firmaments or clusters, is the peculiarity of the forms they assume, which, from their supposed resemblance to terrestrial objects, have caused astronomers to distinguish them by the appellations of *dumb-bell* nebula, *crab* nebula, *spiral* nebula, &c. It is remarkable, too, that among the clusters of stars of simple forms, there appears to be a preponderance of great central masses, resulting, in all probability, from the power of universal attraction. Sir William Herschel conceived that this prevalence of a clustering power was indicated by another feature of those globular masses. The light at their central parts, arising from the degree of compression among the orbs there, is not uniform, and bears no uniform relation to the size of the sphere within which the object is contained. It manifests, therefore, not a varying *apparent* concentration about their centres, but a *real* variation ; and with this illustrious philosopher it went to establish “ amongst those groups a series of aspects, each of which is a step in some stupendous evolution, to which, as the ages roll, they may be subject,—bearing them onward from the condition of collections of stars, comparatively sparse, to ripened spheres, whose centres approach towards an uninterrupted blaze of light.”

"The elevation to which this idea leads," remarks Dr. Nichol, "is, indeed, a dizzy one, far aloft from the usual haunts of human thought; and yet why not the empire of Mutability, even over those dread Infinitudes, as well as among the mere shows and transciencies of Earth? Those galaxies are not the work of Man; they are part of the ordinances of ONE, below whose awful Unchangeableness, even processes whose solemn steps seem to occupy eternities, may yet be, as before human vision, the opening of the leaf of the evanescent flower!"—"System of the World;" p. 27.

But, in the more complex clusters, there does not appear to exist any trace of law or order whatsoever. In the dumb-bell nebula for example, there appear to be two centres of attraction round which the orbs seem to have been clustering. The spiral nebula, however strong the sympathies pervading all that strange system, is still apparent to us only as a collection of separate masses. Again, in the milky way, we have a similar appearance; it is by no means regular, but, on the contrary, appears to be a succession of clusters, probably self-harmonious, separated from each other by lines or patches more or less obscure; other spiral nebulae present a similar appearance, all which may tend to show that a separation of masses, and the formation of other and more compact clusters, may not be strange in the system of the universe. And here again we must be allowed to quote the words of Dr. Nichol:—

"Have we then, here, an intimation, however dim, of what is passing among those dread recesses? Is the apparent separation of our Milky Way into parts, in truth, as Herschel supposed it, in one of his loftiest moods, a mark of how far the shadow has passed along the dial of Time,—a mystic but significant index of how much of the existence of that zone has gone, and a sure prognostic of its future course? If it is indeed so, then we have before us another infinitude besides that of Space. The marvels in our view must also fill up unfathomable Durations, and have received from their history much of what is mysterious and strange in the present aspect and conditions of their Being."—"System of the World;" p. 31.

We have already spoken of the revolution of the double, triple, and multiple star-systems round each other, or rather round some central spot of attraction. Reflecting on these phenomena, we are naturally led to raise our thoughts to the whole stellar universe, and to enquire whether the clusters may not be united into separate schemes, internally consistent, and upheld by their inherent activities; whether the individual stars of which they are composed may not roll in mighty orbits; and whether, just as the planets roll round it, the sun itself, with all its dependent orbs, may not be circling round some central

point of attraction. This thought naturally suggests itself by the phenomena of the double stars, and, as far as the latter part of the inquiry is concerned, has been satisfactorily answered. Herschel entered deeply into this problem, and in 1805 he announced, that "the sun, with his planets, is rapidly darting towards a point in the direction of the constellation Hercules." This opinion, subsequent more full and accurate inquiry has completely confirmed. In recent times, Argelander, of Bonn, has investigated and discussed the subject, with an accuracy that leaves nothing to be desired; and the truth that our sun, with all its planets, is itself rolling in a grand orbit, is firmly established. Thus we find that our bed of stars no longer shines before the apprehension as a fixed and complete stratum, but rather as one mass of unresting activities, working out, as time rolls on, its stupendous destinies. This truth having been established, another question naturally arises;—round what body does the sun describe its orbit? Argelander imagined that it rolled around some central body, probably opaque, situate near the bright spot in Perseus. Many other spots have been suggested; but, during the past month, Dr. Maedler, director of the Dorpat observatory, has announced his discovery of the great central star or sun, about which the universe of stars, our own sun and system among the rest, is revolving. This announcement is contained in numbers 556 and 567 of the '*Astronomische Nachrichten*,' a journal published at Altona, and conducted by Professor Schumacher. This discovery, the result of many years of incessant toil and research, has been deduced by a train of reasoning and an examination of facts scarcely to be surpassed in the annals of science; and, as it has attracted but little attention in this country, we make no apology for briefly adverting to it. Guided by the researches of the elder Herschel, as to the figure of the stratum of stars to which our sun belongs, Dr. Maedler locates his grand centre near the Milky Way. But, as the Milky Way divides the sphere of the heavens into two unequal parts, he argues that the centre must be searched for in the smaller of the two parts. Again, it has been shown that our sun is nearer the southern than the northern side of the Milky Way, and hence we must expect to find the great centre, not only in the smaller portion of the heavens, but also in the northern part of this smaller portion. Another approximation to its position is obtained by the author, from an examination of the sun's motion through space; and he reasons that the point in the heavens, towards which the entire solar system is urging its way, is the pole of a great circle, within which the centre, about which the sun is revolving, must be placed. This subject,

as we have already observed, has been ably discussed by Argelander and by Otho Struve, and the point in question has been ascertained to a very close approximation. If from this point—determined by Argelander and Herschel, as in the constellation Hercules—as a pole, we describe a great circle, it intersects the Milky Way in the constellation Perseus. By using that point, determined by Otho Struve, we find this circle cutting the Milky Way nearer to the constellation Taurus. Having made this rough approximation to the grand centre, Dr. Maedler prosecutes his researches by means of the proper motion of the fixed stars, and, after many trials of fixed stars, at length finds a point which satisfies all the conditions yet presented by observations. The following is his own announcement of the discovery. “I therefore pronounce the Pleiades to be the central group of that mass of fixed stars limited by the stratum composing the Milky Way, and Alcyone as the individual star of this group, which among all others, combines the greatest probability of being the true central sun.” By a train of reasoning which we need not here attempt to explain, he finds the probable parallax of this great central star to be six thousandths of one second of an arc, and its distance to be thirty-four millions of times the distance of the sun, or so remote, that light requires a period of 537 years to pass from the great centre to our sun. As a first rough approximation, he deduces the period of revolution of our sun, with all its train of planets, satellites and comets, about the grand centre, to be 18,200,000 years. The author of this theory lays it before the world, and declares that he will yield it on condition that one single star can be found by any astronomer, within twenty or twenty-five degrees of his grand centre, in which a well determined motion towards the north exists. His theory indicates that the proper motion of all stars thus situated, must be towards the south. Such is a brief outline of the facts announced by Dr. Maedler, which we give without comment, since its publication is of too recent a nature to have allowed time for any arguments or observations, either in its favour or otherwise.

And this leads us to another most important and comparatively recent discovery in astronomical science, the *parallax of the fixed stars*. Parallax is the apparent change of position in an immovable body, resulting from real change of position in a moving one, from which the former is viewed: thus, the apparent motion of houses or trees when seen from a carriage window, is a familiar instance of parallax. It is by parallax that the distances of the heavenly bodies from us is ascertained. When it is said that the distances of the celestial orbs can be measured with the

same degrees of relative accuracy with which we ascertain the distances of bodies on the surface of the earth, those who are unaccustomed to investigations of the kind generally listen to the statement with doubt and incredulity, for the reason that the distances measured are so enormously great. But the magnitude of a distance or space does not of itself constitute any difficulty in its admeasurement; on the contrary, we are often able to measure large distances with greater accuracy than smaller ones. Another objection generally urged is, that the body whose distance the astronomer measures is inaccessible to him. But even this does not constitute any real difficulty, as may be easily illustrated. The military engineer, who directs a shell against the buildings within a besieged town, can so level it as to cause it to drop on any particular building which may have been selected; to do which, however, he must, of necessity, know the exact distance of that building; and yet, though this is inaccessible to him, he finds no difficulty in measuring its precise distance. To accomplish this, he lays down a space upon the ground he occupies, called the *base line*, from the two extremities of which he takes the bearings or directions of the building in question. From these bearings, and from the length of the base line, he is enabled to calculate, by the most simple principles of geometry and arithmetic, the distance of the building against which he is about to act. Now, in the case of any celestial body—the sun, for example—its distance is measured by precisely the same means: the earth's diameter is taken for the base line, and the bearings of the sun may be easily taken from the two opposite extremities of the earth's diameter, by two observers, or, what is the same thing, by one observer, regarding it at the distance of twelve hours; for, from the revolution of the globe round its axis, he will, in twelve hours, be at points distant from each other, by a little more than the earth's diameter—the angle deduced from this admeasurement is called *diurnal parallax*. Now, the fixed stars are so distant that they exhibit no appearance of diurnal parallax; but, fortunately, we have much wider ground whence to measure this parallax; as they are outside our solar system, we are enabled to observe them, not only from the extremities of the earth's diameter, but from the extremities of the earth's orbit. Having then, by the diurnal parallax of the sun, ascertained the length of the diameter of this orbit, which is 190,000,000 of miles, we get, by observing, at periods six months apart, 190,000,000 as our base line; and we thus obtain what is called *annual parallax*. Notwithstanding, however, this immense vantage ground, so

enormous is the distance of the fixed stars from us, that observers have, until the last few years, failed in detecting any measurable parallax. Recently, however, parallaxes of fixed stars have been simultaneously detected by three eminent astronomers—Bessel of Königsberg, Struve of St. Petersburg, and Henderson of Edinburgh. The star on which Bessel worked, was 61 *Cygni*; it gives a parallax from which its distance from us is calculated at 670,000 times that of the sun, or 63,650,000,000,000. Of such a distance we can form no conception; the mind must fail to grasp the immensity of the space thus estimated; and, however it may delight to indulge in curious speculations concerning it, or endeavour to assist itself by comparative admeasurements, it cannot pursue them far without being led beyond its limited powers, and falls “intoxicated with eternity.”

We turn now to the last part of our subject, namely, the nebular hypothesis of Herschel, Laplace’s celebrated theory of the birth of the solar system, and their complete annihilation by the discoveries of Lord Rosse’s gigantic telescope. We have already referred to the nebulae scattered, like islands, through space, and shown that many of them were, when examined by the telescope, resolvable into clusters or firmaments of stars, similar to that galaxy to which our own system appertains. But besides these resolvable nebulae, many specks of pale cloudy light are scattered in great numbers over the heavens, which, until very lately, were utterly irresolvable by the most powerful telescope. In fact, as the power of the instruments by which they were viewed was increased, they were rendered more diffuse and strange in their appearance, just as a mass of summer cloud would have its outline and form dissipated rather than defined by the telescope; they, in fact, appeared to consist merely of self-luminous vapour. But, we think, we may better explain ourselves if we give one or two illustrations of the varying form and appearances of these nebulae, since it was from such variety of form and appearance that Sir John Herschel built up his hypothesis. If the eye be directed to the star Theta, in the sword of Orion, it appears as if shining through a small patch of filmy cloud, just dense enough to render it indefinite without obscuring its light. This cloud is, however, itself luminous, and was believed to be a mass of nebulous matter, either surrounding the star or spreading itself out beyond it in space, probably as far as the eighth order of stellar distances. To this nebula the greatest interest has been attached, as will be seen from the following extract from the work of Dr. Nichol:—

“On examining the middle star in the sword, it seems affected by an *indistinctness* not common to small stars; and the application of the

smallest telescope at once yields the explanation—the object appearing not as a star, but as a diffused haze. Examined with instruments of a profounder space-penetrating power, its character as a haze continues unchanged, though it speedily gives warning of some strange and fantastic object. To the ten-feet telescope, for instance, which would desery a star nearly three hundred and fifty times farther away than the average distance of orbs of the first magnitude, the mist seems singularly shapeless, but not a vestige of a star is discernible; and yet, be it observed, the light from that object affects the naked eye, although it is thus proved, if it be a cluster, to lie so remotely in space that the ray leaving it must travel through those immensities more than three thousand years ere it could reach our world. Apply, now, Sir John Herschel's eighteen-inch mirror. Not yet the remotest aspect of a stellar constitution, but an object of which the revelation of the ten-feet telescope is evidently the mere rudiment. Strange, indeed, those fantastic branching arms, but not less strange the apparent internal constitution of that extraordinary mass. So unaccountable seems it, and so unlike what has hitherto been known of collections of Stars, that that most eminent astronomer averred that, so far from showing a trace of stellar constitution, or even suggesting that, it rather suggested something quite different. During Sir John Herschel's residence at the Cape of Good Hope, he examined this remarkable phenomenon in circumstances much more favourable than can ever prevail here, viz., when it was near the zenith, and, of course, seen through the purest portion of the atmosphere: but still, there was not a trace of a star. During the winter of 1844-45, the Earl of Rosse examined it with his three-feet mirror, with the utmost care, and executed a drawing of it, which contained not a vestige of a star. There then the Nebula lay, separated from us—if it be a cluster—by an immensity through which light could travel in no less than thirty thousand years, and yet visible to the naked eye! Surely the imagination might well shrink from the admission of facts like these—from the belief in a system of stars so majestic, of splendour so concentrated, as, on the supposition that it is stellar, we must attribute to that mass."—*System of the World*; pp. 50-53.

But there are numberless similar nebulae which, up to a very recent period, have been irresolvable. Near to the star Nu, in Andromeda, a nebula may be discerned by the unaided eye; to a two-feet reflector, this presents the appearance of an elongated ellipse of light, extending about as far as the breadth of the moon, concentrated into a distinct nucleus in the central part, but fading away insensibly towards the borders. This may be taken as a type of a numerous class of telescopic objects that refused to resolve them into stars, but yet always presented nuclei of light somewhere upon their surfaces; in many, the condensation is gradual, as in this instance, the nucleus and its filmy envelope passing by insensible gradations into each other; in others, the condensation is more sudden and abrupt, so that the central

nucleus appears to be perceptibly defined; and in others, the nucleus is so concentrated that it appears to be a small brilliant star, only distinguished from other stars by the presence of a luminous envelope around it. These latter appearances were termed, by Herschel, stars with burrs.

Now it was these phenomena, constantly observed by the elder Herschel, that gave rise to the nebular hypothesis. He imagined that the self-luminous, vapour-like, modification of matter, spread out as *nebulæ* in space, is in a state of constant and progressive condensation; the filmy objects, that are without any perceptible nuclei, he considers to represent its rudest and most diffuse condition; the next stage he conceived to be seen in the nucleated *nebulæ*; the nebulous stars he believed to be in a still more advanced state; and the defined stars to represent the perfect condition of the whole. He conceived that the stars all pass through these various stages of progressive development before they assume their mature form, and that the various objects we have described were star-masses, seen in their more rudimentary or in their more perfect stages. Thus, for example, he considered the nebula in the sword of Orion to be a mere rude congregation of luminous vapour; the nebula in Andromeda to be advancing in structure, as shown by the gathering up of the filmy matter into a central nucleus; and in the nebulous stars, or stars with burrs, he saw the thin envelope of light just upon the point of finally incorporating itself with the nucleus of central consolidation. By the theory of nebular condensation, it is thus assumed that stellar orbs are formed from diffuse nebulous material, and that we are able to see them by our telescopes, in their various stages of growth; the ruder *nebulæ* being now in the precise condition through which the more advanced structures have passed, and the defined stars having completed their organization, by concentrating, in solid nuclei, the last visible portion of their luminous atmospheres. And it points to the nebulous condition of our sun, as evinced by the zodiacal light, or that luminous cone, which, under favourable circumstances, may be seen to rise towards the zenith, after the sun has sunk beneath the western horizon.

Such was the hypothesis of Herschel, which was adopted by the great astronomer Laplace, and by him made use of to account for the original creation of our solar system; not that the origin of Laplace's speculation lay in Herschel's supposed discoveries, for, previously to these being made public, he had contemplated our system as a whole, and had discerned harmonies within it, and numerous adjustments unaccounted for by the presence of the law now upholding its mechanism. Considering

more particularly the uniform direction of the rotations and revolutions of the sun, planets, and satellites, the specific densities and velocities of the latter, and their relative distances from the sun and from each other, he saw that the main conditions of the problem would be satisfied, by supposing the planets to have somehow come into existence at the extremities of the solar atmosphere, while that orb, in the course of ages, was gradually contracting himself, or passing from a gaseous mass into his present organized form. When the nebular hypothesis of Herschel became known to him, Laplace saw therein all the foundation his own theory required. This theory was as follows:—He conceived that the solid constituent material of the system was at one time diffused, as a thin nebulosity, beyond the orbit of the furthest planet, which by the loss of heat, through radiation into space, contracted its dimensions, and began to rotate, as its particles rushed unequally inwards towards the centre. As the contraction continued, atoms, impressed with a certain momentum, and drawn nearer to the centre, having to move in smaller circles, hastened on the rotating velocity of the whole; until at last this became so excessive, that an outer ring of matter in the line of the greatest motion was separated as a distinct zone, as water is thrown off from the edge of a rapidly whirling grindstone. The separated ring subsequently breaking up, formed, by the clustering of its atoms round a common centre, the nucleus of a planet, which, continuing to rotate on its own account, threw off subsidiary rings to constitute satellites. The successive separation of rings, at distances nearer and nearer to the centre, formed newer and denser aggregations, moving in quicker periods, and rotating with a speed proportioned to the breadth of the thrown-off ring. The annular appendage of Saturn he considered to be merely one of the subsidiary masses, consolidated as it was thrown off.

Now, it is evident, that both these hypotheses depended entirely upon the irresolvability of the nebulae of which we have previously spoken, and it is not, therefore, matter of wonder, that the scientific world should have watched with intense anxiety the examination of Orion (that nebula which had obstinately defied all attempts to analyse or resolve it), by the gigantic telescope of Lord Rosse. Dr. Nichol relates, that at Christmas, 1845, he visited Lord Rosse, at Parsonstown, and saw this nebula through that mighty tube. "It was," he says, "owing to the incompleteness of the instrument and unfavourable weather, the first time that the grand telescope had been directed towards that mysterious object. Not yet the veriest trace of a star.—Looming, unintelligible as ever, there the nebula lay." But this state of uncertainty did not last long. The noble owner of the

Parsonstown leviathan had resolved to avail himself of all favourable opportunities during the winter, to penetrate, if possible, the constitution of this wonderful object, and, in March of the present year, he communicated to Professor Nichol the fact that he had resolved the nebula into a galaxy of stars. It is no longer then a mass of self-luminous vapour, but a bright firmament of stellar orbs, so far removed from us in space, that the brilliancy of its constituent stars are merged into an uniform, faint light, and thus doubt and speculation on this great subject have vanished for ever. Herschel's beautiful hypothesis has no longer any support; and it is evident that the various appearances of the nebula, as observed by him and detailed above, are but the effect of varying distances. Thus, a nebula removed, as is that in Orion, to a certain distance, would assume the appearance of a cloudy luminous speck; at a less distance we should see a greater degree of brightness in the centre where the stars were closer, and thus we should have a nucleated nebula; and so on through those various appearances which were formerly held to indicate various stages of stellar development. Deprived, too, of the nebulae, the cosmogony of Laplace has no longer visible foundation in fact.

"The sun may have passed," observes Dr. Nichol, "into his present form out of a gaseous one; but there is no phenomenal proof of this, no visible analogical appearance in the heavens. In addition, therefore, to the duty of explaining the peculiarities of our solar system, Laplace's speculation *has now, along with other indirect arguments, TO SUSTAIN THE WEIGHT OF ITS OWN HYPOTHESIS*. To deduce the peculiarities of our system from a previous condition whose existence was recognised, and to demonstrate the reality of that previous condition, by remounting towards it from our existing epoch, are manifestly efforts of unequal difficulty, and very different ambitions. Internally compact as before, the scheme of this illustrious Geometer requires now to accomplish a task more arduous than it was framed for, and therefore it will break the easier at every feeble point." 'System of the World;' p. 66.

In conclusion, we cannot but add a word or two of approbation relative to the works now before us. 'The Planetary and Stellar System' of Mr. Mann is an excellent elementary exposition of the facts and doctrines of astronomical science, clearly and elegantly written, and alike useful to the student, as an introduction to more elaborate treatises, and to the reader who may desire only a general knowledge of the leading principles of astronomy. The text is excellently illustrated with lithographic plates, executed by the Messrs. Reeve. Of the two works of Dr. Nichol, the first on the list which heads this article is an

eloquent exposition of the solar system, written throughout in an enthusiastic and eloquent strain, and a fervent spirit of devotion. The 'Thoughts on the System of the World' is intended as a sequel to his former works; for the reason that the views therein published have been modified by recent discoveries, more particularly by those effected relative to the nebulæ, by the telescope of Lord Rosse. Like its predecessors, it is eloquently written; and the phenomena of which it treats are clearly explained. The illustrative plates representing the nebulæ—their strange forms and their appearance, both in their unresolved and resolved state—are singularly faithful and beautiful.

G. T. F.

. Since the above article was written, Mr. Airy, the Astronomer Royal, has made a somewhat lengthy communication to the Astronomical Society, relative to the proceedings of Mr. Adams, Professor Challis, and himself, which has been printed in the monthly notice of that Society. This communication appears somewhat like a defence of Mr. Airy, from the possible charge of not having taken proper notice of the communication made by Mr. Adams, when the latter sent him the elements of the new planet, months before M. Le Verrier had made any similar publication. It certainly does appear somewhat strange, that so much delay should have taken place in a matter so important as the discovery of a new planet; and it would appear that this delay has been the result of a want of confidence in mere theoretical calculations, a want of confidence, in fact, on the part of our mathematicians, in their own science. In this communication, Mr. Airy expresses it as his decided conviction, that in the whole history of astronomy—nay, in the whole history of science—there is nothing comparable to this discovery; and gives it as his opinion, that, without in the least detracting from the merits of the discoverers, it is a movement of the age; "that it has been urged by the feeling of the scientific world in general; and has been nearly perfected by the collateral, but independent, labours of various persons possessing the talents or powers best suited to the different parts of the researches."

This statement of Mr. Airy is a very long one; the following particulars are, in brief, the history of the matter as regards English mathematicians and astronomers. It would appear, that so long back as 1834, the Rev. Dr. Hussey wrote to Mr. Airy, conjecturing the possibility of some disturbing body beyond Uranus; and, he added, that Bouvard and Hansen had been in correspondence upon a similar conjecture. Dr. Hussey requested Mr. Airy's opinion; and the latter replied with some statement as to the nature of the anomalies, ending with the following remark:—"But, if it were certain that there were any extraneous action, I doubt much the possibility of determining the

place of a planet which produced it. I am sure it could not be done till the nature of the irregularity was well determined from several successive revolutions."

In 1844, Mr. Challis first communicated to Mr. Airy that Mr. Adams was engaged upon the theory of Uranus, and in September, 1845, Mr. Challis again wrote to him, to the effect that Mr. Adams had completed his calculations. Mr. Airy was at this time in France, and it was not until October of the same year that Mr. Adams's first communication reached him; this communication being a statement of his calculations respecting the observed irregularities of Uranus, which he accounted for by supposing the existence of an exterior planet, whose distance, mass, and orbit, he gave. Mr. Airy replied to this, requesting to know, "whether this assumed perturbation will explain the error of the radius vector of Uranus." To this inquiry, from some cause or other, Mr. Airy received no immediate answer. Six weeks afterwards, M. Le Verrier read his first paper "on the theory of Uranus" to the French Institute. On the 1st of June in the present year, M. Le Verrier's second paper was published in the *Comptes Rendus*. Up to this time, Mr. Airy had considered that there was still room for doubting the accuracy of Mr. Adams's statements; but, finding that the place assigned to the disturbing planet, both by Adams and Le Verrier, differed only in one degree, he no longer felt any doubt as to the accuracy of both calculations. He immediately wrote to Le Verrier, asking the question he had already put to Mr. Adams. The answer he received was immediate and precise—the observed errors of the radius were corrected in his orbit—that they *corrected themselves*, without any direct consideration; and he added, "Excusez moi, Monsieur, d'insister sur ce point. C'est une suite du désir que j'ai d'obtenir votre suffrage."

In July of the present year, Mr. Airy requested Mr. Challis to search for the planet, offering him a government assistant; in consequence of which, Mr. Challis commenced the search on the 29th July; and on the 4th August saw the planet, without, however, yet knowing it. On the 31st August, Le Verrier read his third paper to the Academy, as we have already detailed in the preceding article, and on the 2nd September Mr. Adams again communicated with Mr. Airy, to the effect that he had repeated his calculations and that the result was satisfactory.

Such are the main facts detailed in Mr. Airy's paper. From this it appears certain that Mr. Adams was in possession of the elements of the new planet three-quarters of a year before M. Le Verrier announced them, and that he communicated these elements to the directors of the two largest observatories in England. "Nothing," observes an able writer in the *Athenæum*, "can destroy or rebut the evidence of these facts; nothing can separate his name from the new body, or place him much below the position of the *first* discoverer. He has made himself a great reputation; and, if what we have heard stated be true, that he formed his plan and commenced his researches

while he was yet an under-graduate, he is an extraordinary instance of early sagacity and perseverance." But this does not at all alter the question of the discovery. Le Verrier had no doubt of the correctness of his calculations. He staked his whole reputation upon their accuracy, and boldly proclaimed to observing astronomers, "Look in the place which I have indicated, and you will see the planet." Not only is M. Le Verrier an enterprising and industrious mathematician, but his undoubting confidence in the general truth of his theory proves him to be, in the true sense of the word, a philosopher. Had there been the same confidence in mathematical calculations in this country, Le Verrier and Adams would have changed positions, and the planet would have been discovered, in all probability, in November, 1845.

Such is the plain statement of this curious history. That there is no desire to detract from Le Verrier's fame in this country, is proved by the fact, that the Copley medal of the Royal Society is to be presented to him, while it has also been proposed to award him the gold medal of the Astronomical Society, a proposition which, according to the rules of that body, will be decided in January next. Nor must we omit, in justice to Mr. Adams, to say, that he himself gives all possible credit to his rival. In a communication to the Astronomical Society, after adverting to the dates of Le Verrier's papers, and showing that his own calculations were earlier in date, he says, "I mention these dates, merely to show that my results were arrived at, independently and previously to the publication of M. Le Verrier, and not with the intention of interfering with his just claims to the honours of the discovery; for there is no doubt that his researches were first published to the world, and led to the actual discovery of the planet by Dr. Galle, so that the facts above cannot detract, in the slightest degree, from the credit due to M. Le Verrier." In a word, Le Verrier must be allowed to be the discoverer of the planet, but it is equally certain that Mr. Adams's name will be always connected honourably with it in the future histories of Astronomy, despite the decision of M. Arago, alike precipitate and unjust, "That Mr. Adams is not entitled to the *slightest allusion* in the history of the discovery."^{*}

* 'Comptes Rendus,' 19th October, 1846.

ART. II.—*A History of Greece.* By George Grote, Esq. 2 vols. Murray. 1846.

THERE are few subjects more tempting to a literary ambition than a history of Greece. It is a subject to stimulate, in an almost equal degree, the imagination of a poet, the reason of a philosopher, and the patient curiosity of a scholar. No history can surpass it in splendid examples of human energy and prowess—in heroic deeds—in high characters—in glorious feats of arms; no history is more fertile in lessons of political and moral education. No epoch in the world's growth has been more illustrious in philosophy and art: in the opening of new and gorgeous vistas to the all-penetrating, all-daring intellect of man; and in the creation of works which are the glorious heritage of succeeding times. All the great problems of philosophy that have agitated mankind, were agitated by the Greeks; and the united efforts of succeeding generations have produced no solutions of these problems which the Greeks had not already offered. Even science, the noble boast of modern times, had its foundations laid by that wondrous people. Nor, while the poet and the philosopher are thus furnished with the finest materials, is the laborious research and piquant erudition of the scholar, without an equal share. Such obscurity darkens many passages of this story, that the vast erudition of a Niebuhr and a Gibbon, coming after the labours of centuries, can scarcely hope to accomplish more than an approximation to the truth. Patiently as every record has been ransacked, there are few points which fresh investigation may not yet clearer illustrate.

There can be no need of apology, therefore, for any new undertaking; though Mr. Grote, in his preface, intimates that, had Bishop Thirlwall's work appeared before his own was commenced, he should probably never have attempted it. We have reason to congratulate ourselves that the Bishop's work did not appear in time to frustrate so excellent a design. Nor would we herein be for an instant supposed to imply any disrespect towards the Bishop's history, so admirable in so many qualities. There was room for his work; it was much wanted; it will not easily be superseded. There was, however, ample room for Mr. Grote's work; as there will be for a dozen rivals, should they have the courage to enter the lists. Indeed, we suspect that many years, fruitful in excellent works, must necessarily elapse before *the* history is written, before any one or two works can be reasonably supposed to supply the wants of the public. And if it be true that Bulwer shrinks from the completion of his brilliant book on "Athens," because he fancies that the ground is already

occupied, we beg leave to assure him that such a supposition is perfectly erroneous; that there is abundant need of his, and of other men's works; and that such a supposition would have infinitely more plausibility with regard to the earlier portions of the history than to those more stirring times which he has undertaken to depict. His work is written for the general reader, not for the scholar; this alone gives it a distinctive position. True it is that his reputation in the lighter fields of literature has materially damaged the reputation of his history; because, while his reputation as a novelist is against him with scholars, the nature of his work is against him with the majority of his old public; in this way it has fallen between two stools. Nevertheless, there seems to be but one opinion respecting its merit by those who have read it, which we have done three times. It should not be left a fragment.

It would be affectation in us to recommend this new history, or to predict that it will be encouraged. The public has already done so. The interest in the subject was strong enough to call attention to any worthy attempt; and it had been long known in literary circles that Mr. Grote was so employed. "Expectation sat in the air." The reviews have been unanimous in their praise; and two authorities have, in two weighty articles, assigned its rank in our historical literature. Coming after them, we feel no small embarrassment at being placed at such a disadvantage; and it was some time before we could make up our minds to venture on the few observations we have here to make; but fortunately, the field is wide, and there is room for many gleaners. Let us hope that a few stray ears of wheat may still fall into our hands.

History in the present day is sometimes a science, and sometimes an art. The continuous narrative, which once sufficed to tell the story of a nation's progress, is now no longer possible, when treating of early times. A sceptical, inquisitive, restless spirit has disturbed the placid credulity both of readers and of writers. The early chapters of Herodotus, Thucydides, or Livy, can no longer be imitated. A change has come over the whole spirit of history. We understand the *origines* of Greece better than the wisest of the Greeks; simply because historical science has better taught us the spirit of early epochs. But, as a compensation, the Greeks could produce a splendid narrative where we are forced to turn within the windings of a dissertation;—where they are poets we are archaeologists. Hence the art of history has grown into a very different thing from what it was in the hands of ancient masters; and so difficult is this art that we can point to few successful specimens. The very necessity,

now so imperative, for a vast special erudition, frightens away the writers who might otherwise successfully accomplish the task ; not to mention a certain suspicion that the past is not yet sufficiently *understood* to be fitly *painted*.

The distinction between history as an art, and history as a contrihution towards our more ample and accurate knowledge of an epoch, is one that must be fully borne in mind when considering such a work as that now before us. History, in the old sense of the term, it is not. The two volumes are little more than prolegomena to a history. What would the critic say to a narrative which was obstructed by chapters recounting the great mass of Greek legends ; followed by philosophical disquisitions on the formation and modification of those legends ; by comparisons of the Grecian mythes with those of modern Europe ; by discussions on the application of chronology to legendary times, and examination of Mr. Clinton's views thereon ; by descriptions of the state of manners in legendary Greece ; and by a long inquiry into the question of the authorship of the Homeric epics ? The critic would assuredly be warranted in condemning these chapters as altogether misplaced. He would say, such questions should be mooted elsewhere ; and, once settled, should only appear in the pages of history as results, not as questions. And the only answer Mr. Grote could make to such objections would be, that his object is not to tell stories with the unrivalled art of Herodotus, but to make Grecian life and Grecian history intelligible to Englishmen. His purpose is philosophical, not pictorial.

"It is that general picture which an historian of Greece is required first to embody in his own mind, and next to lay out before his readers ; a picture, not merely such as to delight the imagination by brilliancy of colouring and depth of sentiment, but also suggestive and improving to the reason. Not omitting the points of resemblance, as well as of contrast, with the better known forms of modern society, he will especially study to exhibit the spontaneous movements of Grecian intellect, sometimes aided, but never borrowed from without, and lighting up a small portion of a world, otherwise clouded and stationary. He will develop the action of that social system, which, while ensuring to the mass of freemen a degree of protection elsewhere unknown, acted as a stimulus to the creative impulses of genius, and left the superior minds sufficiently unshackled to soar above religious and political routine, to overshoot their own age and to become the teachers of posterity."

"Such insufficiency of original and trustworthy materials, as compared with those resources, which are thought not too much for the historian of any modern kingdom, is neither to be concealed nor extenuated, however much we may lament it. I advert to the point

here on more grounds than one ; for it not only limits the amount of information which an historian of Greece can give to his readers, compelling him to leave much of his picture an absolute blank, but it also greatly spoils the execution of the remainder. The question of credibility is perpetually obtruding itself, and requiring a decision, which, whether favorable or unfavorable, always introduces more or less of controversy ; and gives to those outlines, which the interest of the picture requires to be straight and vigorous, a faint and faltering character. Expressions of qualified and hesitating affirmation are repeated, until the reader is sickened ; while the writer himself, to whom the restraint is more painful still, is frequently tempted to break loose from the unseen spell by which a conscientious criticism binds him down, to screw up the possible and probable into certainty, to suppress counterbalancing considerations, and to substitute a pleasing romance in place of half known and perplexing realities. Desiring, in the present work, to set forth all which can be ascertained, together with such conjectures and inferences as can be reasonably deduced from it, but nothing more, I notice, at the outset, that faulty state of the original evidence, which renders discussions of credibility, and hesitation in the language of the judge, unavoidable. Such discussions, though the reader may be assured that they will become less frequent as we advance into times better known, are tiresome enough, even with the comparatively late period which I adopt as the historical beginning ; much more intolerable would they have proved, had I thought it my duty to have started from the primitive terminus of Deukalion or Inachus, or from the unburied Pelasgi and Leleges, and to subject the heroic ages to a similar scrutiny. I really know nothing so disheartening or unrequited as the elaborate balancing of what is called evidence ; the comparison of infinitesimal probabilities and conjectures, all uncertified, in regard to these shadowy times and persons."

"Three-fourths of the two volumes now presented to the public, are destined to elucidate this age of historical faith, as distinguished from the later age of historical reason : to exhibit its basis in the human mind—an omnipresent, religious, and personal interpretation of nature ; to illustrate it by comparison with the like mental habit in early modern Europe ; to show its immense abundance and variety of narrative matter, with little care for consistency between one story and another ; lastly, to set forth the cause which overgrew, and partially supplanted, the old epical sentiment, and introduced, in the room of literal faith, a variety of compromise and interpretations."

After such a statement of his purpose, it is somewhat surprising to hear critics objecting to the quantity of discussion contained in these volumes, and regretting that a great portion of it should have been left in the text, instead of being thrown into notes, or into appendices. Now it seems to us that any minor objection is altogether futile ; we must either declare discussion

totally misplaced in a history, and reject Mr. Grote's purpose as un-historical; or we must suffer the discussion to be ample and instructive. And when we reflect upon the extremely important matter contained in the greater part of these discussions, we are forced to admit that no writer has hitherto done so much towards rendering early Grecian history intelligible; in this respect the work is a striking contribution towards the history of the human mind. It is easy to say that these chapters might have been published elsewhere, and the results only given in the history. But, in the first place, the results themselves are so opposed to common prejudices on these matters, that they would have been neither acceptable nor intelligible; and in the second place, we may be very sure that only a few scholars would have consulted them *elsewhere*; the great public having neither the disposition nor the means of studying papers in classical journals; which papers, however, they are glad to read in the course of a history.

We are consequently disposed not only to applaud Mr. Grote, for the plan and execution of these volumes, but to urge him to continue as he has begun, and to let no opportunity slip of rendering any mooted point in Grecian history clearer to us. If there is one chapter in these volumes to which we should object, as not falling into his plan, it is that on the Homeric poems: a chapter indeed so very interesting, that we question whether the most zealous defender of the old method of historical composition would wish it removed, yet occupied with a subject so decidedly belonging to literary history, that its place here is indefensible. The Homeric poems unquestionably exercised a vast and enduring influence upon the Grecian mind; but the authorship was unsuspectingly attributed to one poet; and no historical results are deducible either from the ancient belief, or from the Wolfian hypothesis of a multiplicity of authors.

As a philosophical history of Greece, Mr. Grote's work will certainly take a high rank. He has qualities rarely united in an historian. To the varied erudition of an accomplished scholar and archæologist, he adds the matured knowledge of an active life, and the calm impartiality of one who has reflected much, and learned much. Erudition is, of course, one great requisite for such a task; and Mr. Grote, in this respect, not only rivals the laborious, but somewhat narrow and pedantic Germans, in being fully informed of all that European researches had discovered, down to the very time of his composition; but has also mastered the very latest ideas put forth by European thinkers. It will be peculiarly gratifying to Auguste Comte, we imagine, to find his grand discovery of the law of human evolution,

applied in so masterly and triumphant a manner to the explanation of the early history of Greece, by the first philosophical historian we have had.

If Gibbon congratulated himself so highly on the accident of his having served in the militia, which enabled him better to understand the military movements of the Romans, Mr. Grote will, doubtless, in the succeeding portions of his work, have far more cause to congratulate himself upon the share he has taken in political life. There are few subjects more imperfectly understood than the political life of the Greeks; and it will be a subject to call forth all his learning, his experience, and his philosophy.

The style of these volumes is clear, stately, and often powerful; it is deficient in picturesqueness, and its light is without heat. Whether the stirring events that are to come will rouse him into enthusiasm, and lend a richer colouring to his style, we know not; at present it is the writing of a cultivated thinker, rather than of an artist. To be sure he will then have magnificent models before him; and that he can sometimes catch their spirit is shown in several passages of the first volume, wherein he narrates the legends.

The discussions are conducted with dignity and good taste; but there are occasional expressions which deface the composition all the more because its general tone is dignified. We allude to such expressions as a "prime political genius," which is a vulgarism, and "young Athens," which is slang. Nor can we refrain from adding, to that of both the Quarterly and Edinburgh Reviewers, our protest against the excessive and useless indulgence of neologisms. Words such as "psychagogic," should be left to the Germans, and their ambitious imitators; and not drawn from the "well of English" very much defiled.

The greatest novelty in these volumes is in the legendary portion, which Mr. Grote has treated at greater length, and with greater historical sagacity than any of his predecessors. Our readers are already familiar with his views on this subject; they have not forgotten the remarkable paper published in this Review, in the May number of 1843. We are, therefore, absolved from any exposition of this part of his work. The chapter wherein he traces the progress of opinion among the Greeks with reference to these legends, invites us to make a passing remark. It is full of learning, and of philosophical ideas; but it is somewhat inartistically laid out, and is too discursive to have the full effect that might have been produced by a more carefully constructed phalanx of facts and ideas.

Although Mr. Grote does not make the spontaneous nature

of the Greek legends sufficiently apparent—although he seems to attribute their creation to the poets as a somewhat arbitrary act, rather than as a spontaneous, and, at the same time, inevitable explanation of the phenomena of the universe—he is, nevertheless, we believe, too persuaded of the truth of Comte's law of human evolution, to doubt that polytheism was the simple, inevitable belief of a child-like era, which had nothing in it more arbitrary than is to be found in all religions. At any rate he has clearly appreciated the entireness and simplicity of the belief itself, however it may have originated. He has accomplished the rare feat of shaking off the powerful associations of modern culture, and of raising himself to the true historical standing-point from whence he can view the legends in the same light as an early Greek viewed them. From this altitude—from this remote period of human history—he slowly descends, and marks at each stage the various changes which took place in the mode of interpretation; and in so doing has given us one of the most striking contributions towards the history of human development which this age has produced.

Owing to the complete change which has taken place, not only in modern philosophy but in the whole culture of the European mind, we find it difficult readily to conceive a mental state such as that presented by the early Greeks.

"That, which to us is interesting as the mere creation of an exuberant fancy, was, to the Greeks, genuine and venerated reality. The earth and the solid heaven (*Gæa* and *Uranus*) were both conceived and spoken of by him, as endowed with appetite, feeling, sex, and most of the various attributes of humanity. Instead of a sun such as we now see, subject to astronomical laws, and forming the centre of a system, the changes of which we can ascertain and foreknow, he saw the great god *Hélios*, mounting his chariot in the morning in the east, reaching at mid-day the height of the solid heaven, and arriving in the evening at the western horizon, with horses fatigued and desirous of repose. *Hélios* had favorite spots, wherein his beautiful cattle grazed; he took pleasure in contemplating them during the course of his journey, and was sorely displeased if any man slew or injured them. He had, moreover, sons and daughters on earth; and, as his all-seeing eye penetrated everywhere, he was sometimes in a situation to reveal secrets even to the gods themselves, while, on other occasions, he was constrained to turn aside in order to avoid contemplating scenes of abomination. To us these now appear puerile, though pleasing fancies; but to an Homeric Greek they seemed perfectly natural and plausible. In his view, the description of the sun, as given in a modern astronomical treatise, would have appeared not merely absurd, but repulsive and impious. Even in later times, when the positive spirit of inquiry had made considerable progress, *Anaxagoras* and other astronomers incurred the charge of

blasphemy for dispersonifying Hêlios, and trying to assign invariable laws to the solar phenomena. Personifying fiction was in this way blended, by the Homeric Greeks, with their conception of the physical phenomena before them, not simply in the way of poetical ornament, but as a genuine portion of their every-day belief."

"To us these myths are interesting fictions; to the Homeric and Hesiodic audience they were "*rerum divinarum et humanarum scientiæ*"—an aggregate of religious, physical, and historical revelations, rendered more captivating, but not less true and real, by the bright coloring and fantastic shapes in which they were presented. Throughout the whole of "mythe-bearing Hellas," they formed the staple of the uninstructed Greek mind, upon which history and philosophy were by so slow degrees superinduced; and they continued to be the aliment of ordinary thought and conversation, even after history and philosophy had partially supplanted the mythical faith among the leading men, and disturbed it more or less in the ideas of all. The men, the women, and the children of the remote dêmes, and villages of Greece, to whom Thucydids, Hippocrats, Aristotle, or Hipparchus were unknown, still continued to dwell upon the local fables which formed their religious and patriotic antiquity; and Pausanias, even in his time, found every where divine or heroic legends yet alive, precisely of the type of the old epic. He found everywhere the conceptions of religious and mythical faith co-existent with those of positive science, and contending against them, at more or less of odds, according to the temper of the individual. Now, it is the remarkable characteristic of the Homeric age, that no such co-existence or contention had yet begun. The religious and mythical point of view covers, for the most part, all the phenomena of nature; the conception of invariable sequence exists only in the back ground, itself personified under the name of Mœræ or Fates, and produced generally as an exception to the omnipotence of Zeus for all ordinary purposes; voluntary agents, visible and invisible, impel and govern everything. Moreover, this point of view is universal throughout the community, adopted with equal fervour, and carried out with equal consistency, by the loftiest minds and by the lowest. The great man of that day is he, who, penetrated like others with the general faith, and never once imagining any other system of nature than the agency of these voluntary beings, can clothe them in suitable circumstances and details, and exhibit, in living body and action, those types which his hearers dimly pre-figure. Such men were the authors of the Iliad and the Odyssey; embodying in themselves the whole measure of intellectual excellence which their age was capable of feeling. To us, the first of poets; but to their own public, religious teachers, historians, and philosophers besides, inasmuch as all that then represented history and philosophy was derived from those epical effusions, and from others homogeneous with them. Herodotus recognises Homer and Hesiod as the prime authors of Grecian belief, respecting the names and generations, the attributes and agency, the forms and the worship of the gods."

So difficult is it for men of another age to understand these primitive beliefs, that not only moderns, but even the Greeks themselves, could not suppose that the simple mythes they found in credit could ever have had the plain unequivocal signification which they professed. Hidden meanings were supposed to lie concealed beneath these mythes; every legend was an allegory, in which the priests and poets (they were one) shadowed forth their explanations of the universe. This tendency of the human mind to judge of anterior epochs by the present—to conceive no mental state at variance with its own—has led scholars and antiquarians to misrepresent the Egyptian creed, and to force upon it philosophical meanings, which sound historical criticism shows to be radically impossible at such an epoch. The whole question of esoterical doctrines is now, we hope, for ever set at rest with respect to the Grecian mythes; for, as Comte remarks, if these vague hypotheses could become more determinate and less contradictory, they would nevertheless merit little attention from the true historian; since every religion, above all when widely popular, must obviously be appreciated according to the manner in which it was understood by the masses, and not according to any refinements which some few of the initiated may have attached to it in their own minds; the more so as these refinements can, at bottom, have been nothing more than the anticipation, by a few cultivated minds, of the religious phasis immediately succeeding.*

In the survey taken by Mr. Grote, he distinguishes four classes of minds, which, in later times, gave four different interpretations to the mythes, which still formed the unsuspected belief of the great mass; and these four were the poets, the logographers, the philosophers, and the historians. The reader should duly weigh all this chapter, for it is pregnant with instructive views; and in many passages we seem to be reading the history of our own time, as when Mr. Grote says:—

“Literal acceptance, and unconscious, uninquiring faith, such as they had obtained from the original auditors to whom they were addressed, they now found only among the multitude—alike retentive of traditional feeling, and fearful of criticising the proceedings of the gods. But, with instructed men, they became rather subjects of respectful and curious analysis—all agreeing that the word, as tendered to them, was inadmissible, yet all equally convinced that it contained important meaning, though hidden, yet not undiscoverable. A very large proportion of the force of Grecian intellect was engaged in searching after this unknown base, by guesses, in which, sometimes,

* ‘Cours de Philos. Positive,’ v. 117.

the principle of semi-historical interpretation was assumed, sometimes that of allegorical, without any collateral evidence in either case, and without possibility of verification. Out of the one assumption grew a string of allegorised phenomenal truths; out of the other a long series of seeming historical events, and chronological persons—both elicited from the transformed mythes, and from nothing else.”

Do we not read here, “as in a glass, darkly,” the reflection of the audacious attempts to construct new Christianities, by accepting tradition, but interpreting it anew, which Pierre Leroux, in France, and the young Hegelians, in Germany, have made so notorious? The speculative Greeks had outgrown the literal interpretations, and fancied that originally the mythes meant exactly what they now interpreted them to mean. But, as Mr. Grote says:—

“The doctrine supposed to have been originally symbolised, and subsequently overclouded, in the Greek mythes, was in reality first intruded into them by the unconscious fancies of later interpreters. It was one of the various roads which instructed men took to escape from the literal admission of the ancient mythes, and to arrive at some new form of belief, more consonant with their ideas of what the attributes and character of the gods ought to be. It was one of the ways of constituting, by help of the mysteries, a philosophical religion apart from the general public, and of connecting that distinction with the earliest periods of Grecian society.”

Indeed, the vehemence with which Xenophanês, the great religious rhapsodist, attacked Homer and Hesiod for

“Such things of the Gods are related by Homer and Hesiod
As would be shame and abiding disgrace to any of mankind;
Promises broken, and thefts; and the one deceiving the other,”

is sufficient proof of the change that had taken place in more cultivated minds. The legends which sufficed for the simple credulity of the contemporaries of Homer, were, to the thinking contemporaries of Xenophanês, nothing less than blasphemous absurdities. The philosopher scornfully laughs at men who

“foolishly think that the Gods are born like as men are,
And have a dress, too, like their own, and their voice and their figure:
But if oxen and horses had hands like ours and fingers,
Then would horses, like unto horses, and oxen, like unto oxen,
Paint and fashion their god-forms, and give to them bodies
Of like shape to their own, as they themselves, too, are fashioned.”*

And Mr. Grote has remarked that—

“The first attempt to disenthral the philosophic intellect from this

* See *Karsten*: ‘*Philosophorum Græcorum Operum Reliquiæ*.’ Pars Prima: Xenophanês p. 41; or *Ritter*: ‘*History of Philos.*’ vol. i.

all-personifying religious faith, and to constitute a method of interpreting nature distinct from the spontaneous inspiration of untaught minds, is to be found in Thalês, Xenophanês, and Pythagoras, in the sixth century before the Christian era. It is in them that we first find the idea of persons tacitly set aside or limited, and an impersonal nature conceived as the object of study. The divine husband and wife, Oceanus and Têthys, parents of many gods, and of the oceanic nymphs, together with the avenging goddess, Styx, are translated into the material substance, *water*, or, as we ought rather to say, the fluid; and Thalês set himself to prove that water was the primitive element, out of which all the natural substances had been formed. He, as well as Xenophanês and Pythagoras, started the problem of physical philosophy, with its objective character and invariable laws, to be discoverable by a proper and methodical application of the human intellect. The Greek word Φύσις, denoting nature, and its derivations, *physics*, and *physiology*, unknown in that large sense to Homer or Hesiod, as well as the word Kosmos, to denote the mundane system, first appears with these philosophers. The elemental analysis of Thalês, the one unchangeable cosmic substance, varying only in appearance, but not in reality, as suggested by Xenophanês, and the geometrical and arithmetical combinations of Pythagoras—all these were different ways of approaching the explanation of physical phænomena, and each gave rise to a distinct school of succession of philosophers. But they all agreed in departing from the primitive method, and in recognising determinate properties, invariable sequences, and objective truth, in nature—either independent of willing or designing agents, or serving to these latter at once as an indispensable subject-matter, and as a limiting condition."

The old creed was fast crumbling away. Beneath the mythes philosophers endeavoured to read recondite meanings; but all such attempts were powerless to save them from destruction.

"One novelty, however, introduced seemingly by the philosopher Empedoclês, and afterwards expanded by others, deserves notice, inasmuch as it modified considerably the old religious creed, by drawing a pointed contrast between gods and dæmons—a distinction hardly at all manifested in Homer, but recognised in the 'Works and Days' of Hesiod. Empedoclês widened the gap between the two, and founded upon it important consequences. The gods were good, immortal, and powerful agents, having free will and intelligence, but without appetite, passion, or infirmity. The dæmons were of a mixed nature, between gods and men, ministers and interpreters from the former to the latter; but invested also with an agency and dispositions of their own. They were very long-lived, but not immortal, and subject to the passions and propensities of men; so that there were among them beneficent and maleficent dæmons, with every shade of intermediate difference. It had been the mistake (according to these

philosophers) of the old mythes to ascribe to the gods proceedings really belonging to the dæmons, who were always the immediate communicants with mortal nature; inspiring prophetic power to the priestesses of the oracles; sending dreams and omens, and perpetually interfering either for good or for evil. The wicked and violent dæmons had committed many enormities, and had sometimes incurred punishment from the gods for so doing; besides this, their bad dispositions had imposed upon men the necessity of appeasing them by religious ceremonies of a kind acceptable to such beings; hence the human sacrifices, the violent, cruel, and obscene exhibitions, the wailings and fastings, the tearing and eating of raw flesh, which it had become customary to practise on various consecrated occasions, and especially in 'the Dionysiac solemnities. Moreover, the discreditable actions imputed to the gods,—the terrific combat; the Typhonic and Titanic convulsions; the rapes, abductions, flight, servitude, and concealment;—all these were really the doings and sufferings of the bad dæmons, placed far below the sovereign agency—equable, undisturbed, and unpolluted—of the immortal gods. The action of such dæmons upon mankind was fitful and intermittent; they sometimes perished, or changed their local abode, so that oracles which had once been inspired became, after a time, forsaken and disfranchised.

"This distinction between gods and dæmons appeared to save, in a great degree, both the truth of the old legends and the dignity of the gods; it obviated the necessity of pronouncing either that the gods were unworthy or the legends untrue. Yet, although devised for the purpose of satisfying a more scrupulous religious sensibility, it was found inconvenient afterwards, when assailants rose against paganism generally; for while it abandoned, as indefensible, a large portion of what had been genuine faith, it still retained the same word dæmon, with an entirely altered signification.

"The Christian writers, in their controversies, found ample warrant among the *earlier* pagan authors for treating all the gods as dæmons; and not less ample warrant among the later pagans for denouncing the dæmons generally, as evil beings."

It has been truly said by Mr. Grote's Edinburgh Reviewer, that "mankind do not pass abruptly from one connected system of thought to another; they first exhaust every contrivance for reconciling the two;" and in the volumes before us we have curious evidence of the way in which this reconciliation was from time to time attempted. The old religion had to be reconciled with advancing knowledge; and in Greece the progress was astonishingly rapid; so rapid as at last to outgrow all possibility of reconciliation. The philosophers became sceptics, and were punished as such; for, we repeat, whatever progress some few thinkers may have attained, the mass were, in all times, devout believers in the ancient mythes. The advance towards mono-

theism, so striking in a few individuals, was regarded and punished as atheism by the nation.

We must quit this subject, so fruitful in reflections, and for which Mr. Grote has supplied such ample materials, with a parting recommendation to the reader that he ponder long on the singular picture it affords of the early history of humanity. And we now turn for a few minutes to the Homeric poems, as more suited to the pages of a literary journal.

There is, perhaps, no vexed question of literary history which presents greater difficulties than that raised by Wolf, including as it does the two very distinct questions—unity of composition, and unity of authorship. Whoever carefully examines the arguments produced on both sides, will, if he come to them dispassionately, be slow in forming a final decision; and he will probably change from side to side, at different stages in the inquiry, if he do not remain at last hesitating between contending probabilities.* Mr. Grote's discussion is conducted with admirable clearness, force, learning, and dignity; if some of his reasonings fail to convince us, there are none that are unworthy of very serious reflection. A brief sketch of the history of the preservation of the Homeric poems may serve to place the subject of discussion clearly before the reader.

In the Greek colonies of Ionia, they are understood to have first been recited, or rather, let us say, to have been *sung*. The date is beyond chronology; we have no sort of evidence that can guide us. The probable date, assigned by Mr. Grote, is between 850 and 776, B.C.

"The mode in which these poems, and indeed all poems, epic as well as lyric, down to the age (probably) of Peisistratus, were circulated and brought to bear upon the public, deserves particular attention. They were not read by individuals, alone and apart, but sung or recited at festivals, or to assembled companies. This seems to be one of the few undisputed facts, with regard to the great poet; for even those who maintain that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were preserved by means of writing, seldom contend that they were read. In appreciating the effect of the poems, we must always take account of this great difference between early Greece and our own times—between the congregation mustered at a solemn festival, stimulated by community of sympathy, listening to a measured and musical recital from the lips of trained bards, or rhapsodes, whose matter was supposed to have been inspired by the muse—and the solitary reader, with a

* Bulwer treats this subject somewhat cavalierly; and has evidently not bestowed much attention on it, by his assumption of the whole argument against the unity of Homer resting upon the fact of writing being unknown at that epoch.

manuscript before him; such manuscript being, down to a very late period in Greek literature, indifferently written, without division into parts, and without marks of punctuation."

These rhapsodists only sang separate portions of the poems, and as these portions were chosen without reference to any sequence, each being a ballad in itself, the plan and composition of the *Iliad* (assuming it to have been one entire poem) was then altogether useless. Solon is the first to whom tradition, such as we can at all rely on, awards the honour of having put an end to this fragmentary method, and of insisting that the rhapsodist should sing the poems of Homer in the order of succession (ἐξ υποβολῆς ρᾶψωδίσθαι); which, according to Wolf, means that Solon ordained that they should sing each ballad in the order of a continuous poem, wherein the succession of subjects and of time should be preserved.* But on this point we can do nothing more than conjecture; our information is too vague to stand as evidence. Whatever office Solon performed, he does not seem to have produced anything like an artistic arrangement of the epics, since the almost unanimous testimony of ancient authors is in favour of Pisistratus, as the first who arranged the scattered rhapsodies into a systematic whole. Wolf, indeed, says, "Vox totius antiquitatis, et, si summam spectes, consentiens fama testatur Pisistratum Carmina Homeri primum consignasse litteris et in eum ordine redeigisse, quo nunc leguntur (Proleg. p. cxlii.); but he only cites Cicero, Pausanias, Josephus, Ælian, Libanius, Suidas, Eustathius, and an anonymous author. These citations are positive enough, since they not only assert Pisistratus to have collected the scattered poems ἡθροίζετο, but one of them, Suidas, actually says, Homer was put together and put in order by many, but above all, by Pisistratus, συνέτεθ' καὶ συνετάχθη ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ Πεισιπλάτου. And perhaps we are to accept the negative evidence of the silence of the other authors. Certain it is, that in the inscription on the statue to Pisistratus, at Athens, one of his claims upon the gratitude of mankind is there said to be, that he collected together the scattered songs of Homer, "which formerly were sang separately:"

ὅς τον Ὅμηρον
ἡθροῖσα, σποράδην τὸ πρὶν αἰδόμενον.

Whether the πρὶν must be understood absolutely—whether we are to suppose that before that time the songs had *never* been

* Wolf: Prolegomena ad Homerum sive de Operum Homericorum prisca et genuina forma variisque mutationibus et probabili ratione emendandi. Halle, 1795, page cxl.

united, or that they had, subsequently to their original composition, been separated by the rhapsodists, is in truth the kernel of the whole Homeric controversy; so that we will not at present pretend to decide upon it; but the following suggestions may be worthy of consideration.

Solon, it appears, had already effected a *ῥαφή*, or an arrangement of the rhapsodies into something like epic order. Previously there had been no mention of any such poems as the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*; but separate rhapsodies were referred to, such as the Embassy to Achilles, the Funeral Games, the Slaughter of the Suitors, &c.* It is difficult to understand, as Mr. Coleridge remarks, the great merit of Solon in this achievement, if at the very time he and the rhapsodists had a common written copy of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But it is still more difficult, as it appears to us, to understand what merit so worthy of recording in the brief inscription on his statue, Pisistratus could have claimed, had he merely assembled the scattered fragments of an original composition which had become dispersed. Either he knew of the original composition—knew the plan and march of its events (and in that case his merit amounts to little more than that of a manager who should insist upon the three parts of Shakspeare's *Henry VI.* being always performed at once and in due order, the players having hitherto performed them separately, and out of order), or else he had *no* pre-existing model, except that rudely fashioned by Solon, in which case his merit is architectonic, and worthy of proud record. Now, there is no testimony, however vague, which can be brought forward to support the idea of any copy of the *Iliad*, as a whole, having been extant when Pisistratus performed his work. As separate ballads, or epics, separately sung, *σποράδην αὐδόμενον* he knew them;—as an epic, put in order, *συνεράχθη*, he left them.

Mr. Grote, indeed, is a strenuous opponent of the hypothesis just laid down. He thinks, firstly, that Pisistratus could have no *motive* in stringing together a number of separate songs; secondly, that he was not a poet seeking to interest the public by new combinations; thirdly, that if he attempted large innovations, by transposing and blending together many well-known songs, a novelty so bold would have displeased the Athenians;

* Wolf: *Proleg.* p. cxli. Coleridge: *Classic Poets*, 2d. edit., p. 53. On the other hand, Mr. Grote remarks, that until the *Iliad* was divided into books by Aristarchus, there was no method of calling attention to any particular portion of the poem, except by special indication of the subject matter; and he cites the "Homeric Scholiast, who refers to Quintus Calaber *ἐν τῇ Ἀμυζονομαχίᾳ* which was only one portion of his long poem." This does not destroy the remark of Wolf; but it prevents its being quite conclusive.

fourthly, that if such a novelty had been enforced at Athens, no probable reason can be given why all the other towns, and all the rhapsodes throughout Greece, should abnegate their previous habits in favour of it; and fifthly, that the Alexandrian critics do not even notice the Pisistratic recension among the many manuscripts which they had before them, from which fact Mr. Payne Knight infers, that they did not possess it, or did not esteem it.

To these five objections we will reply *seriatim*. Firstly and secondly, the motive was somewhat the same as that which actuated Solon when he attempted to introduce order in the rhapsodies. Let us take the Spanish romances relating to the Cid, as an illustration. Let us suppose these romances composed by different poets, and recited by different bards. One prefers the adventures of the Cid's manhood, a second those of his boyhood, a third those of his old age. At a festival, each recites the ballads he prefers. It then occurs to some nobleman, that the effects would be enhanced if he who sang of the hero's boyhood, was succeeded by the bard who sang of his manhood, and that one succeeded by him who sang of the hero's old age. This was Solon's improvement. Now, let us suppose Spain become more literary, and some nobleman undertaking to have the separate ballads relating to the Cid, and to his great contemporaries, united and blended into one poem. This was, we believe, the improvement introduced by Pisistratus; and this is quite irrespective of the question as to whether the poems were originally entire, and had subsequently become separated, or whether they were composed separately. Thirdly, begs the question. We fancy the Athenians would have been very pleased to see the various ballads blended into one. Pisistratus conceived that by so doing he had merited their gratitude; accordingly it was recorded on his statue. Fourthly, there is no evidence, that we are aware of, to show that the other states of Greece *did* abnegate their previous habits, until the literary precedence of Athens made what Athens did regarded as a model for all other states. Fifthly, Ritschl supposes the Pisistratic recension to have formed the vulgate for the text of the Alexandrine critics, who named specially other MSS. only when they diverged from this vulgate. Welcker supposes that it was either lost or carried away when Xerxes took Athens. Mr. Grote, who cites both these answers to his own objection, does not think them conclusive; nor do we, but they seem at least as valid as his objection.

We have reserved our best argument for the last. Mr. Grote contends that there must have been an original poem, guided by which Pisistratus was enabled to place the separate rhapsodies in

order; and his reason for so contending is, that the Athenians would not have tolerated any transposition or interpolation. But there is a passage in Eustathius, which Mr. Grote has perhaps overlooked. This passage says, that the *ancients* talked of the tenth book of the Iliad (that in which Dolon is slain by Ulysses), as composed by Homer, distinct from the Iliad, and that it was *introduced among the parts* of the Iliad by Pisistratus: *φασιν οἱ παλαιοὶ, τὴν βασιφωδίαν ταύτην ὑφ' Ὁμήρου ἰδίῃ τετάχθαι καὶ μὴ εγκαταλεῖναι τοῖς μέρεισι τῆς Ἰλιάδος, ὑπὸ δὲ Πεισιστράτου τετάχθαι εἰς τὴν ποιήσων.** Now here we have evidence of the interpolation of a whole book, which, though episodic, is not more so than several other books in the poem, and there is no hint of any exception being taken at it. If Pisistratus could interpolate one whole book, he might have interpolated more, provided his interpolations were all Homeric.

From Pisistratus to Aristarchus, a period of three centuries elapsed, during which the text underwent endless alterations. One proof of this advanced by Wolf is, that passages quoted by Plato and others from Homer, are now no longer to be found in any of the manuscripts.† The transformations which it underwent in passing through the hands of the Alexandrian critics were very considerable; but this is a point upon which the curious reader must consult the learned, candid, but somewhat rambling Prolegomena of Wolf.

The result of this brief view of their history is, that the Homeric poems can in nowise be regarded by us as wearing their pristine aspect, whatever that may have been. First we have to allow for the inevitable alterations which they must have undergone when depending on the rhapsodists for their preservation, when wandering bards sang them all over Greece. Next we must allow for the alterations induced by the "putting together," whatever it may have been, of the Pisistratidæ. Then came three generations of critics and editors. Finally, the Alexandrians, with their rejections, interpolations, and improvements. Adopt what theory you please about Homer, *you cannot imagine that in the Iliad and Odyssey you have the poems Homer composed—as he composed them.*

* Eust. p. 785, l. 41, cited by Franceson: '*Essai sur la question si Homère a connu l'usage de l'écriture, et si l'Iliade et l'Odyssée sont en entier de lui.*' Berlin, 1818, p. 119. This is a popular exposition of Wolf's *Prolegomena*, and well executed.

† It is worthy of remark that the episode of the hunt on Parnassus (Odys. xix.) was unknown to Aristotle. We may indeed say with Wolf, "Itaque ex hoc textu quem hodie manibus terimus, nemo existimare potest, quomodo primum scriptus fuerit: immo si potest Pisistratum alii atque alii rhapsodi ad scribendum adhiberentur, necesse erat formam ejus subinde variari et mutari, prius quam in manus Zenodoti et Aristarchi veniret."—p. cli.

Were the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* originally composed as entire poems? and were they composed by one or by several poets? Mr. Coleridge has given the three answers to these questions.

1st. "That Homer wrote the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in their present form; that by means of the desultory recitations of parts only, by the itinerant rhapsodists, this original unity of form was lost in Western Greece, and that Pisistratus and his son did no more than collect all these parts, and re-arrange them in their primitive order.

2nd. "That Homer wrote the existing verses constituting the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in such short songs or rhapsodies, as he himself, an itinerant rhapsode, could sing or recite separately; and that these songs were, for the first time, put into one body, and disposed in their epic form by Pisistratus.

3rd. "That certain nuclei, or continuous portions of each poem, were the work of one or more principal bards; that these poems, founded on some particular events, or descriptive of the prowess of some particular hero, were interpolated by episodes by other poets; that recitations very soon compacted the verses of both into several large masses; and that the portions of the cycle, so reduced into form, and rendered popular by their superior merit, were the materials, by the help of which, out of transposition and supplement, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as poems, were compiled. The first of these opinions is the common opinion everywhere, except in Germany; the second seems to have been Bentley's; the last is Vico's, Wolf's, and Heyne's."

The general feeling in England not only sides with the common opinion, but regards the Wolfian hypothesis with that distrust which ever accompanies the attempt to rob us of a pleasing error.

"Non servastis, ait, cui sic extorta voluptas,
Et demtus per vim mentis gratissimus error."

In such a case truth seems like a pedantic impertinence. We would *rather* be in error: we feel more comfortable in it. Bulwer says the Wolfian hypothesis is one which a scholar might support, but which no poet would have invented. Nevertheless, the greatest poet of modern times—Göthe—was a convert; though in the later years of his life he came round again, in some measure, to the old opinion. Poets, however, are not, we submit, the proper judges in such a cause: they are not impartial.

The arguments *pro* and *con* may be divided into two classes. I. Historical; and II. Critical. For facility of reference, we shall number the paragraphs.

I. 1. It is conceded that the ancient writers almost universally speak of Homer, not only as a person, but as the single-handed author of the Homeric poems. This, however, has little force, when we reflect that the same authority asserts Homer to be

the author of poems now universally admitted to be spurious. In fact the evidence is nullified by counter evidence. And if neither Thucydides, nor Herodotus, nor Plato, nor Aristotle, had any misgivings on this head, it is to be referred partly to their thorough ignorance of Homer's history, and to the uninquiring, credulous spirit, which had not then been disturbed by literary scepticism. The same unsuspectingness which made them receive all the poems as his which passed current under his name, may account for their always speaking of him as the single author of the two epics.

2. As far as tradition can be quoted, where all tradition is open to such criticism, the work attributed to Pisistratus is decidedly unfavorable to the original unity of the poems, though not absolutely conclusive.

3. It has been established beyond a question, that the art and materials of writing were, at least for literary purposes, utterly unknown till long after the supposed composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. There has been a great display of learning made on this subject; but the above conclusion is now irresistible. It is therefore argued,—

“That these poems could not have been committed to writing during their composition; that in a question of comparative probabilities like this, it is a much grosser improbability that even the single *Iliad*, amounting, after all curtailments and expungings, to upwards of 15,000 lines, should have been actually conceived and perfected in the brain of one man, with no other help but his own or others' memory, than that it should be in fact the result of the labours of several distinct authors; that if the *Odyssey* be counted, the improbability is doubled; that if we add, upon the authority of Thucydides and Aristotle, the *Hymns* and *Margites*, not to say the *Batrachomyomachia*, that which was improbable becomes morally impossible; that all that has been so often said, as to the fact of as many verses, or more, having been committed to memory, is beside the point in question, which is not whether 15,000 or 30,000 lines can be learned by heart, but, whether one man can originally compose a poem of that length, which shall be thought to be a perfect model of symmetry and consistency of parts, without the aid of writing materials.”*

This, it must be confessed, is a strong case. It brings the question into this shape: Is it more consonant with probability that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* should originally have been composed and recited as separate rhapsodies, or that one man should,

* Coleridge, 'Introduction to the Classic Poets,' p. 39. Comp. Wolf. Proleg. p. lxxxviii. sq.

without other assistance than his memory, have composed two such gigantic poems, so varied in their structure, as they now are?

4. Unwilling to give up Homer, critics have endeavoured, by various arguments and analogous cases, to show that the composition of such poems by memory alone is not impossible. But their arguments have gone rather towards establishing the *power* of memory, than of affording analogous cases of the *composition* of long poems unassisted by writing. Such is the purpose of Mr. Grote's remarks on this point. Mr. Coleridge, however, cites, perhaps, the most pertinent of all the passages yet brought forward, viz., that of Silvio Pellico, who declares that he and his friend Maroncelli, composed many thousands of verses in their confinement, with nothing but the faculty of memory to rely upon.

"Maroncelli nel suo sotteraneo avea composti molti versi d'una gran bellezza. Me li andava recitando, e ne componeva altri. Io pure ne componeva, e li recitava. E la nostra memoria esercitavasi a ritenere tutto ciò. Mirabile fu la capacità, che acquistammo di poetare lunghe produzioni a memoria, limarle e tornarle a limare infinite volte, e ridurle a quel segno medesimo di possibile finitezza che avremo attenuto scrivendole. Maroncelli compose così a poco a poco, e ritenne in mente parecchie migliaia di versi lirici ed epici. Io feci la tragedia di Leoniero da Dertona e varie altre cose."*

This passage is indubitably of great importance in the matter now under discussion, and we are surprised that Mr. Coleridge should refuse to admit it as a pertinent example, "until we can see the verses so composed, and determine the relation they bear to the poetry of the Homeric poems." We fancy that the present question is not one of poetry, but of the powers of composition, aided only by memory. Whether Maroncelli's verses were bad or good, does not affect the question. They were verses; they were composed; and they were retained without writing. And although they were possibly simpler than those of the *Iliad*—that is to say, they set forth a simpler subject, and did not tell so complex a story, nor introduced so many characters; still the *fact* is of great pertinence. After pondering on it, the reader will be able to give more weight to this passage from Mr. Milman's celebrated article.†

"Have we any just or reasonable pretensions to assign limits either to the facility, or the fidelity, with which a poet, of entirely unincumbered mind, devoted with his whole soul to the development of his

* 'Le mie Prigione,' c. 75.

† 'Quarterly Review,' No. 87.

powers, habituated to the constant recitation of his songs, may have drawn at once the bold outline of a great epopea, and have filled up its parts with the strictest symmetry; or, as is more probable, having settled the main interest on which the effect of the whole was to depend, may have given free scope to his invention, perpetually diverged from his course as striking incidents led him astray, yet as constantly returned, and brought his episodes into unison with the great predominant purport of the song?"

The fact quoted from Pellico, and the argument used by Mr. Milman, must be admitted to have very materially weakened the conclusiveness of Wolf's argument.

But although the *possibility* of the composition of such poems as the Iliad, unassisted by any writing materials, may be considered as established, and Wolf's argument can no longer be called irresistible, we must not be hurried into the conclusion that *therefore* the poems *were* originally so composed. If we set out by assuming as a fact, that the poems were originally composed such as we now have them, the result of this paragraph will certainly be to protect our assumption from the assaults of the Wolfian army, or that portion of it which uses that battering ram—the impossibility of their being composed without writing. If, on the contrary, we set out with no assumption of the kind—if we wish to get at the best conclusion which evidence will afford, we shall say that neither argument decides the question.

5. The historical evidence appears to be inconclusive. The arguments, though we think somewhat more favorable to the Wolfian hypothesis than to the common opinion, cannot, candidly, be thought strong enough to decide the question either way. Each party sees its own evidence with greater clearness, or with greater prepossession, than it sees that on the opposite side.

Let us, therefore, now turn to the second portion of this enquiry, and examine the critical arguments.

II. 1. At the outset it should be observed, that all the arguments, *pro* and *con*, which are founded on the structure of the Homeric poems, labour under this serious objection: the poems are confessedly not such as they were in the time of Plato and Aristotle, to say nothing of the changes which they must have undergone before that time; so much rejection, alteration, and interpolation have they undergone, that one might as well pretend to judge of a coat, originally made by Stultz, altered to suit a valet, then taken in to fit the valet's son, worn out, and frequently patched at school, and finally dressed up anew by the old clothesman, into whose hands it fell. People always argue about the unity of the Iliad, as if the Iliad had come down to

us, like the *Æneid*, with no other variations than the mistakes of copyists !

2. We cannot, therefore, coincide with Mr. Milman, when he says :—

“ Yet, after all, the internal evidence of the poem itself must decide the question, both on critical, and what are called abroad, æsthetic grounds. Does the *Iliad* appear to have been cast, whole and perfect, in one mould, by the vivifying energy of the original creator, or does it bear undeniable marks of its being an assemblage of unconnected parts, blended together, or fused into one mass, by a different and more recent compiler?”

If this criterion were adopted as final, the dispute would never be settled. According to the hypothesis from which the inquirer proceeds do the proofs in his favor appear undeniable.

3. On the one side there are many who, with Mr. Milman, will declare the fable of the *Iliad* to be among its greatest perfections, which, the more it is studied, the more does it appear like a vast and various, yet still uniform building, with a distinct relation of parts, and an admirable consonance in its general effect. This is the feeling of the ordinary reader.

4. But admitting this excellence, it does not hence follow that this perfection of fable was the work of the original poet. Small epics, all on the same event, may very easily be supposed to blend into one large epic, wherein the unity would not be technical, but, to adopt Mr. Milman's distinction, an unity of interest. The Spanish romances might be so blended, by skilful critics.

5. Still more cogent is the argument of Wolf. If the Homeric poems were originally constructed with such exquisite art, how comes it that the cyclic poets, who immediately succeeded Homer, should, one and all, have composed their works on a plan directly the reverse of his? “*In illis paucis, quæ scimus, hoc est maxime memorabile, quod Cyclici omnes hæc Homerica artificia vel non animadverterunt, vel ab æqualibus animadversa imitari aut noluerunt aut non potuerunt.*”—*Proleg.* p. cxxvi. Yet surely this interesting mode of telling a story would at least have been imitated, if not rivalled? The poets must have been fully alive to its excellence; and it would be as reasonable to suppose a Fletcher or a Massinger going back to the style of a ‘Mother Bombie,’ or ‘Gammer Gurton's Needle,’ after Shakspeare had set before them his splendid models, as to suppose the post-Homeric poets going back to the old method of beginning *ab ovo*, and concluding when the war is at an end, instead of plunging in *medias res*, like Homer, and, like him, diversifying the main narrative with episodes, and

varied actions and characters. "Etenim legat nobis aliquis epitomas illas Cypriorum et aliorum quinque Carminum nuper editas, et experiatur, an in ullo eorum primarium heroëm, aut primarium actionem, aut repetitam ex mediis rebus narrationem, qualis in *Odyssea* est, reperiatur."—*Wolf*, p. cxxvi. Now, every one will admit that it would be easier to rival the plots than the poetry of Homer; and that none of his successors should have attempted to do so, is very strong presumptive proof that they had not the models before them.

6. If, therefore, we admit Mr. Milman's argument (II. 2), we shall have to admit, that not only are the Homeric poems astonishing in intrinsic merit, but that they present an unparalleled instance of works of art standing *alone* in their epoch; springing up in full perfection out of a rude age—owning no precursors—modelled from no previous efforts—reaching at once that standard of excellence which the history of all other literatures exhibits as the slow growth of time and labour; and not only borrowing nothing from pre-existing poets, but leaving to successors no ambition to rival them! That there were poets before Homer we know; that there were poets, his contemporaries and successors, we also know; but we know that none of them ever produced anything at all resembling the Homeric poems such as we have them now. The conclusion then must be that Homer was a sort of miraculous appearance, which has no parallel in history; a conclusion we will not pronounce absolutely untenable, but which certainly requires very powerful reasons to make it acceptable.

The foregoing paragraph seems to us to contain the best answer to Mr. Milman; firstly, because (as *per* II. 1), we are really in no condition to decide upon the art, or no art, exhibited in the *original* construction of the poems; secondly, because as we are without data, and rely only on probability, the internal evidence of the poems, however striking, cannot force us, in defiance of all history, to accept so improbable an hypothesis as that Homer should have reached perfection at once, and no successor have taken him as a model.

7. But the defenders of Wolf deny this very unity. They point out the various contradictions and discrepancies which abound in these poems. They refer to the scepticism of the Alexandrian critics respecting several portions. They detect certain gaps which still remain to indicate where several distinct ballads have been joined together. And even Mr. Grote, though upholding the common opinion in a somewhat modified form, believes the *Iliad* to have been originally an *Achillëis*, which was subsequently enlarged to an *Iliad*. He says:—

" But it is not necessary to affirm, that the whole poem, as we now read it, belonged to the original and preconceived plan. In this respect, the *Iliad* produces upon my mind an impression totally different from the *Odyssey*. In the latter poem, the characters and incidents are fewer, and the whole plot appears of one projection, from the beginning, down to the death of the suitors; none of the parts look as if they had been composed separately, and inserted, by way of addition, into a pre-existing smaller poem. But the *Iliad*, on the contrary, presents the appearance of a house built upon a plan comparatively narrow, and subsequently enlarged by successive additions. The first book, together with the eighth, and the books from the eleventh to the twenty-second inclusive, seem to form the primary organisation of the poem, then properly an *Achilléis*; the twenty-third and twenty-fourth books are additions at the tail of this primitive poem, which still leave it nothing more than an enlarged *Achilléis*; but the books, from the second to the seventh inclusive, together with the tenth, are of a wider and more comprehensive character, and convert the poem from an *Achilléis* into an *Iliad*. The primitive frontispiece, inscribed with the anger of Achilles and its direct consequences, yet remains after it has ceased to be co-extensive with the poem. The parts added, however, are not necessarily inferior in merit to the original poem; so far is this from being the case, that amongst them are comprehended some of the noblest efforts of the Grecian epic. Nor are they more recent in date than the original; strictly speaking, they must be a little more recent, but they belong to the same generation and state of society as the primitive *Achilléis*. These qualifications are necessary to keep apart different questions, which, in discussions of Homeric criticism, are but too often confounded."

This hypothesis seems an evasion of the difficulties occasioned by the numerous discrepancies; and if we do not accept the hypothesis, it damages the argument, by the very admission of the necessity for some such hypothesis. Mr. Grote, moreover, has very successfully shown that the ninth book of the *Iliad* is altogether an interpolation, and is an open contradiction to all the rest; though we are far from assenting to his judgment on the merit of that book, which seems to us worthy of Homer in his finest moods. The eighth book ought to be read in immediate connexion with the eleventh, Mr. Grote thinks; for there are several passages in the eleventh and following books which prove that the poet would not have had present to his mind the main event of the ninth book—namely, the embassy to Achilles, proffering ample atonement.

This position has been attacked by Mr. Grote's Edinburgh Reviewer; but, though he has made a breach, he has not gained a victory, as it appears to us. Whichever side in this dispute we take, it is equally clear that the poem abounds in glaring inconsistencies and discrepancies; and these are said to disprove the idea of original unity of composition.

8. To this conclusion, however, many still object; they admit the facts, but they adduce counter-facts. An ingenious article, published in the ninth volume of the 'British and Foreign Review,' and entitled, 'The Self-contradictions of Homer,' undertook to point out the inconsistencies and contradictions to be found in Virgil's epic. The reader would be astonished to see what a case is made out against the unity of the *Æneid*, tested by the principles of Wolf and Heyne. Of course we can do no more than refer to it; but it really should be read by all interested in this discussion. The argument is, that if so careful and critical a poet as Virgil, in spite of the aid of writing-materials, nevertheless fell into manifold contradictions, how much more likely is it that Homer, aided only by his memory, and not addressing a critical audience, should fall into such blunders!

9. It is argued, also, that the contradictions prove the originality of the poems. Had the critics been solely occupied with forming out of existing ballads an epic whole, they would not have let such contradictions escape them. The poet is more careless than the critic. Mr. Milman has aptly cited the case of Cervantes, who, in the second part of *Don Quixote*, *did* forget the name of Sancho's wife, "but no such *lapsus* can be alleged against the spurious continuator of that romance, Avellanada."

By such arguments is it endeavoured to evade the repugnant hypothesis which would destroy all our early and later associations with respect to these first of epics.

10. Mr. Grote's defence seems to us the most ingenious. He thinks, that if the *Odyssey* alone had been preserved to us, there would never have been a dispute respecting the Homeric unity. It is pervaded, almost from first to last, by marks of continuous adaptation. Its inconsistencies are so few, and of so little importance, that they can only be regarded as pardonable instances of haste or carelessness. If the *Odyssey* could be proved to have been originally one entire poem, of course the arguments brought against the *Iliad* fall to the ground.

"Now, looking at the *Odyssey* by itself, the proofs of an unity of design seem unequivocal and everywhere to be found: a premeditated structure, and a concentration of interest upon one prime hero, under well-defined circumstances, may be traced from the first book to the twenty-third. *Odysseus* is always, either directly or indirectly, kept before the reader, as a warrior returning from the fulness of glory at Troy, exposed to manifold and protracted calamities during his return home, on which his whole soul is so bent that he refuses even the immortality offered by *Calypsó*;—a victim, moreover, even after his return, to mingled injury and insult from the suitors, who have long been plundering his property, and dishonouring his house; but, at

length, obtaining, by valour and cunning united, a signal revenge, which restores him to all that he had lost. All the persons and all the events in the poem are subsidiary to this main plot; and the divine agency, necessary to satisfy the feeling of the Homeric man, is put forth by Poseidôn and Athênê, in both cases from dispositions directly bearing upon Odysseus. To appreciate the unity of the *Odyssey*, we have only to read the objections taken against that of the *Iliad*, especially in regard to the long withdrawal of Achilles, not only from the scene but from the memory, and the independent prominence of Ajax, Diomêdês, and other heroes. How far we are entitled from hence to infer the want of premeditated unity in the *Iliad*, will be presently considered; but it is certain that the constitution of the *Odyssey*, in this respect, everywhere demonstrates the presence of such unity. Whatever may be the interest attached to Penelopê, Telemachus, or Eumæus, we never disconnect them from their association with Odysseus. The present is not the place for collecting the many marks of artistical structure dispersed throughout this poem, but it may be worth while to remark, that the final catastrophe realised in the twenty-second book—the slaughter of the suitors in the very house which they were profaning—is distinctly and prominently marked out in the first and second books, promised by Teiresias in the eleventh, by Athênê in the thirteenth, and by Helen in the fifteenth, and gradually matured, by a series of suitable preliminaries, throughout the eight books preceding its occurrence. Indeed, what is principally evident, and what has been often noticed in the *Odyssey*, is the equable flow, both of the narrative and the events; the absence of that rise and fall of interest which is sufficiently conspicuous in the *Iliad*."

Certainly, if Mr. Milman's criterion be adopted, Mr Grote's argument is irresistible. The internal evidence of the *Odyssey* is unquestionably in favour of unity; and with it the battle is gained. If, however, we decline accepting internal evidence—and it really seems to us that we must decline it—Mr. Grote's argument is robbed of its force. Assume that the *Odyssey* was formed out of smaller epics, and it stands to reason that its unity would be greater than that of the *Iliad*. The one poem treats of the adventures of Ulysses; the other of the adventures of the Grecian heroes before the walls of Troy. Mr. Grote himself makes out an excellent unity in the *Achillêis*; and had an *Achillêis* descended to us in the place of the *Iliad*, we should have compared it for construction with the *Odyssey*. Make an epic out of the ballads relating to the *Cid*, and you may preserve a praiseworthy unity; but make one out of the *Romancero general*, and your task will be less easy. We think, therefore, that although Mr. Grote's argument is powerful in support of the common opinion, it is powerless against the contrary opinion.

11. The foregoing arguments, *pro* and *con*, have been con-

trusted with as much impartiality as we could employ, though, doubtless, our own leaning towards the Wolfian hypothesis has given a certain predominance to the arguments which favour it. The result seems greatly in favour of it hitherto. But there is yet another ground upon which the question must be debated, and that is what is called æsthetic ground.

12. We have little doubt that much of the opposition which the Wolfian hypothesis arouses, is owing to the supposition, that if we deny the original unity of the *Iliad*, we thereby pronounce Homer to be a mythe, we cast his statue from its pedestal, and rob the poet's Pantheon of its brightest ornament. The alarm is unfounded. Æsthetical susceptibility need be under no dread, even if the *Iliad* be declared a collection of ballads. True it is, as Voltaire says, error has its merits :

"On court, hélas, après la vérité,
Ah ! croyez-moi, l'erreur a son mérite."

But this is a case where truth dissipates no charm. The beauty of the Homeric poems is the same, whether one or twenty Homers were the creators.

13. This is the repugnant notion ; twenty Homers ! when the world has elsewhere seen no rival of one ? Bulwer asks, with astonishment, "Can our wildest imagination form more monstrous hypotheses than these, viz., (αα) that several poets, all possessed of the very highest order of genius (never before or since surpassed) lived in the same age ;—(ββ) that that genius was so exactly similar in each, that we cannot detect in the thoughts, the imagery, the conception, and the treatment of character, human and divine, as manifest in each, the least variety in these wonderful minds ;—(γγ) that, out of the immense store of their wonderful legends they all agreed in selecting one subject, the war of Troy ;—(δδ) that their different mosaics so nicely fitted one into the other, that, by the mere skill of an able editor, they were joined into a whole, so symmetrical that the acutest ingenuity of ancient critics could never discover the imposture ;—(εε) and that of all these poets, so miraculous in their genius, no single name, save that of Homer, was recorded by the general people to whom they sung ?"

14. Undeniably a strong case. We have five positions to attack. The first (αα) presents a bold front. It may be undermined in two directions. Firstly, the improbability of several men of genius living in the same age, is more than questionable. There never was a solitary great man ! There never was a great artist standing alone amidst a race of pigmies. The epochs distinguished in the history of the world by the glory of any one

luminous mind, have been epochs of general intellectual activity; and the great captain of his age has always been surrounded by men of kindred, if not of equal, genius.

Secondly, although admitting that the Homeric poems are marvellous poems, healthy, vigorous, beautiful and picturesque, yet we can by no means agree that it is almost as impossible to imagine two Shakspeares, as two Homers. Shakspeare's individuality is very marked and peculiar: two such writers, therefore, are not likely to appear together. Homer is so entirely impersonal, so objective, so free from all individual peculiarity, that we have no means of detecting what is his from what is another's; no more than we can detect any differences in the authorship of the Spanish romances. But of this more anon.

(ββ) This is answered in the foregoing paragraph. It may be further answered from Bulwer's own book, p. 272, where he pertinently remarks, that after Schlegel and Stevens having attributed to Shakspeare plays certainly not his, we may be doubtful respecting our acumen in ascertaining what is Homeric and what not. If our acumen be so doubtful, no argument can be drawn from our *not* detecting any variety in the style and treatment of the poems. But we altogether dissent from the assertion, that the poems do not exhibit varieties in the treatment of human and divine character. The Gods are sometimes treated with a seriousness very different from the rough hilarity of other passages; and the pathos and passion of the 22nd and 24th books (the latter suspected, even by the ancients, to be spurious), are treated in a style which we hold to be unlike that of the other books.* It would take us too long to show this; and, after all, such questions are insoluble.

(γγ) This is unanswerable. (δδ) This has often been answered. (εε) This is a difficulty, but not insurmountable. The Homeridæ may have contained, in their *gens*, all the poets who wrote these epics; and there seems no reason to doubt that the Homeridæ did largely interpolate.

15. The difficulty of supposing several men of genius equal to that displayed in the Homeric poems, arises solely from what we cannot but regard as a misconception of the nature of that genius; a very natural misconception indeed, but one which a little scrutiny would dispel. To conceive two Virgils, two Dantes,

* An attentive study makes us aware of very remarkable differences in the style. Take the first and second books; in one there is not a single simile, in the other they abound; nay in one passage five similes are strung together (II. v. 455-480.)

two Miltons, or two Göthes, would indeed be difficult; but we find no difficulty in conceiving twenty Homers, though we think the Iliad and Odyssey as great as the Æneid, the Divine Comedy, Paradise Lost, or Faust. We make a distinction between the superiority of the poem, and the superiority of the poet. It may look like an idle paradox to say so, but we are firmly convinced that an analysis of the pleasure given by the Homeric poems, while it in nowise diminished our admiration for those poems, would greatly diminish our admiration for their author, or authors. Let us be understood. All early ages are poetical; their language is vitally metaphorical—unconsciously so. In the infancy of society, as Shelley says, every author is necessarily a poet, because language itself is poetry. Every original language, near to its source, is in itself the chaos of a cyclic poem: the copiousness of lexicography, and the distinctions of grammar, are the works of a later age. Beyond this the early poet lives in a free communion with nature;

“Not with blinded eyesight poring over miserable books.”

His own passions have free scope; he lives in a society where all the passions are freely and undisguisedly exhibited, and wherein adventure is the condiment of life. Moreover, the vast field of invention is open to him; he is not bound to follow in the footsteps of the poets who have gone before him, and so to distort truth for the sake of appearing original.

Not to pursue this vein further, let us here ask,—Are not the great qualities of the Homeric poems precisely the qualities which such conditions would foster: vivid imagery, clear pictures, healthy vigour, *naïveté*, simple passions, and untrammelled originality? These qualities, which the modern poet can only attain by the subtleties of consummate art, and then never in the same perfection, in the Homeric poet were spontaneous: he uttered such poetry, because he could utter no other, and his simple utterance was poetry. Give him great, though not rare, sensibility, a large musical soul, such as hundreds are gifted with, and he will pour forth that sort of poetry which forms the wonder and delight of after ages—an Iliad, a Niebelungen Lied, or a Romancero. If it be objected, that the Iliad surpasses all similar works, and is, therefore, not fairly classed with them, the answer is, that its superiority is not more striking than we have reason to expect from so gifted and so splendid a race as the Greeks, who reached perfection in so many paths. If it be objected, that the Homeric epics surpass the cyclic epics, the answer is, that the celebrity of the Homeridæ was grounded on that superiority. In our own day, we have seen such poets as

Scott, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, Byron, Moore, Shelley, Keats, Leigh Hunt, &c., as contemporaries; and no wonder is excited at their superiority over the numerous crowd of poetical aspirants.

Admitting, then, all that is claimed for the Homeric poems, in the shape of transcendent poetry, we still see no reason to regard the authors as miraculous poets; the more so, as it is generally forgotten, in this argument, how much our delight in the poems is purely critical and historical: traits of simplicity, indications of early barbarism, pictures of a bygone creed and a bygone civilisation, which rouse us to raptures of delight, and yet are no merits in the poet. We always read the poem with a secret understanding that we are to find in it the expression of an antique period, and do not, therefore, demand from it the refinements of modern poetry, the qualities of modern art; nor are we shocked at *any* faults, *any* rudenesses, *any* tautologies. The very faults for which we should pitilessly condemn a Virgil or a Milton, become positive sources of delight when we meet with them in Homer. In Homer, artlessness has the effect of exquisite art. But *is* it art? This is the point assumed: because Homer gives greater delight than Virgil, he is pronounced a greater artist; which is preposterous. One might almost as well say, that because a real peach is more delicious to the taste than a painted imitation would be, the gardener is a greater artist than the painter. Homer, like all early poets, can scarcely be said to feign: he writes things, not words; and in his day all things were vivified with imagination. Later poets have to imitate things *that were*, because reason has remorselessly slain the

“Fair humanities of old religion.

And to yon starry home they now are gone,
Spirits or Gods, that used to share this earth
With man as with their friend.”

The later poet has to create, by art, something of the effect which the early poet created, by a rude untutored utterance of the thoughts and feelings that were struggling within him.

We know not whether we make our argument intelligible; but it seems to us impossible for any dispassionate reader of Homer not to be struck with the excessive rudeness and artlessness of his style—with the absence of any great o’ermastering individuality, which, were it there, would set its stamp upon every line, as in Dante, Milton, or Shakspeare—with the absence, in short, of everything that can, properly speaking, be called art. People, indeed, talk of the exquisite delineation of character. We cannot see it. The characters are *true*; but they

are merely outlined. They are to the characters of Shakspeare—to which rash admiration has sometimes compared them—as the rude outline of a figure on the wall is to the perfect sculpture of a Phidias. The passions, indeed, are finely portrayed; but what poet, in any age, has failed *there*? Homer uses the most melodious and flexible language known; yet much of his verse is a mere jingle, and is stuffed out with idle epithets and particles, or with tautologies, merely thrust in to keep up the jingle. If any one will maintain that the style—*i. e.* the language—of the Iliad is like that of artistic poets, we cannot argue with him—we cease all attempts at convincing him; but we must doubt whether so hardy a critic can be found. And if the language be given up, the whole point is given up; because language is the touchstone of poetic art, since it is the only thing which the before-mentioned conditions, surrounding and influencing the early poet, cannot bestow, and which, even in later poets, marks at once the distinction between the real artist and the bungling imitator.

“L’art est une forme; et rien autre chose,” says George Sand, with profound insight. To the same purport Göthe—

“Müsstet in dem Kunstbetrachten
Immer eins wie Alles achten,
Nichts ist drinnen, Nichts ist draussen,
Denn was *innen* das ist *aussen*.”

And elsewhere, “None will comprehend the simple truth, that the highest, the only operation of art, as of nature, is formation (*Gestaltung*).” This doctrine will with difficulty be accepted in England, where an unreasonable contempt for style is usually paraded, owing to the fallacy that the form of a poem is like a dress, something put on, whereas it is a shape in which thoughts and feelings incarnate themselves. The distinction between simple poetical emotion and poetical art, is the distinction between feeling and creating. Thousands who have poetical thoughts are unable to incarnate them in appropriate expressions;—they are not poets. If, therefore, the art of a poet consists in this operation—this *Gestaltung*—it follows that the true test of the artist is to be found in his style; and style is perfect, in as far as it is the most beautiful and appropriate shape which the thoughts can assume. Sonorous words may be sonorous nothings; splendid images may be like jewels upon a ragged beggar; and thus the versificer, though dealing with the gems he has stolen from the coronets of real poets, cannot conceal the theft—cannot get himself accepted as a poet; because the poet is known, not by

his sonorous epithets, not by his dazzling images, not even by his original conceptions, but by his style, by the exquisite form into which his thoughts are fashioned. If sonorousness and imagery could make a poet, Montgomery would be one; if original conception could make a poet, Hoffmann and Mrs. Shelley would have precedence over Homer, Milton, or Shakspeare; if the invention and disposition of an interesting story could be put forward as claims, Alexander Dumas is immeasurably superior to Wordsworth; if the portrayal of character be a test, Balzac and Miss Austen are greater than all the modern poets. We might go through the list of qualities, and we should still find that in each the poet was rivalled and excelled by some writer not a poet, until we come to style, and style is inimitable, indestructible—the only final test of a poet's *art*. What makes the difference between such books as Miss Mitford's 'Our Village' and Goldsmith's 'Deserted Village?' In both there is description of village scenes, and that by Miss Mitford is quite as good and as true as that by Goldsmith; but the style makes all the difference. Now Homer's style is unquestionably that of a poet, not that of an imitator; it is vivid, graphic, direct, and adapted to the thoughts; but it is at the same time rude, careless, *naïve*, tautologous—all which, though charming to us as indications of the antiquity of the poem, are not to be regarded as poetical excellencies. The merits of Homer's style, if we make due allowance for the wonderful language he had to wield, are the merits which all early poets, in some degree, possess; and its faults, if we dare call them so, are likewise the faults of early poets. In fact, the style is not an elaborate—not a cultivated—not an artistic style.

16. If Homer, then, was the rude utterer of poetical thoughts, rather than a great artist, shaping his conceptions into inimitable forms of language,* it seems to us easy enough to believe that he had several rivals quite as capable of uttering that which was in them; and this belief is strengthened by the fact of all other early poets having so great a resemblance between them that we cannot distinguish one from the other; and by the arguments previously adduced, which tend to prove historically that the Homeric poems were composed separately.

17. To this should be added, that two Homers at least are pretty generally admitted by modern scholars. Even the ancients,

* Those who most admire Homer's *naïveté* dare not imitate it; a proof that they admire it, not as art, but as the indication of an antique mode of thought and speech.

who doubted so little about anything, doubted whether Homer composed both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.* And Mr. Grote, the last of the modern inquirers, agrees with the majority in assuming distinct authorship for the two poems. Yet who shall say that he can perceive any such difference in the *style* of the *Odyssey*, and that of the *Iliad*, to warrant a suspicion of difference of authorship? And if two authors cannot be distinguished from each other, half a dozen cannot. Because the argument respecting the Homeric unity avers that the Homeric mind is so extraordinary that we cannot conceive any fellow to it. Yet a fellow has been found! Mr. Grote has well said of the *Homeridæ*:—

“To them, Homer was not a mere antecedent man, of kindred nature with themselves, but a divine or semi-divine eponymus and progenitor, whom they worshipped in their gentile sacrifices; and in whose ascendent name and glory the individuality of every member of the *gens* was merged. The compositions of each separate *Homêrid*, or the combined efforts of many of them in conjunction, were the works of Homer: the name of the individual bard perishes, and his authorship is forgotten, but the common gentile father lives and grows in renown, from generation to generation, by the genius of his self-renewing sons.”

“The sage Vyasa (observes Professor Wilson; ‘System of Hindu Mythology,’ Introd., p. lxii,) is represented, not as the author, but as the arranger and compiler of the *Vedas* and the *Purânas*. His name denotes his character, meaning the arranger or distributor (Melcker gives the same meaning to the name Homer); and the recurrence of many *Vyasas*, many individuals who new-modelled the Hindu scriptures, has nothing in it that is improbable, except the fabulous intervals by which their labours are separated. Individual authorship and the thirst of personal distinction are, in this case, also, buried under one great and common name, as in the case of Homer.”

18. Although we believe the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to have been originally various ballads on those subjects, and also believe them to have been composed by more than one poet, we are not prepared to say that there were twenty poets. It has been too readily assumed that if the unity of composition be given up, unity of authorship must follow. Nevertheless, the arguments in favour of unity of authorship seem much stronger than those in

* “Apud Senecam de Brev. Vitæ, c. 13, in quæstionibus Græcorum inutilibus, ad vivendum scilicet beate hanc quoque jamdudum legebamus, *Ejusdemne auctoris essent Ilias et Odysseya*. Hujus quæstionis nuper nullum usquam vestigium erat aliud. Sed ecce! nunc plura apparent in præstantissimis Scholiis Ven. Codicis A., ubi res commemoratur ut doctis notissima, proprioque nomine refutantur aliquoties οἱ χωριζομενοι, i.e. ipsi illi qui negabant eundem utriusque Carminis auctorem esse.”—Wolf, *Proleg. elviii*. Wolf cites a dozen examples.

favour of unity of composition. We must remember that Homer was not only considered to have been a person, but that the character of a bard, however cherished by warriors, was not of such an exalted kind that nations should feign an individuality for it, as they feigned a Hercules or a Theseus.

Secondly, the bard was a bard, and nothing else. That was his vocation. Can we then suppose him to have contented himself with composing one or two ballads? Would he have stopped at a first success? Would he not rather have had every inducement to gain fresh laurels by fresh songs of heroes? The man capable of composing one book of the *Iliad*, would certainly have composed more. He had nothing else to do. We might easier suppose Scott refraining from following up the success of *Waverley*; and yet Scott, in the midst of an active life, found time and stimulus to write a far greater quantity, than all the works attributed to Homer put together.

We should *incline*, therefore, to believe that the greater part, at least, of the *Iliad*, was composed by one Homer; and the other parts, especially those in contradiction with the rest, or greatly differing in excellence, must be attributed to one or more of the Homeridæ. That Homer did not write the *Iliad* all at once, but in separate rhapsodies, is asserted by Suidas, in a passage quoted by Wolf: ἔγραψε τὴν Ἰλιάδα οἷς ἅμα, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ συνεχές, καθάπερ συγγέται ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκάστην ῥαψωδίαν γράψας καὶ ἐπιδείξας ἐν τῷ περιουστῇ τὰς πόλεις τροφῆς ἐπέκεν ἀπὸ λυπεῖν. "He did not write the *Iliad* *all at once*, and *such as we now see it*; but, after composing *his rhapsodies separately*, left them in the towns in which he sojourned, and thus gained his livelihood."

19. This argument is not unlike that put forward by Bulwer; who assumes that the poem was composed in "fyttes" of moderate length, which were learned and recited by a hundred professional bards, "and were thus early orally published, as it were, in detached sections, years perhaps before the work was completed." The memory of these bards he powerfully calls the "living books"—the hearts and lips of his admiring followers were Homer's tablets of reference, "whereby to refresh his memory, and even, by their help, polish and amend what was already composed."

20. What then should prevent our assuming this as the fact, and with it assuming that the *Iliad* was composed originally in something like its present shape—an epic planned before-hand, though published piecemeal, such as Lucan's *Pharsalia*?

Thus: there is nothing whatever that can in any way lead us to believe a rhapsodist should take upon himself the enormous task of composing a skilfully constructed poem, which was never

destined to be recited as a whole. There was no *motive* for Homer to compose poems longer than he could recite. There was a good motive for his selecting the legends relating to Troy; but it is only by falsely arguing from later practices, that we can ever conceive an early poet planning a gigantic and multiform work merely to suit some critical fancy of epic grandeur. The Bard was a *Bard* not an *Author*. If Lucan published his poem piecemeal, he knew that when it was completed, it would be judged as a whole, because it would be read as a whole. But Homer had no such prospect. All that we know of Homer's age, or of analogous ages, leads us to reject the idea of epic composition on a grand and *literary* scale; while there is no argument in favor of it, except that derived from modern practice, and certain critical prejudices.

This seems to us a conclusive argument against the unity of composition; and with it we close this imperfect examination of a curious question.

G. H. L.

Art. III.—*A History of British Ferns.* By Edward Newman. London: Van Voorst, Paternoster Row.

THE power of conferring beauty on external objects is a property of the brain, and, like other powers and properties, susceptible of improvement. It may be neglected or cultivated, may remain a mere instinctive faculty, or be exalted into a god-like endowment: from being instinctive it may become rational: from being selfish it may become disinterested: from being partial it may become general: in fine, contrary to the result in other cases, extension and diffusion render it more pure, perfect and noble. That beauty which man confers on a loved object of the other sex is instinctive—selfish. In like manner, we may suppose the gorgeous pheasant invests his mate with a beauty superior to his own, and perhaps she returns the compliment; but this is the natural result of instinct, divinely implanted for a wise and especial purpose, and is totally distinct from that rational investment with beauty, which man's mind alone possesses the power to impart. For man it is reserved to clothe the visible face of nature with exalted beauty, far above that which the mere animal can feel, or feeling, could appreciate. This power is always the result of reflection, mostly of education; for although there are certain objects, as a brilliant sunset, a foaming cataract, an autumnal forest, a placid lake, a lichen-stained rock; although all these and other objects are now, by

common consent of the educated, invested with beauty, yet how readily do we trace this knowledge and appreciation of the beautiful to what we have heard, what we have read, in fact, to what we have learned! How many are there, not only in the town, but in the country, whose heart and whose eyes could not grant to the romantic scenery of Ketturin and Lomond, half the beauty they would gladly assign to "the first keek o' the Gorbals o' Glasgow," or the productive wheat-fields of the Essex flats!

Great then is the debt we owe to those who take us by the hand, and lead us from the dark recesses in which we have been dwelling, into fields of light,—who instil into the mind the glorious power of clothing natural objects in a panoply of beauty! Great is our debt to those children of nature, who teach us highly to appreciate objects, which before we might have passed unheeded! The highest, the dearest pleasures of our existence are derived from the acquired power of throwing the light of beauty around us. How many have read and felt the force of the assertion, that in the morning of life

"The light that surrounds us is all from within;"

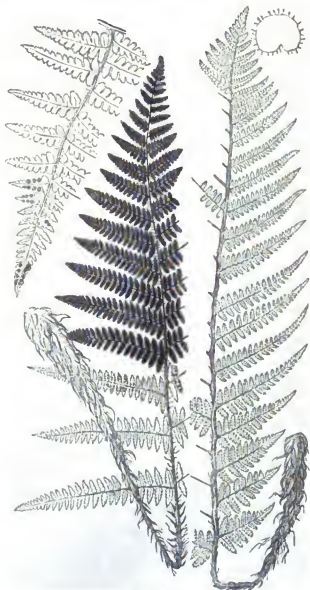
but how very few seem aware that, in life's evening too, all that we behold is tinged with the mind's own light, a light often far brighter than any which the less expanded powers of youth could possibly diffuse; because now increased by supplies from a variety of sources, to which, in the more ardent days of early youth, we were too much occupied to seek or find access.

Many minds are, undoubtedly, so constituted that they possess, to a certain extent, an instinctive perception of the beautiful. In such minds, tuition cannot be said to *awaken* this perception, but it does more; it opens up fresh sources of gratification, by unveiling beauties hidden from the uninstructed eye, which naturally rests upon the more striking features of a beautiful object, as the untutored mind admires that which is too obviously beautiful to be overlooked, without caring to inquire for unseen charms, which may possess claims to admiration equal or even superior to those which, from their more striking character, seem to court the notice of the passer-by. Thus, we can easily imagine, that the common brake of the waste is invested with but few of the attributes of beauty by him who merely looks upon it as a material for thatching cottages, or sees it piled in heaps to be burned for the sake of its ashes; the painter unhesitatingly acknowledges its outward beauty, as he beholds its graceful fronds penetrating the underwood of umbrageous forestry, insinuating its fragile branches through the openings of a thicket, or spreading

a delicate tracery of expanded pinnules over the more stout and stable foliage of the bushes on which it is leaning for support. This is one step in advance of the admiration of him who thinks of the brake only in an economical sense, and prizes it merely for its commercial or domestic value; but it is inferior to the pleasure experienced by the educated student of nature; by him who regards it with tutored perceptions; who instantly distinguishes the plant from every other fern of the forest; who knows its unmistakeable characters; he, at once, assigns to it attributes of beauty which the uninstructed could never perceive.

Whoever has made the first step in the knowledge of ferns, will not be slow to feel that they "constitute so beautiful a portion of the creation,—whether they ornament our ruins with their light and graceful foliage, wave their bright tresses from our weather-beaten rocks, or clothe with evergreen-verdure our forests and our hedge-rows,—that it seems next to impossible to behold them, without experiencing emotions of pleasure." And, in proportion as the mind is educated to perceive and appreciate the more unobtrusive beauties of these "wildlings of nature," the more gratitude will it feel towards those, by whose labours it has become initiated into their mysteries and hidden excellencies, whether studied amidst the wild and romantic scenery in which the ferns seem especially to delight, or cherished as household treasures, among home scenes and home enjoyments, where they may be ever at hand to reward the inquiries of the student, by revelations of which the uninitiated never dreamed.

One of the most trustworthy, and consequently the most useful, guide-books to the knowledge of any branch of British botany, is Mr. Newman's elegant '*History of British Ferns.*' This book contains a history and figure of every species and variety of fern known to have been found in Britain; together with their distinguishing characters (which are written in a very popular and lucid style), their synonymy, or list of names, by which the plants have been known by other writers; and a large quantity of information connected with the localities, mode of growth, and peculiarities of these beautiful plants: the whole being preceded by an Introduction, devoted principally to an account of the best methods of cultivating ferns for home study, both on the plan of closely glazed cases, discovered and published by Mr. Ward, and by other methods. The illustrations (of which we give six), are very beautiful figures, drawn by the author on the wood, and in every instance from authentic specimens, living plants being always chosen for illustration when they could be procured. In the

**Rigid Fern.**

preparation of the descriptive portion of the work, the author has taken nothing on trust; he has critically examined the



Bree's Fern.

labours of other botanists ; stating his reasons for differing from them when he has found it necessary to do so ; and, for the most

part, has studied the ferns in their natural localities, having travelled for that purpose in many parts of England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland; the result is a book of great pictorial beauty and scientific value. One almost necessary consequence of the course adopted by Mr. Newman, was the introduction of what, at the time they were first published, were looked upon as so many innovations and captious endeavours to depreciate the labours of his predecessors in the same walk of science; but the truth of most of his opinions has since been more or less acknowledged, even by those who, at first, were most inclined to oppose their introduction.

Mr. Newman thus describes his initiation into the study of ferns:—

“It was while wandering among the Welch mountains, in the autumn of 1837, that I first felt any desire to know the names of ferns. I had often observed the variety that half covered some of those bleak and desolate regions, where fern is cut, dried, and housed, as the only litter that can be obtained for horses; but now, for the first time, I gathered hundreds of fronds, and employed the evenings in arranging them into supposed species. I found that three species were abundant in the most dreary and exposed wilds; but where some rill tumbled over a precipice or a ledge of rocks, keeping the surface in a state of perpetual moisture, half a score others were sure to be growing: in the chasm at Ponterwyd, I think I counted fourteen distinct kinds.”

The study once commenced, Mr. Newman was not slothful in its pursuit; he left no stone unturned, he shrunk from no toil, he spared no expense, until his volume was complete. He appears to have visited every part of the kingdom likely to afford him information. In describing the delicate “Oak Fern,” he writes—“When wandering in the ravines between Lochs Awe and Etive, I saw this fern in greater profusion than ever before or since.”—p. 127. Again he says of the “Sca Spleenwort,” “Some years since I observed it in the vertical fissures of the columnar basalt at Staffa, and again more abundantly at Iona.”—p. 278. Under “Bree’s Fern,” a very beautiful new species, we find numerous localities given in no less than ten Irish counties—Antrim, Clare, Cork, Donegal, Galway, Kerry, Londonderry, Mayo, Sligo, and Wicklow; the localities include the extreme north, south, east, and west of the island, and certainly bear abundant evidence of the author’s energy and zeal. The ferns of Ireland appear to have had a peculiar interest for him, especially the “Bristle Fern” which has never yet been found in any other part of Great Britain or Europe. Mr. Newman observed it at Turk waterfall, near Killarney, to the left of the

seat, whence visitors usually take their first view of the cascade. He continues—

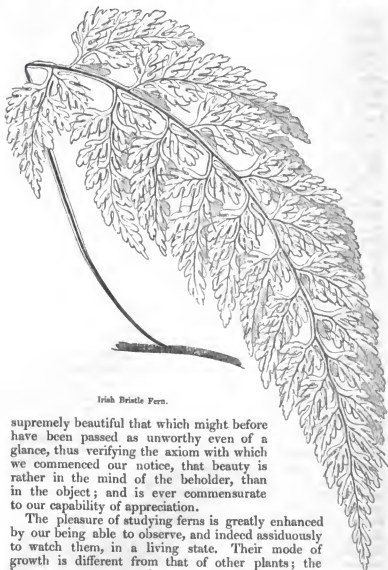
“About fifteen yards higher up the stream, the rocky bank on the left projects into the river; this projection is only to be reached by striding from stone to stone, along the bed of the stream, which, in times of flood, as appeared to be the case when I was there, is rather an exciting and ticklish operation. Having reached the projection, I ascended it without difficulty, by the assistance of the boughs and roots of trees: and on the top is a little platform, standing on which, I beheld the bank close before my eyes, robed in *Trichomanes*. It was a beautiful sight!”—p. 309.

There are two species of “Filmy Fern” so nearly alike, that many authors have denied their distinction; when at Killarney, Mr. Newman gave this matter his close attention.

“We must, on no account,” says he, “draw our conclusions from mere appearances, from isolated or ill-established facts, or from assertions, made either at random, or by incompetent observers. I have peeled the matted rhizomata of these ferns from the rocks about Killarney, have sat me down on the trunk of a fallen *Arbutus*, have taken the mass of *Hymenophyllum* on my knees, and have carefully endeavoured to disentangle the tortuous wiry rhizomata of the two species.”—p. 330.

It was thus that Mr. Newman studied our British ferns, in their own mountain homes and native wilds, at a time when the subject was almost a sealed book, not only to the reading public, but even to the professed botanist. Previous authors seem to have been curiously ignorant of the tribe, and to have copied from one another the most amusing blunders; even Sir J. E. Smith, by far the best authority, repeatedly gave names to dwarf, immature, or diseased fronds, describing them as species previously unknown. Our author, therefore, found the works of British authors a hinderance rather than an assistance, since the best contained descriptions of many species that had no existence in nature, and omitted many of the more conspicuously distinct. He had to work out the history of every fictitious species, to find in what error it originated, and how it became perpetuated. We can readily conceive what a herculean labour it must have been, to dissipate the Augean mass of ignorance and error in which the subject was previously hidden, and to lead it forth in all the lustre of truth. To this end, as we have before stated, the author's pencil as well as his pen has greatly contributed; he not only describes but illustrates the beauties of these interesting plants. We trust our readers will agree with us in acknowledging the obligations due to one who has thus led us to

appreciate the exceeding loveliness of this portion of the creation; who has enabled us, by careful tuition, to regard as



Irish Bristle Fern.

supremely beautiful that which might before have been passed as unworthy even of a glance, thus verifying the axiom with which we commenced our notice, that beauty is rather in the mind of the beholder, than in the object; and is ever commensurate to our capability of appreciation.

The pleasure of studying ferns is greatly enhanced by our being able to observe, and indeed assiduously to watch them, in a living state. Their mode of growth is different from that of other plants; the leaves, or more properly *fronds*, are at first rolled up, like the Ionic volute, and unfolding gradually,

assume a new form, and develop new characters, with each succeeding day, until the whole is expanded, and displays its final elegance and gracefulness. In order that every one who inclines may have the opportunity of observing this, Mr. Newman has given ample and lucid instructions for cultivating ferns, which we shall proceed to quote, believing that many of our readers will be pleased to have their attention invited to so interesting a subject. We have ourselves seen many of the exquisite little drawing-room ferneries, to which our author has alluded, and have been highly gratified with this novel and rational mode of ornamenting a city residence. Our extracts, however, must commence with the out-of-doors fernery, which is, perhaps, best adapted to the country, while the in-doors fernery is the only one that may hope for existence, amid the smoke of our crowded towns.

*Woodsia ilvensis.*

"A fernery, to supersede the necessity for care and attention, should possess abundant space, a pure atmosphere, a variety of surface, natural shade, and a natural fall of water; but all these advantages can be so closely imitated, that I believe there scarcely exists in the United Kingdom a plot of a few square yards in which

the zealous cultivator might not accomplish everything he desired, and, with attention, cause the artificial to exceed in beauty the natural fernery; for the destruction by frost and wind, both highly injurious to ferns, may, with a little management, be completely avoided.

"In my own fernery I possess but one natural advantage—that of an atmosphere tolerably free from smoke; on three sides,—east, south, and west,—there is a straight brick wall; on the north there is an artificial mound, tolerably covered with shrubs; to the east, beyond the wall, are some large lime-trees, which completely shut out a summer morning's sun; at noon, the south wall casts its shadow on those ferns which are planted purposely within its reach, and these can only be illuminated for a single half hour, when a summer sun is sinking unclouded in the north-west. Within the space enclosed by the walls are sundry buildings, by courtesy denominated rock-works, but which are in fact close imitations of the most unpicturesque stone walls that ever deformed the face of a hedgeless country. In Scotland I have seen such walls, when built against a bank, to prevent its crumbling into a newly cut road, covered with a continuous garden of our most beautiful ferns, crowded together for hundreds of yards: the water from the land above is continually filtering through the walls, and thus the roots are supplied with a perpetual moisture. With a view of imitating this on a small scale, my formal walls have been built; each is slanting at a slight angle from the perpendicular, and they face different points of the compass. One, situate under a thick Portugal laurel, has never yet been visited by a ray of sunshine—

'The beams of the warm sun play round it in vain;'

they cannot reach it; a second enjoys half an hour's sun; a third basks in sunshine till noon; and thus they are all varied.

"Having planted a number of ferns on these principles of adapting the situation to each, the next grand point is to keep them well watered; and this is best effected by a garden-engine, from which, by a pressure of the thumb on the stream, it may be made to descend in an almost imperceptible shower, which is much more beneficial than a heavy watering. If there has been no rain during the day, the watering should be repeated every evening during the summer; but when the fronds have ceased to grow, when those which are deciduous have disappeared, and those which are persistent have assumed their full size and substance, then should nothing more be done to urge them forward, for all require a period of rest; a season in which the sap seems to circulate less freely, and a state of sloth or torpidity supervenes; this cannot be disturbed or hastened without injuring the strength and vigour of the plant for the ensuing year.

"It will be found a great improvement to a fernery to introduce a number of mosses and Marchantia: the latter are particularly useful; they speedily cover the earth and stones, and keep the surface in that

state of moisture which is so very advantageous. All kinds of grasses, on the contrary, should be exterminated, for they are of so rapid a growth, and vigorous a nature, that they quickly overpower, weaken, and finally destroy the more delicate among the ferns.

"Besides the British ferns, all the species indigenous to the northern regions of America, Europe, and Asia, may be grown in the open air, and without protection, excepting from severe frost, when they should be covered with straw, matting, or dried tan, thus supplying that warm clothing of snow which protects them from extreme cold in their native habitats. But if we advance one step, and restrain the free communication with the outer air, then there seems to be no limit to the species we may introduce—the beautiful productions of the tropics may be brought to our doors."—*Introduction*, p. xiii.

The author then goes on to explain the plan in question; to show how the loveliest scenery in nature may be introduced into the most crowded streets of our sooty and muddy metropolis; and in what way our metropolitan court-yards, our windows, and our house-tops, may be clothed with a perpetual summer, and thus the poet's dream be realised, of a sweet land,—

"Where a leaf never dies in the still blooming bowers."

He gives Mr. Ward great credit for having philosophically carried out the principle of which gardeners have always availed themselves in cultivating tender plants, particularly in raising seedlings, and in striking cuttings, the success of which operation is well known to depend on the partial exclusion of air, by means of glass.

"This end is obtained by the use of glass, the light so essential to vegetation being thus freely admitted. The most ready way to try the experiment is, to procure a glass vessel, for instance, one of those jars used by druggists and confectioners; introduce some soft sandstone, or some light soil, filling one sixth of the jar with it, and taking care that the earth be very moist, yet allowing no water to settle at the bottom of the jar; plant a fern in the earth, and then cover the jar with its glass head, first supplying a slip of wash-leather round the rim of the jar, which will pretty nearly cut off the communication between the internal and external air; no farther attention will be required: the fern will live, thrive, and probably seed, the seed also vegetating, and at last the jar will become too small for its contents; no watering is needed; the moisture in the earth will exhale, condense on the glass, trickle down its sides, and return to the earth whence it arose.

"There is no limit to the application of this principle; instead of a jar it is easy to construct in the window-sill a box, extending throughout its entire length, the bottom and sides being lined with

zinc, to prevent the moisture from damaging the adjoining wood-work ; then let the window be a double one, like those in Russia, leaving a space of six or twelve inches between the inner and outer glass. The ferns so planted in the box, which should contain a depth of five or six inches of light sandy earth, will soon fill up the space between the two windows, supplying the most beautiful curtain or blind that could possibly be invented. The plants need not be ferns exclusively ; roses, fuchsias, &c., would also thrive ; but it must



Bolton's Woodsia.

always be borne in mind, that plants requiring a humid atmosphere should not be inclosed with those which prefer aridity : of course the upper sash alone must be made moveable. Extending the plan still farther, a large conservatory may be constructed, or even a large garden, entirely enclosed with glass ; all the doors should be fitted with great nicety and exactness, and would be better if double, and always one of them shut before the other is opened.

"Houses on a large scale can scarcely be made sufficiently

air-tight to prevent the escape of aqueous exhalations : a leaden pipe, pierced with small holes, should therefore be carried round the building, at as great a height as may be found practicable, and this pipe connected with a reservoir, so that an artificial shower could be



Rue-leaved Spleenwort.

produced at pleasure ; if an increase of temperature were considered necessary, it might readily be attained by the introduction of hot-water pipes in the usual way.

“ So great is the advantage of this plan, that the plants of tropical regions can now be cultivated in London with the most perfect

success; and, what is of still greater importance, may be conveyed, uninjured by extremes of heat and cold, and without any additional supply of moisture, from the most distant parts of the earth. Mr. Ward, and Messrs. Loddiges, of Hackney, have, in their glass cases, transmitted our plants to the most distant countries, and have received the same cases in return, filled with valuable exotics, many of which have never previously reached this country in a living state.

"But the most pleasing character of this mode of cultivation is, that it can be adapted to any spot that fancy may select: plants in this way may be grown in a drawing room, without ever making the least litter or apparent untidiness, and without the trouble attendant on watering. If the cases were opened annually it would be sufficiently often, and the decayed fronds, or a too luxuriant growth, might be removed, and a little water added, if there appeared a necessity for it.

"Ferns, mosses, and all kinds of cryptogamous plants, seem to spring up spontaneously in these cases; and the surface of the earth speedily becomes clothed not only with a beautiful but a highly interesting vegetation. The raising of ferns, by seed, in the manner hereafter described, offers a ready way of ascertaining beyond question the value and limits of each species.

"It has often been considered somewhat unaccountable, that plants should thrive when deprived of air. I believe a philosopher would smile at the idea of a vacuum existing in a vessel containing abundance of earth, water, and living vegetables; but let us consider the subject without reference to any philosophical inquiry. It must, then, be understood as an unquestionable fact, that in closing the vessel no attempt is ever made to exclude the air which it contains, or even by any experiment to diminish its quantity; therefore, admitting the property of air to press equally in all directions, we must take it for granted that there is as much air in the vessel as in an equal space outside the vessel; and so the idea that the ferns are living without air not being based on fact requires no refutation. The next source of wonder is, that a fern should thrive deprived of that fresh air, or that change of air, which, in a state of nature, it is constantly enjoying. The term *fresh air*, though so continually used, has no very definite meaning. If it applies to air that has not been breathed by animals, I believe we shall find that animals alone are injured by respiring air from which oxygen has been abstracted by previous respiration: change of air, whether beneficial or otherwise, does take place, for our contrivances, although they retard, cannot preclude a change. Thus the supposed anomalies of plants living without air, or without change of air, are either dissipated or softened down: we will inquire whence arise the benefits of this plan.

"In London the air is loaded with particles of soot, than which there is scarcely any substance more injurious to vegetation; a single 'smut,' as it is usually called, causes a yellow mark wherever it has adhered to a leaf; and the result of an atmosphere loaded with smuts is the rapid destruction of the leaves, so that the leaves of London trees are never in a perfectly natural state; they differ in appearance, colour,

and health, so to speak, from the leaves of country trees: the deleterious effects of London smut on the leaves influence the growth of the tree itself, and London trees are invariably of slower growth, and of less healthy appearance than those in the country. By the plan of cultivating plants in closed vessels, this injury is entirely avoided, the smut, and all solids borne by the atmosphere, being completely excluded, and forming a thick deposit on the glass; if the vessel employed be a bell glass, inverted over the plant, then every accession of atmospheric air must take place through the earth, and consequently, no portion of its impurities will be deposited on the plant. Mr. Ward is perfectly right, when he attributes the sickly state of *London* vegetation to 'the depressing influence of the fuliginous matter with which the atmosphere in which he lives is surrounded;' but it appears that other causes have been sought in the presence of gases injurious to vegetable life."—*Introduction*, p. xvi.

Mr. Newman then combats with success the idea, that by means of a hand-glass, or the glass door of a greenhouse, any substantial difference can be maintained in the component parts of the atmosphere within and without the glass. It seems that Drs. Turner and Christison have pronounced that the unhealthy state of plants in large towns is to be attributed to the presence of sulphurous acid gas, generated by the combustion of coal; but we are left entirely without evidence that the atmosphere in these closed cases contains less sulphurous acid gas than that without, and yet the vegetation in one instance is healthy and vigorous, in the other, sickly and slothful. Mr. Ward's fernery, situated in Wellclose Square, in a crowded neighbourhood, and surrounded by factory chimneys, which are perpetually emitting clouds of smoke, has the door frequently opened, as visitors, or the amiable proprietor pass and repass; indeed, so frequently does this opening of the door occur, that no one in his senses could entertain a moment's belief as to the fact, that a difference in the amount of sulphurous acid gas could by any possibility be maintained.

"Having dismissed the gases with the alternative, that either they *do not* exist in any undue proportion in Mr. Ward's fernery and its neighbourhood, or that they *do* exist, and *are not* injurious to vegetation; having seen, also, that fuliginous matter *does exist* in the atmosphere to a great extent, that *it is* highly injurious to the growth of vegetables, and that *it is excluded* by Mr. Ward's plan, we shall perhaps be expected, without further inquiry, to conclude that in the exclusion of fuliginous matter rests the whole secret of its effect. To this I must demur, or the use of these closed cases would be confined to London and similar smoky atmospheres; whereas it is well known the sphere of their utility is universal. Every cultivator in the country could adduce his proofs of this. I will cite one only.

"On a hot day, in the summer of 1837, I brought home in a tin box, about a dozen seedlings of *Lastrea multiflora*, which I had picked out of moss; each had a single frond of very small size, and extremely minute, white, and delicate roots. Having a wide-mouthed phial at hand, I put in it a small quantity of very wet earth; and then passing a pin through the single frond of one of the seedlings, and pinning it to a cork previously covered with wet wash leather, I fixed the cork firmly in the phial, and left the fern hanging at the head of the pin with its roots downwards. Some hours afterwards, I looked at my little fern, and found that it exhibited no symptoms of withering; whereas the other seedlings, left carelessly on the ground beside the phial, were completely dead, and crumbled to powder between the finger and thumb. I hung up the phial by a string to a nail in the garden wall, and here it was hanging twelve months afterwards. The cork was fastened exactly as I left it, but the phial was filled with something green, which, on taking it out, proved to be a plant of the common chickweed, but to my great joy the little fern still hung from the pin; its roots were longer, it had made two fronds, and the original frond had withered, but was still strong enough to support the fern. This instance is as good as a thousand. The exposure of the roots, which is no part of Mr Ward's plan, still adds a proof of its efficacy. The plant could not have lived one day so exposed in the open air; in the phial it had lived a year, had renewed its fronds, and looked healthy. How was this effect produced?

"Who has regarded Nature without perceiving the word CHANGE legibly engraven on every object? Throughout creation there is a perpetual decay and a perpetual renovation. Death is the result of life, for life contains within itself the germ of death. This fact is so obvious, that it were idle to adduce proofs. There are many active agents in this change; and it may be observed, that the office of every agent is to hurry forward the eternal round: the sun is equally the source of life and death: wind, rain, heat, cold, all are perpetual agents in this one work. If we seek for the accessory circumstances most favorable to the rapid and healthy growth of ferns, and refer for the information to Nature herself, we shall generally find them in protection from the sun's rays, in the uniformity and excess of atmospheric humidity, in the absence of extremes of heat and cold, in the gradual transition from one to the other, when these extremes do occur, and, finally, in that perfect stillness in the atmosphere which is rarely realized in nature, except in caves, fissures of rocks, wells, and a few similar situations: the opposites of all these are the agents of decay and destruction;—the excess of atmospheric aridity, sudden alterations in the temperature, as in the frosts of spring, excessive heat, high and boisterous winds. Were not this law of destruction in perpetual operation, as well as the law of renovation,—were they not invariably linked as it were hand in hand, the surface of the earth would become in one extreme a desert, untenanted by living things, in the other a self-destructive crowd.

"Returning to the phial, and therefore to all closed vessels, or buildings, we cannot fail to perceive, that while all the agents of life, all the vivifying principles, are allowed the fullest scope for their operations, the destructive ones are in a greater or less degree excluded: nature is still at work; no particle of the benefit results from human skill; we add no gases to those around us in order to make the air more nourishing; we subtract none to make it more pure. Atmospheric humidity is one of the most important agents in the vitality and luxuriant growth of ferns; and this is attained in closed cases, or under bell-glasses, in such perfection, that the most moisture-loving of all our species, *Trichomanes speciosum*, of which I have before spoken, as delighting in the spray of water-falls, not only lives but thrives. Mr. Ward has this plant growing with a luxuriance and vigour that can seldom be exceeded in a state of nature. To the rapid transitions from heat to cold, so common in our climate, and so particularly injurious to tender vegetables, these cases offer a complete barrier; for experiments prove, beyond question, that the atmosphere within the glass retains its degree of temperature very long after a change has taken place in the air that surrounds it, and excess of cold, accompanied by perfect stillness, is incomparably less injurious than when coupled with rapid motion. Thus our travellers in Polar regions speak of intense cold, as indicated by the thermometer, having been scarcely inconvenient to them if the atmosphere were perfectly still; but if the wind rose, although the quicksilver rose simultaneously, as was almost invariably the case, the cold was most distressing. In England, if Fahrenheit's thermometer be at 30°, we walk about or stand exposed to it without any sensation of pain, but if we face it, in travelling by railway, at the rate of thirty miles an hour, the cold becomes almost intolerable. In fact, it has been abundantly proved by experiment, that a much greater extreme of heat or cold may be borne by plants, by animals, and even by the human frame, if both the atmosphere and the objects of experiment be in a state of perfect quiescence. In closed cases we thus not only avoid rapid changes of temperature, but the active motion in extremes of temperature, which is the most injurious property of such extremes. The deleterious effect of boisterous winds on the fragile fronds of ferns, needs no exemplification; it is so great, that if a specimen of *Cystopteris* be moved from its protected habitat, and placed where it may receive the full force of the wind, that alone will, in a few weeks, work its utter destruction: to such a plant how grateful must be the motionless atmosphere thus provided!

"The solution of the problem appears to me to be simply this: that while the power of destructive natural agents is restrained, that of beneficial natural agents is retained, and its efficacy ensured.

"Carrying out the system, nothing is more easy than to raise any species of fern from the seed, which every herbarium affords abundant opportunity of procuring; and thus ferns from every country may be assembled in our houses, with even less trouble than

by transporting the roots in cases. The seeds should be first detached from the frond by gently rubbing the clusters of capsules, and then shaken on a common plate; next, having procured some light sandy earth, crumble it on the plate, and shake it about for a minute or two, when all the seeds will be found adhering to the little masses of earth; spread this earth, as lightly as may be, over other light sandy or loamy earth, either in a garden or in a flower-pot, in doors or out, always taking care very carefully to cover the seed with a bell glass, or other glass cover, excluding, as completely as possible, communication with the outer air. In a few weeks the young ferns will come up abundantly, in a sinuous horizontal frond, closely resembling that of *Marchantia*; but in a very short time other fronds will succeed, having the true characters of ferns."—*Introduction*, p. xxviii.

For the length of these quotations, we conceive there is no necessity for an apology, for, in making them, we are rendering a service to our readers, who are thus instructed to obtain, at all times and under all circumstances, rational, innocent, and delightful occupation, at a very trifling cost of labour or of money. We trust our extracts, and the illustrations we have borrowed from this truly original work, will induce our readers to possess it, and test for themselves the fidelity of the drawings, and the unmistakeable accuracy of the descriptions. It is well to learn from the author the happy power of realizing the surprising beauty of a portion of God's creation, which is generally passed by, as presenting nothing worthy of attention.

ART. IV.—*Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches. With Elucidations and Connecting Narrative.* By Thomas Carlyle. Second Edition, with numerous additional Letters. 3 vols. 8vo. Chapman & Hall.

CARLYLE on Cromwell could not but produce a lively agitation in the literary and reading world. The union, for better and for worse, of two such formidable personalities behaved to stir up, not merely a strong curiosity, but also renewed conflicts of the passions and opinions previously excited by them in the minds of men. Two characters, powerful by nature, and actively interfering in the course of the world, but defying usages and the beaten path; doing many things that few would desire undone, and yet living out of all rule, out of all compass, are sure of at least an animated reception, on their joint appearance on the stage. The great practical hero of the seventeenth cen-

tury, and the worthy compeer of the heroes of all centuries, has fallen into the hands of the great heroic biographer, the reviver of hero-worship in the present generation.

It is impossible to exchange many words on either of these men, without encountering, as a perpetual stumbling-block of offence, the lawlessness of their procedure; and now, when we have both on hand at once, we must decidedly make up our minds, to some degree, on the question of law against liberty, rule against instinct, usage against innovation. They have, in addition to their natural enemies, or the men of opposite views of things, made additional enemies among the lovers of rule and order, a class of people that we should always wish to conciliate if possible. For it is easy to see the immense value, in every region of affairs, of a regular and uniform guide, in the shape either of written law or of acted example. To have the maxims of morality and justice precisely worded and defined, a written grammar, a set of established modes in business, or in etiquette, gives us confidence and security in the various schemes and operations of human life. Rules for common use are, or ought to be, the general application of the highest wisdom, or the most felicitous expedients that individual genius, or experience, or time and chance have given birth to. If one man has found that book-keeping by double entry is of great use in exhibiting money transactions in good order, his method is described in words, or by a specimen, and enjoined over the whole fraternity of merchants' clerks. If one scientific inquirer finds that he arrives at nature's truths by a rigorous examination of individual facts, he proposes a rule of procedure according to this method, and spreads his experience for the good of all men. But, in the second place, rules are the basis of corporate action and mutual understanding; they prevent disappointments and discords; and moreover they keep down the passions and jealousies of men by giving the feeling of equality, the assurance that all are on a common footing. Men can never be reconciled to see those that are in all respects like themselves exempted from the common restraints, and endowed with exceptional privileges; but where a rigorous uniformity prevails they can endure a great deal. It is not in human nature to be resigned, without a struggle, to a petty squire becoming the despot of Britain and the arbiter of Europe, or to see a literary man breaking through the deferential manner of his brother authors, and treating with blunt and homely, and even jocular familiarity, all that come in his way, reader or subject, great or small. It is quite true that the levelling passion is not an elevated one; but yet it is very conducive to the right working of human affairs. With a tincture

of fellow-feeling or generosity, it becomes the passion for fair play to mankind in general.

But as rules are not ends, but means, they ought to cease when they are found to obstruct, instead of forwarding, the purposes of life. Bad laws and inferior processes in art are superseded by better; no matter though the change gives inconvenience to those that have been habituated to the first. But besides, it is often found right to abolish rule altogether, in favour of natural liberty and free-will, men having come to that stage when their own discretion is their best tutor: there being in this case, however, generally a difference of opinion as to whether the time has come for emancipation. Slavery is exchanged for voluntary labour, and compulsory creeds for right of private judgment; censorship of the press gives way to unlicensed printing. So that there is a time for changing rules and a time for having done with rules,—when men are no longer blameable for acting differently from what has been long established; when, in short, they can set up the plea, that old restrictions are no longer binding, declaring themselves content that every one should enjoy the same license with themselves. It remains to be seen whether or no Carlyle and Cromwell can be restored to the good graces of the worshippers of rule and order, on such grounds.

The present work, besides presenting the letters and speeches of Cromwell, gives the results of the author's investigation of the events and incidents of Cromwell's life. The elucidations consist mostly in pictures of the transactions or incidents that the letters or speeches refer to, and, with the connecting narrative, amount in the whole to a very vivid illumination of the Commonwealth period.

After a chapter, entitled "Antidryasdust," full of eloquent indignation at the whole series of historians that have hitherto taken the subject in hand, and at the chaotic state of the original documents, Mr. Carlyle expresses the nature of his undertaking thus:—

"Ours is a small enterprise, but seemingly a useful one; preparatory, perhaps, to greater and more useful on this same matter: the collecting of the *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, and presenting them in natural sequence, with the still possible elucidation, to ingenuous readers.

"These authentic utterances of the man Oliver himself—I have gathered them from far and near; fished them up from the foul Lethæan quagmires where they lay buried; I have washed or endeavoured to wash them clean from foreign stupidities (such a job of buck-washing as I do not long to repeat); and the world shall now see them in their own shape. Working for long years in those unspeakable

historic provinces, of which the reader has already had account, it becomes more and more apparent to me, that this man Oliver Cromwell was, as the popular fancy represents him, the soul of the Puritan revolt, without whom it had never been a revolt transcendently memorable, and an epoch in the world's history; that in fact he, more than is common in such cases, does deserve to give his name to the period in question, and have the Puritan revolt considered as a *Cromwelliad*, which issue is already very visible for it. And then, farther, altogether contrary to the popular fancy, it becomes apparent that this Oliver was not a man of falsehoods, but a man of truths; whose words do carry a meaning with them, and above all others of that time are worth considering. An earnest man, I apprehend, may gather from these words of Oliver's, were there even no other evidence, that the character of Oliver and of the affairs he worked in, is much the reverse of that mad jumble of 'hypocrisies,' &c., &c., which at present passes current as such.

"But certainly, on any hypothesis as to that, such a set of documents may hope to be elucidative in various respects. Oliver's character, and that of Oliver's performance in this world, here best of all may we expect to read it, whatsoever it was. Even if false, these words, authentically spoken and written by the chief actor in the business, must be of prime moment for understanding of it. These are the words this man found suitable to represent the things themselves around him, and in him, of which we seek a history."

The character that Cromwell has borne in the world for two centuries seems not only incompatible with the historical evidence, when fairly sifted, but also inconsistent with itself. In the balanced periods and varied epithets that are commonly used to describe him, the congruities of human nature have been set altogether at naught; contradictory qualities and impossible combinations are thought to suit him best. It is as if we made up a *quiescent* mixture of fire and water, fulminating powder and friction, acid and alkali, with the heavy liquor floating at the top; or had given his mind the benefit of the prophecy, that the wolf and the lamb should feed together, and the lion eat straw like the bullock, and dust become the serpent's meat. He is at once a self-deluded fanatic and a consummate hypocrite; a cruel monster, that gained his ends by unusual clemency; a morose and gloomy man with a winning manner; having abilities that inevitably made him the first man of his time, and yet gaining his position over unwilling rivals by trickery; in all his public doings displaying the height of prudence and self-command, while in private life he had brought himself and family to ruin by incontinent gambling; a man that could impress his designs with the uttermost clearness and impressiveness upon men's minds, by language the most incoherent and unintelligible; displaying,

at the cool age of fifty, an inordinate ambition that there were no symptoms of in the heat of youthful years; the victim of religious delusions, and never in one instance departing from the severest good sense. In a word, he was truly a splendid example to prove that honesty is but the second best policy; and that the most cool and practical-minded of nations is really liable to be led away by the most flagrant of impostors.

When men attained sufficient calmness or clear-sightedness to adopt sounder notions of human character in general, they could not but demur to such delineations of Cromwell; they would at least insist that the seven devils that tenanted him should be such as could live together; and in setting to work to establish a compatible and consistent estimate of his character, they might even be led to differ fundamentally from the prevailing belief. Such a movement seems to be now taking place; various parties have declared off from the monster theory, and have begun to make known their sentiments to the world.* But the labour and patient industry, the long experience in such studies, the broad views of human nature, and the splendid artistic and illustrative genius of Mr. Carlyle, applied with warm and pious devotion to clear up the character and doings of the puritan Protector of England, will be the great instrument of disabusing the public mind of its unworthy prepossessions. The present work will constitute the case for Cromwell, submitted to the candour of his countrymen; and while they peruse its documents in order to form their decision, they are likely to get into their minds a considerable store of new and vivid conceptions of the scenes of the great revolutionary struggle.

Mr. Carlyle devotes one of his introductory chapters to Cromwell's kindred and connexions; by which he shows him to be of gentle blood, but, as the son of a younger son, not born to very affluent circumstances—and another chapter to the events in his biography up to his 37th year, or the date of his first extant letter; and we are very much disappointed to find how few are the known incidents of his early life, when the superstructure of calumnies and lies has been swept away. He also gives us descriptions, in his own way, of Huntingdon and its neighbourhood, the place of Oliver's birth and early years, and of the house and lands owned by his father there, whose rent he states at £300 a year, or equal to about £1,000 in our day.

Being born in April, 1599, he was always a year older than

* See a former number of this Review (October, 1839), where Cromwell's character and life are sketched at great length; and in substantial accordance with the views of Mr. Carlyle.

the next century, as Mr. Carlyle suggests for a memorial help. In his fourth year, his grandfather, Sir Henry Cromwell, died, and his eldest uncle became owner of the Hinchinbrook or family property. Shortly afterwards, King James, on his way to the English crown, lodged at Hinchinbrook two nights, and knighted the new proprietor, henceforth Sir Oliver Cromwell; the visit and the knighthood being dearly bought. If young Oliver had been a Shakspeare, the splendid spectacle and array of this affair might be taken into account in his education; but his genius never took much to appearance and the poet's side of things. He attended the public school of Huntingdon, taught by a Dr. Beard, and went through the common elements of education in a way that we can only imagine or infer from his later years. He must be regarded, at this stage, as having grown up among a wide circle of genteel and devout, vigorous and affectionate connexions; numerous in brothers, sisters, cousins, aunts, and uncles; among whom he had to go through the first actions and reactions of his character. To fill up the entire blank of seventeen years, our author reminds us of a few of the great passing events that would be talked over in his hearing.—The Hampton-court Conference, where puritanism pleaded in vain with King James and ceremonialism for Church reform and an abatement of idolatrous rites (1604), the Gunpowder Plot (1605), the murder of Henry IV. of France (1610), the death of Prince Henry, and the heir-apparency of Charles (1612), the troubles in Germany, and the like; all in addition to the on-goings, spiritual and temporal, of the district.

On the 23rd of April, 1616, two days before he had completed seventeen years, he entered as a student of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge—a day still more memorable by the death of Shakspeare. In the end of June of the following year, his father died; which cut short his college career, and elevated him to the management of property, and the headship of the family. For three years he is entirely untraceable; it is certain that some portion of the time was spent in London, since he there became acquainted with, and in August 1620 married, Elizabeth Bouchier, daughter of Sir James Bouchier, Knight, a civic gentleman of some opulence, with property in Essex. It is also reported that he studied law in London; but as his name does not appear in the books of any of the Inns of Court, he could only have passed a short time in an attorney's office, with the view of learning the forms of common, and town and county business.

Here then, we have him 'settled' as a farmer, proprietor, and the head of a family, at the age of twenty-one years and four

months. There seems nothing extraordinary in his education hitherto; we can be pretty certain that he had got from school and college no very remarkable acquirements. Latin and Greek he had begun, but he never became a reader of the classics; indeed, his masters were rather lax in teaching him the grammatical part of English. Arithmetic he probably knew, but the high mathematics, from Euclid onwards, he could hardly have entered on. We should like to know what his reading was at home; and we shall even venture to guess, that it was neither classics, nor Italian literature, then popular in England, nor the recent works on physical, philosophical, and political speculation in our own country, not even Bacon and Hooker, that, moreover, it did not include Shakspeare himself; and, on the positive side, we should expect the weighty puritanical literature then commencing to put forth its power, the sermons, disquisitions, and bible commentaries of such men as Owen and Baxter, where, though religious improvement was the main object, yet there often entered into the composition the best thoughts and modes of reasoning and exposition that were current in secular works; and where a man's intellect might take in much valuable thought, while his heart burned within him at the sentiment. We are scarcely at liberty to assume any other assistance to Oliver's cultivation of a literary and scholastic kind, than what came to him through a religious medium,—through the bible and its puritanical expounders, by pulpit or press. The great Elizabethan literature was either too speculative, too poetical, or too profane for his tastes; and if Hobbes, his contemporary, could declare that much reading in the existing books would have marred his philosophical genius, much more would it have obstructed a great practical genius.

"Here then, at Huntingdon," he continued, "unnoticeable, but easily imaginable by history, for almost ten years; farming lands; most probably attending quarter sessions; doing the civic, industrial, and social duties in the common way;—living as his father before him had done." The description of his father being that—

"He did burgh and quarter-session duties, as documents still testify; was not slack, but moderately active as a country gentleman; sat once in Parliament in his younger years; is found with his elder or other brothers on various commissions for draining the Fens of that region, or more properly, for enquiring into the possibility of such an operation—a thing much noised of then—which Robert Cromwell, among others, reported to be very feasible, very promising, but did not live to see accomplished, or even attempted. His social rank is sufficiently indicated;—and much flunkeyism, falsity, and

other carrion ought to be buried. Better than all social rank, he is understood to have been a wise, devout, steadfast, and worthy man, and to have lived a modest and manful life in his station there."

Among the great public transactions of this period of Oliver's life, Mr. Carlyle indicates to us, that—

"In October 1623, there was an illumination of tallow lights, a ringing of bells, and gratulation of human hearts in all towns in England, and doubtless in Huntingdon too, on the safe return of Prince Charles from Spain, *without* the Infanta. A matter of endless joy to all true Englishmen of that day, though no Englishman of this day feels any interest in it one way or the other. But Spain, even more than Rome, was the chosen throne of Popery; which, in that time, meant temporal and eternal damnability, falsity to God's gospel, love of prosperous darkness rather than of suffering light—infinite baseness, rushing short-sighted upon infinite peril, for this world and for all worlds. King James, with his worldly-wise endeavours to marry his son into some first-rate family, never made a false calculation than in this grand business of the Spanish match. The soul of England abhorred to have any concern with Spain or things Spanish."

"The articulate tendency of the Solomon King had, unfortunately, parted company with the inarticulate but ineradicable tendency of the country he presided over. The Solomon King struggled one way; and the English nation, with its very life-fibres, was compelled to struggle another way. The rent by degrees became wide enough."

This description is very much in point in the life of Cromwell; inasmuch as we find him, thirty years afterwards, bent with his whole soul upon reducing and humbling the Spaniard. *He*, at least, carried out into action the tendency of the English mind to keep no terms with Popery. Even the Solomon King was compelled to draw the sword against Spain instead of making marriages with it; but Cromwell required no compulsion, as we may afterwards see.

"In those years it must be that Dr. Simcott, physician in Huntingdon, had to do with Oliver's hypochondriac maladies. He told Sir Philip Warwick, unluckily specifying no date, or none that has survived, 'he had often been sent for at midnight.' Mr. Cromwell for many years was very 'splenetic' (spleen-struck), often thought he was just about to die, and also 'had fancies about the Town Cross.'"

This faint passage opens a wide door for vague speculation. Many years of melancholy, breaking out often into fits and delirium! Whether it was the great crisis of his religious convictions, or the struggle between his intense human nature and his restricted position, or whether his sympathies with the trodden cause in the country had anything to do with his affliction, or how far it may

have been mere bodily illness, we shall probably never be able to tell. In his full vigorous manhood, 'he was a strong man in the dark perils of war, in the high places of the field; hope shone in him like a pillar of fire, when it had gone out in all the others;' but at this time it was awfully the reverse. Not the near alliance of great wit with madness, but madness itself is here.

In 1624, arose a scheme among the influential and wealthy Puritans that requires to be mentioned as a point of contact between Cromwell and the world; namely, a subscription for the purchase of lay impropriations, or presentations to church livings, in order that clergy of the Puritan stamp might be set up in the Church. Large funds were got together, showing the money power and zeal of Puritanism; they were devoted first to the purchase of such advowsons as came to market, and next to the support of a body of lecturers, or home missionaries, as some would now call them, who went about and preached wherever there was opportunity or occasion.

"They were greatly followed by the serious part of the community; and gave proportional offence in other quarters. In some years hence, they had risen to such a height, these lecturers, that Dr. Laud now come into authority, took them seriously in hand, and with patient detail hunted them mostly out; nay, brought the feoffees (managers of the funds) themselves and their whole enterprise into the Star Chamber, and there, with emphasis enough, and heavy damages, amid huge rumour from the public, suppressed them. This was in 1633; a somewhat strong measure. That Cromwell was a contributor to this feoffee fund, and a zealous forwarder of it, according to his opportunities, we might already guess; and by and by there will occur some vestige of direct evidence to that effect.

"The Puritans were already numerous. John Hampden, Oliver's cousin, was a devout Puritan; John Pym, the like; Lord Brook, Lord Say, Lord Montague—Puritans in the better ranks, and in every rank abounded. Already, either in conscious act or in clear tendency, the far greater part of the serious thought and manhood of England had declared itself Puritan."

In 1627, the estate of Hinchinbrook, belonging to the elder branch of the Cromwell family, is sold; the proprietor, Sir Oliver, that entertained King James four-and-twenty years ago with feasts and presents, has now "burnt out his splendour; retired deeper into the fens, to a place of his near Ramsey Mcre, where he continued still thirty years longer to reside, in an eclipsed manner." Here a much-talked-of incident occurred at a later period.

"The reduced knight was a royalist, or malignant; and his house had to be searched for arms, or munitions, or furnishings of any

sort, which he may be minded to send off to the King, now at York, and evidently intending war. Oliver's dragoons scarched with due rigour for the arms; while the captain respectfully conversed with his uncle; and even 'insisted' throughout the interview, say the old books, 'on standing uncovered;' which latter circumstance may be taken as an astonishing hypocrisy in him, say the old blockhead books."

Oliver Cromwell, Esq., appears in parliament, as member for Huntingdon, at Westminster, on Monday, the 17th of March, 1628. This was the third parliament of Charles; the previous two having been sharply dismissed for having insisted on "grievances" in the voting of supplies. But "this third parliament was more puritanic; more intent on rigorous law and divine gospel than any other had been." It had among its members Wentworth (Strafford), Hampden, Selden, Pym, Holles, and others well known, who had also been in former parliaments. Cromwell's first parliamentary experience was of very hot scenes. The Petition of Right; the denunciation of Buckingham; debates carried on in passion and tears; and dead resistance to the royal will; were some of the things he carried with him to meditate on, in his harvest fields of 1628. The session of 1629, was very brief but very energetic. Besides other matters of quarrel with the King, such as Custom-house Duties, and the alteration of the Petition of Right in the printing, the proceedings of Laud and others in the Church, led to a committee of the whole House on religion. In this committee, on the 11th of February, 1629, Cromwell stood up and made his first speech in parliament; which, though pretty well known, we shall here quote, with Mr. Carlyle's commentary.

"He said, 'He had heard by relation from one Dr. Beard (his old schoolmaster at Huntingdon), that Dr. Alabaster had preached flat Popery at Paul's Cross; and that the Bishop of Winchester,' (Dr. Neile) 'had commanded him, as his diocesan, he should preach nothing to the contrary. Mainwaring, so justly censured in this house for his sermons, was, by the same Bishop's means, preferred to a rich living. If these are the steps to Church preferment,' added he, 'what are we to expect?'

"Dr. Beard, as the reader knows, is Oliver's old schoolmaster at Huntingdon; a grave, speculative, theological old gentleman, seemingly, and on a level with the latest news from Town. Of poor Dr. Alabaster, there may be found some indistinct, and instantly forgettable particulars in Wood's 'Athenæ.' Paul's Cross, of which I have seen old prints, was a kind of stone tent, 'with leaden roof,' at the north-east corner of Paul's Cathedral, where sermons were still, and had long been preached in the open air; crowded devout congregations gathering there; with forms to sit on, if you came early. Queen

Elizabeth used 'to tune her pulpits,' she said, when there was any great thing in hand ; as governing persons now strive to tune their morning newspapers. Paul's Cross, a kind of 'Times' newspaper, but edited partly by Heaven itself, was then a most important entity! Alabaster, to the horror of mankind, was heard preaching 'flat Popery' there—'prostituting our columns' in that scandalous manner! And Neile had forbidden him to preach against it—'What are we to expect?'

"In the Commons' Journals, of that same day, we are further to remark, there stands, in perennial preservation, this notice : 'Upon question—*Ordered*, Dr. Beard, of Huntingdon, to be written to by Mr. Speaker, to come up and testify against the Bishop ; the order for Dr. Beard to be delivered to Mr. Cromwell.' The first mention of Cromwell's name in the books of any Parliament."

But, in another fortnight, the parliament was dissolved, with all the extraordinary circumstances so well known to history, eleven years elapsing ere another was called ; so that Cromwell's entire period of usurpation, did not amount to the unconstitutional *hiatus* of his predecessor.

"The King had taken his course. The King went on raising supplies without parliamentary law, by all conceivable devices,—of which ship-money may be considered the most original, and the sale of monopolies the most universal."

Guizot exhibits a list, though an incomplete one, of the wares then made monopolies of ; which has some interest in our present jubilee time of accomplished free trade : salt, soap, coals, iron, wine, leather, starch, feathers, cards and dice, beaver, lace, tobacco, barrels, beer, distilled liquors, the weighing of hay and straw in London and Westminster, red herrings, butter, potash, linen cloth, paper, rags, hops, buttons, catgut, spectacles, combs, saltpetre, gunpowder, &c. To think of so many prime necessities of life monopolized by single persons, that could charge any price up to the uttermost limits of human endurance, with no check but smuggling and theft, may enable us to understand the sufferings of our forefathers in that time, and to conceive what an oriental despotism is in most times. In the spiritual region, Archbishop Laud and his colleagues went on hunting out the "Lecturers," extinguishing dissent of every kind, whether within or without the Church.

Cromwell's speech, just quoted, may let us know what opinions he professed to his Huntingdon constituents at the hustings. He now returns to his home avocations, having had a view from the central position of affairs, how England stood between the Crown and the Commons ; and is destined to spend other ten years of ineffectual wondering what all was to come to.

"In, or soon after 1631, as we laboriously infer from the imbroglia records of poor Noble, Oliver decided on an enlarged sphere of action as a farmer; sold his properties in Huntingdon, all, or some of them; rented certain grazing lands at St. Ives, five miles down the river, eastward of his native place, and removed thither. The deed of sale is dated 7th May, 1631; the properties are specified as in the possession of himself, or his mother; the sum they yielded, £1,800, with this sum Oliver stocked his grazing farm at St. Ives.

"Properly, this was no change in Oliver's old activities; it was an enlargement of the sphere of them. He continued here till the summer or spring of 1636. A studious imagination may sufficiently construct the figure of his equable life in those years. Diligent grass-farming; mowing, milking, cattle-marketing: add, 'hypochondria,' fits of the blackness of darkness, with glances of the brightness of very Heaven; prayer, religious reading, and meditation; household epochs, joys and cares:—we have a solid, substantial, inoffensive farmer of St. Ives, hoping to walk with integrity and humble devout diligence through this world, and, by his Maker's infinite mercy, to escape destruction, and find eternal salvation in wider Divine worlds."

In the January of 1632, a seventh child is born to him, who died the day after baptism. In connexion with this incident, Mr. Carlyle exhibits the results of his researches into the births and destinies of all his children. No other personal incident can be told of him till 1636. But, in the meantime, on the public stage had come out the Writ of Ship-money, and cousin Hampden had refused to pay it.

Our historian,—considering his detail of the well-established incidents of Cromwell's life up to his thirty-seventh year, as merely introductory to his chief task,—now introduces the reader to the letters and speeches, with a graphic humorous picture of his own labours in making the collection, and with two advices as to the proper temper for perusing them. The first is,—

"By no means to credit the wide-spread report, that these seventeenth century Puritans were superstitious, crack-brained persons; given up to enthusiasm, the most part of them; the minor ruling part being cunning men, who knew how to assume the dialect of the others, and thereby, as skilful Machiavels, to dupe them."

The second is to the effect, that we are not to consider constitutional privileges the great aim of this revolutionary struggle, but a religious reformation, the shaping of both Church and State according to Bible principles. Both advices must be reckoned worthy of being followed, if only as a new experiment, to see if the aspect of the transactions will look more consistent with itself, than under the old point of view.

Mr. Carlyle now proceeds to the letters; and after a full description of the town and district of St. Ives, and of Oliver's fields and supposed dwelling-place, he presents us with Number One; dated 11th January, 1635 (1636, by our counting, the year to begin in January), and addressed,—*To my very loving friend Mr. Storie, at the sign of the Dog in the Royal Exchange, London.* We shall quote the letter entire, as it may, as well as any other, allow of a few remarks on some of the disputed points of the writer's character.

"MR. STORIE,—Amongst the catalogue of those good works, which your fellow-citizens and our countrymen have done, this will not be reckoned for the least, that they have provided for the feeding of souls. Building of hospitals provides for men's bodies; to build material temples is judged a work of piety; but they that procure spiritual food, they that build up spiritual temples, they are the men truly charitable, truly pious. Such a work as this was your erecting the lecture in our country, in the which you placed Dr. Wells, a man of goodness, and industry, and ability to do good every way, not short of any I know in England; and I am persuaded that sithence his coming, the Lord hath by him wrought much good among us.

"It only remains now, that he who first moved you to this, put you forward in the continuance thereof; it was the Lord; and therefore to Him lift we up our hearts that he would perfect it. And surely, Mr. Storie, it were a piteous thing to see a lecture fall, in the hands of so many able and godly men, as I am persuaded the founders of this are; in these times, wherein we see they are suppressed with too much haste and violence, by the enemies of God's truth. Far be it that so much guilt should stick to your hands, who live in a city so renowned for the clear shining light of the Gospel. You know, Mr. Storie, to withdraw the pay is to let fall the lecture; for who goeth to warfare at his own cost? I beseech you, therefore, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, put it forward, and let the good man have his pay. The souls of God's children will bless you for it; and so shall I; and ever rest,

"Your loving Friend in the Lord,

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"Commend my hearty love to Mr. Busse, Mr. Beadly, and my other good friends. I would have written to Mr. Busse; but I was loath to trouble him with a long letter, and I feared I should not receive an answer from him: from you I expect one as soon as you conveniently may.—*Vale.*"

We take this as a fair specimen of Cromwell's composition, when he had time to be careful, and of his style and manner of persuasion, or influencing his fellow-men by speech, which he was at times very successful in doing. We may analyze it rhetorically, if we choose; and we shall find that had he got

lessons from Isocrates, Quintilian, or Blair, or studied the best models, he could not have gone more direct to his mark; that is, supposing that Mr. Storie was a man whose most energetic convictions and ruling passions were of the religious kind, and in favour of the spread of religion. And the remarkable thing about Cromwell's persuasive method is, that he addressed himself almost uniformly to this moving power;—that it was natural and easy to him to appeal to Puritan convictions, and not at all in his power to address contrary or differing principles. He was no flexible, cunning pleader, that could get round any person by fixing on their strongest motives, let them be what they might; but a man powerful with one class of minds, moving them by speech, and anticipating their wishes in action. A fact explicable on one, and only one supposition, that he was thoroughly and entirely one of themselves; and in consequence of his superior force of intellect, and more intense fervour of temperament, more deeply affected with his creed, and his whole life-system more fully penetrated with it, than was possible with the generality of his brethren. If two men believe the same truth, the one that has most intellect will see most occasions for applying it—it will come more frequently upon the surface of his life, to affect his opinions and actions; and the one that has most of fervour or energy will maintain it against the greatest opposition. Being a Puritan, Cromwell behaved to carry out his puritanism farther into his private and public life, than the inferior natures of his sect. And if the reader study the two hundred letters and the eighteen speeches brought together in Mr. Carlyle's volumes, he will find them all pervaded by exactly the same tone of sentiment as the one now quoted. They are decisive in favour of the sincere, earnest, religious character of Cromwell, and against the very smallest tincture of assumption or hypocrisy; nay, they show a man incapable of acting out of this character. In his protectoral speeches he can appeal to the blessings of order, and peace, and security, and in this way tell upon universal feeling; but his strength always lies in touching the sympathies of the 'godly people.' He that can suppose Cromwell a *hypocrite*, after reading these letters and speeches, could not be persuaded that Charles the First was a lover of his kingly prerogatives, or that Falstaff was sincere in his liking for sack.

We may here mention, once for all, that Mr. Carlyle's manner of 'elucidation' is to state all that is known of every person, or circumstance touched upon in each letter, to place the reader as nearly in the position of the person addressed, as research, imagination, and vivid description can enable him to do. His

labour in this department will probably put him at the head of commentators ; and, by showing the public an example of what can be done under this character, serve to stir up into more vigour the sleepest of literary castes.

The writing of letter Number One, was followed very soon by Oliver's removal from St. Ives to Ely, where he continued till his removal to London about 1647. His mother's brother, Sir Thomas Steward, died and left him his principal heir, by which he came into the farming of the tithes at Ely, and was no doubt a very much richer man.

It is nearly three years ere we have another letter, and during this time great things have been happening ; among others, the Jenny-Geddes riot, and the covenanting movement in Scotland, and the ship-money trial in England. The second letter itself is entirely domestic and full of intense religious sentiment, worth studying when one is sure that the writer is telling what he really feels. Upwards of another year elapses ere the third letter appears, which places us in the Long Parliament, and is in connexion with Cromwell's parliamentary duties. He is now member for Cambridge. It refers to the treaty with the Scotch Covenanters, now an armed force in possession of Newcastle and the North of England. One article of the Scots' demands was uniformity of religion in the two nations ; that is, that Episcopal England should become thenceforth Presbyterian. Cromwell sends a brief note to a friend to ask him for a copy of the *reasons* of the Scots for enforcing this article ; which to be sure it required. Cromwell and the Scots had several words afterwards on this head ; in the meantime the thing ended in the calling of the Westminster Assembly to draw up an ecclesiastical and doctrinal system for both England and Scotland. That little note is all that is preserved of autograph from Cromwell during the first twenty-three months of the Long Parliament. The two appearances of Cromwell in that interval already known to history, one through Sir Philip Warwick, and the other from Clarendon, are here given by our author ; they are remarkable chiefly for showing the half-mad fervour and passion of his speaking, and also that he could now gain the attention of the House.

The fourth letter lands us in the first civil war, and among Oliver's operations in the military profession. King and parliament having come to open quarrel, and appealed to physical force, each is taking its own way of assembling an army. His Majesty proceeds by pawning his crown jewels, by procuring subscriptions of money and plate from his loyal friends, and by promulgating his Commission of Array, to take effect where it

can. The parliament, on its side, is getting up subscriptions and men.

"London subscribed (to the parliament) 'horses and plate,' every kind of plate, even to women's thimbles, to an unheard-of amount; and when it came to actual enlisting, in London alone there were 'Four thousand enlisted in a day.' The reader may meditate on that one fact. Royal messages, parliamentary messages; acres of typography, thrillingly alive in every fibre of them; these go on slowly abating, and military preparations go on slowly increasing, till the 23d of October next (1642). The King's 'Commission of Array for Leicestershire' came out on the 12th of June, commissions for other counties following as convenient; the parliament's 'Ordinance for the Militia,' rising cautiously, pulse after pulse, towards clear emergence, had attained completion the week before. The question puts itself to every English soul,—which of these will you obey?—and in all quarters of English ground, with swords getting out of their scabbards, and yet the constable's baton still struggling to reign supreme, there is a most confused solution of it going on."

Cromwell's energy and forwardness now appears. He subscribes money, moves for leave to the Cambridge people to get up two companies of volunteers, and appoint captains—sees to the purchase of arms, and has himself gone into military training, and become the commanding officer of the Cambridgeshire corps. And once fairly equipped, he proceeds in a style of alertness that very soon astonishes all on-lookers. On the 15th of August he has seized the magazines of the castle at Cambridge, and prevented the University plate from going off to the service of the king, interfering, at his own risk, and requiring a vote of indemnity. He is now in his element, displaying vigilance, activity, and increasing attention to the business of keeping down royalism within its bounds, as well as of disciplining his men for joining the grand army.

An important part of the defensive arrangements of the parliament, in as far as Cromwell was concerned, was the system of "County Associations," for mutual protection against royalist parties and plunderers on the small scale; a sort of extraordinary county police force, or application of the local military bodies to keep their counties quiet, as well as to serve among the general forces. One of these associations, called the Eastern, including the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Herts, and afterwards Lincoln and Hunts, became very famous under the animating presence of Cromwell. In January, 1643, we find him a colonel of horse, and already acting on his famous principle of collecting "men of religion" to serve in his cause;—a proposition very congenial to a man who was conscious that he would work

and endure more under the religious impulse than from any other motive.

We cannot here go into the very interesting details, given by Mr. Carlyle, of Cromwell's movements in these eastern counties. They show the practicality and force of the man as well as anything in his history,—all eye, all schemes, all motion; in everything "setting well to the mark" to clear out the enemy from his borders; confessing that he is, perhaps, a little over-anxious about things, so severe is his enforcement of every trifle that will serve the cause. When the parliament's affairs were declining everywhere else, Cromwell kept the cause triumphant in the eastern counties. On the 11th of October, we find his Ironsides bearing all before them in Winceby fight. On the 2nd of July, 1644, the prince of plunderers, Prince Rupert, invincible hitherto, first tasted the steel of the Ironsides at Marston Moor.

"Of this battle, the bloodiest of the whole war, I must leave the reader to gather details in the sources indicated below, or to imagine it in general as the most enormous hurly-burly of fire and smoke, and steel-flashings and death-tumult, ever seen in these regions; the end of which, about ten at night, was 'four thousand one hundred and fifty bodies to be buried,' and total ruin to the King's affairs in those northern parts."

The only letter of Cromwell's that remains on this affair is to his brother-in-law, who had a son killed at it, announcing to him the result of the battle, and his bereavement, in the phraseology and style of condolence natural to the writer.

In the autumn after this engagement, Cromwell and the generals came to a dead split. Cromwell, who had now abundantly tasted of action, saw clearly the way to complete victory on the parliament side; but Essex and Manchester were afraid to beat the King too well, not liking what might come after it. Cromwell repairs to his place in parliament on the 25th of November, and exhibits heavy charges against the Earl of Manchester, to the effect that he had always been against a decisive victory—that he "hath declared this by principles express to that purpose, and by a continued series of carriage and acting answerable." And again, a fortnight after, he points out the necessity of expelling the members of parliament from military commands, and putting the army on a new footing. Whence arose the well-known self-denying ordinance, and new-modelling of the army; which passed both houses with considerable difficulty on the 19th of February, 1645. Fairfax is to be commander-in-chief, and during the month of April he is found at Windsor, "full of business, regimenting, discharging, enlisting, new-modelling."

Cromwell's eminent activity causes him to be exempted from the self-denying ordinance, and to have his commission prolonged, first, for forty days, and then for three months; and now, in the month of June, 1645, he encounters the King at Naseby. He had been at the association, two or three days before the battle, but is ordered thither by the parliament, and arrives "amid shouts from the whole army." He commanded the horse which was on the right wing of the army, on that day, and drove all before him, while Prince Rupert did the same on the King's right wing. Cromwell, however, did not ride off the field to plunder, but met the returning Rupert, with the King's victorious horse, and charged them, to their utter destruction; having thus beaten the enemy's entire army. He has next to deal with a new enemy, in the shape of the "Clubmen," who pretend, at first, that they have taken arms to protect themselves against both armies, but are soon found to be in league with the royalists, and, therefore, have to be put down. This being done, there remains the capturing of all the strong places occupied by the King, in England, which Cromwell and Fairfax accomplish in detail, and terminate the first civil war. The strongholds included Bristol, which Cromwell had to take by a very hot siege, and Basing House, also stormed by him, and reckoned the twentieth garrison taken by the army, in the summer of 1645. In the end of spring, 1646, the parliament could consider itself the exclusive master of England. On the 22d of April, Cromwell, after a year of victories, takes his seat in parliament; and on the 27th, the King rode in disguise out of Oxford, and finally rendered himself up to the Scots' army.

We are now at the period between the two civil wars, the season of negotiating with the King. Cromwell, however, from the extant documents, makes a greater figure in the *Army Parliament* than in the other. His letters to Fairfax show him to be in a very fierce mood at the treatment proposed to the army. The following is a specimen:—

"There want not, in all places, men who have so much malice against the army as besots them; the late petition, which suggested a dangerous design against the parliament, in your coming to those quarters, doth sufficiently evidence the same; but they got nothing by it, for the Houses did assoil the army from all suspicion, and have left you to quarter where you please.

"Never were the spirits of men more embittered than now. Surely the Devil hath but a short time. Sir, it's good the heart be fixed against all this. The naked simplicity of Christ, with what wisdom he is pleased to give, and patience, will overcome all this."

And in the Postscript:—

"Upon the fast-day, divers soldiers were raised (as I heard), both horse and foot, near 200, in Covent Garden, to prevent us soldiers from cutting the Presbyterians' throats! These are fine tricks to mock God with."

We now quote from Mr. Carlyle:—

"Our next entirely authentic letter is at six months' distance; a hiatus not unfrequent in this series, but here most especially to be regretted, such a crisis in the affairs of Oliver and of England getting itself transacted in the interim. The quarrel between city and army, which we see here begun; the split of the parliament into two clearly hostile parties of Presbyterians and Independents, represented by city and army; the deadly wrestle of these two parties, with victory to the latter, and the former flung on its back, and its 'eleven members' sent beyond seas; all this transacts itself in the interim, without autograph note, or indisputably authentic utterance of Oliver's, to elucidate it for us. We part with him, labouring to get the officers sent down to Saffron Walden; sorrowful on the spring fast-day in Covent Garden; we find him again, at Putney, in autumn; the insulted party now dominant, and he the most important man in it. One paper which I find among the many published on that occasion, and judge pretty confidently, by internal evidence, to be of his writing, is here introduced;" namely, the 'Army Manifesto.'

In regard to the quarrel generally, Mr. Carlyle tells his reader, that—

"In books, in narratives old or new, he will find little satisfaction in regard to it. The old narratives, written all by baffled enemies of Cromwell, are full of mere blind rage, distraction and darkness; the new narratives, believing only in 'Machiavelism,' &c., disfigure the matter still more. Common history, old and new, represents Cromwell as having, underhand, in a most skilful and indeed prophetic manner, fomented or originated all this commotion of the elements; steered his way through it by 'hypocrisy,' by 'master-strokes of duplicity,' and such like. As is the habit hitherto of history."

After describing the movings to and fro, the meetings, the deputations to parliament, and the seizure of the King's person by the army, our author gives the "Manifesto," addressed to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Council of London, setting forth the demands and grievances of the army. As *soldiers*, the army demands to have reparation upon those that attempted to cast a perpetual blot of ignominy upon it; as *Englishmen*, it desires "a settlement of the peace of the kingdom and of the liberties of the subject, according to the votes and declarations of parliament, which, before we took arms, were by the parliament used as arguments and inducements to invite us and divers of our dear

friends out; some of whom have lost their lives in this war." Moreover, the manifesto declares that the army is now coming up to town to see these double demands complied with. After six weeks of negotiation, causing the greatest excitement in London, the army has its way; and the matters with the King are the next subject of deliberation. The army party, become the ruling power of England, has him to deal with now; and a rumour has arisen, and is soon verified by fact, that a Scots' army of forty thousand is coming south for his deliverance.

"Scotland is distracted by dim disastrous factions, very uncertain what it will do with the King when he is delivered; but, in the meanwhile, Hamilton has got a majority in the Scotch parliament; and drums are beating in that country; 'the army of forty thousand, certainly coming,' hangs over England like a flaming comet, England itself being all very combustible too. In a few weeks hence, discontented Wales, the presbyterian colonels declaring now for royalism, will be in a blaze; large sections of England, all England very ready to follow, will shortly after be in a blaze. The small governing party in England, during these early months of 1648, are in a position that might fill the bravest mind with misgivings."

A King not to be bargained with; a great royalist party ready to rise; a great presbyterian party, headed by purse-bearing London city; and a mutineer, republican, or levelling party; a House of Commons equally divided; a Scotch army on the march; these are the "difficulties of the new ministry," so to speak, the opposition that the army, parliament, and Cromwell at their head, have to encounter. Puritanism has become divided against itself, and the one-half gone over to the common enemy.

"Cromwell, it appears, deeply sensible of all this, does in these weeks make strenuous repeated attempts towards at least a union among the friends of the cause themselves, whose aim is one, whose peril is one. But to little effect. Ludlow, with visible satisfaction, reports how ill the lieutenant-general sped, when he brought the army grandees and parliament grandees 'to a dinner' at his own house 'in King-street,' and urged a cordial agreement; they would not draw together at all."

A meeting of a more remarkable kind took place among the army-leaders themselves at Windsor; a solemn conference, with one day spent in prayer, and the next in deliberation upon the "sad dispensation" that they had now fallen into. Having felt themselves carried on to their previous victories by the energy derived from their religious convictions, they resolve to take these as their guidance once more. Cromwell is a leading hand in these devotional and deliberative exercises. They looked

back over their past experiences, to distinguish their successes from their reverses, and to see what their conduct was in the one case and in the other ; and they found out "the steps by which we had departed from the Lord, and provoked Him to depart from us. Which we found to be those cursed carnal conferences our own conceited wisdom, our fears, and want of faith, had prompted us the year before to entertain with the King and his party." Lamenting the past, they still had faith in the future, and they resolve, with undaunted hearts, to go out with what strength they have to meet their potent enemies ; and further that, if God should bring them back in peace, they would "call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he had shed, and that mischief he had done to his utmost, against the Lord's cause and people in these poor nations." All this was very natural and consistent in men holding the principles these men did ; believing that they had God's cause in hand, and that God's providence favoured those that advanced His cause, and no others. They were bound to find out the leadings of the Divine hand, and to execute judgments upon His manifest enemies. They were completely possessed, in fact, with the Old Testament views of the Divine government ; and no other supposition whatever, of hypocrisy, insanity, self-seeking, or devil-serving, can account for their conduct. Cromwell himself, who is always the supreme and most energetic manifestation of Puritanism, gives repeatedly his theory of action in reference to Bible rules. It was first to act in faith ; that is upon a principle, or Divine maxim, that could be cited as his justification before all men ; such as, "Offend not a weak brother by thy liberty ;" "Distinguish between an erring friend and a total enemy." His faith rested not upon inward illumination, unless it could be clothed in a scriptural proposition. His second and subordinate rule of action was the leadings of Providence. He felt himself justified by success and rebuked by failure. When he had not the written word, he trusted to the visible hand.

Now, therefore, commences the second civil war. As before, Fairfax is commander-in-chief, and Cromwell lieutenant-general, of the army. Wales being the first part to break out, Cromwell is required to set off thither, on the 3rd of May, 1648. On the 28th of June he is before Pembroke, and writes to Fairfax for supplies, and acquaints him with the hot state of the district. On July the 11th, Pembroke and all Wales have surrendered and are quiet ; and he has to set out for the north to meet the Scotch army ; he joins Lambert among the hills of Yorkshire.

"It all depends on Hamilton and Cromwell now. His Majesty from Carisbrook Castle, the revolted mariners, the London Presby-

terians, the besieged in Colchester, and all men, are waiting anxiously what they now will make of it when they meet."

They met in Lancashire, at Preston battle.

"A wide-spread, most confused transaction; the essence of which is, that Cromwell, descending the valley of the Ribble, with a much smaller, but prompt and compact force, finds Hamilton flowing southward at Preston in very loose order; dashes in upon him, cuts him in two, drives him north *and* south, into as miserable ruin as his worst enemy could wish."

Cromwell's despatches and Mr. Carlyle's excerpts from the other accounts, make as clear a narrative of this battle and rout as the reader can desire. The second civil war, "its back broken here, is already as good as dead." In Scotland, resistance is at an end; or rather, things have gone the other way; for the oppressed minority rising in arms under Argyle, falls likewise upon the Hamilton troops. Cromwell has to go to Scotland to compose matters. He demands the restitution of the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle, and at length obtains them. He requires, moreover, from the Committee of Estates, that they

"Will give assurance in the name of the kingdom of Scotland, that they will not admit or suffer any that have been active in, or consenting to the late war against England, or have been lately in arms at Stirling or elsewhere in the maintenance of that engagement, to be employed in any public place or trust whatsoever."

This also had to be complied with; and he reports in his next despatch to the parliament, that "good elections are already made in divers places."

He is now on the march to London, and his next great business is the settlement of matters there. He and his officers are finding cause for amazement at the parliament's easy treatment of leading rebels; and the army generally has contracted "a very great zeal to have impartial justice done upon offenders." He has already made up his mind, that "the army is a lawful power, called by God to oppose and fight against the King upon some stated grounds; and being in power to such ends, may oppose one name of authority, for those ends, as well as another name." On this, and on other occasions, he expresses his contempt for names, and regard for things solely. The army, no doubt, remembers the vows taken by its leaders at Hampton Court; and it has been very indignant at the resumption of pacific negotiations with the King. It addresses a remonstrance to the House; the House refuses, by a majority of 90, to consider it. The army at Windsor spends "a day in prayer" and

consultation; it resolves to come into town, and reaches London on the 2nd of December, which is Saturday. On Monday, parliament resumes an adjourned debate on the question, "Whether his Majesty's concessions at the treaty of Newport are a ground of settlement?" At five o'clock on Tuesday morning, the division takes place, and the question carried in the affirmative, by a majority of 46. The army chiefs consult again, and on Wednesday Colonel Pride stands at the door of the House, and keeps back 41 of the majority; "purges" the House. The minority has become a majority, and regicide swiftly follows.

"No modern reader can conceive the then atrocity, ferocity, unspeakability of this fact. First, after long reading in the old dead pamphlets, does one see the magnitude of it. To be equalled, nay to be preferred, think some, in point of horror, to the crucifixion of Christ. I reckon it perhaps the most daring action any body of men to be met with in history, ever, with clear consciousness, deliberately set themselves to do."

After consultations, and hearing reports of committees, the first act of the regicide parliament is the appointment of a COUNCIL OF STATE of forty-one; and three months afterwards, that is on the 19th of May, 1649, England is declared a COMMONWEALTH, governed by the representatives of the people in parliament, without any King or House of Lords.

Cromwell's attention is arrested, for a short time, in the midst of the great national transactions, by negotiations towards the marriage of his good-for-nothing son, Richard. The correspondence is given by Carlyle, and is perfectly characteristic of the man. There is, however, waiting him a new enemy, the levellers, rebels against the free constitution, for its not being free enough. Mutiny has to be quenched in the army from the spread of this premature chartism. His next destination is Ireland; which he has to conquer from royalism, and pacify. He arrives in Dublin on the 15th of August, and is welcomed as Lord-Lieutenant, by the usual demonstrations. Here, says Mr. Carlyle—

"There are parties on the back of parties, at war with the world and with each other. There are Catholics of the Pale, demanding freedom of religion, under my Lord This and my Lord That. There are old Irish Catholics, under Pope's nuncios, under Abbas O'Teague of the excommunications, and Owen Roe O'Neil, demanding not religious freedom only, but what we now call Repeal of the Union, and unable to agree with the Catholics of the English Pale. Then there are Ormond Royalists, of the Episcopalian and mixed creeds, strong for King without Covenant; Ulster, and other Presbyterians, strong for King and Covenant; lastly, Michael Jones and the Common-

wealth of England, who want neither King nor Covenant. All these, plunging and tumbling, in huge discord, for the last eight years, have made of Ireland and its affairs the black unutterable blot we speak of.

"At the date of Oliver's arrival, all Irish parties are united in a combination very unusual with them; very dangerous for the incipient Commonwealth. Ormond, who had returned hither with new commission, in hopes to co-operate with Scotch Hamilton during the second civil war, arrived too late for that object; but has succeeded in rallying Ireland into one mass of declared opposition to the powers that now rule. In all Ireland, when Cromwell sets foot in it, there remain only two towns, Dublin and Derry, that hold for the Commonwealth: Dublin lately besieged, Derry still besieged.—Combination, great in bulk, but made of iron and clay; in meaning not so great. Oliver has taken survey and measure of it; Oliver descends on it like the hammer of Thor; smites it as at one fell stroke, into dust and ruin, never to reunite against him more."

The collection and elucidation of Cromwell's despatches in this Irish campaign, are of great importance for his reputation. They show what has not been well known before, the true facts of the case; and are, therefore, the foundation of a safe judgment. The Lord Lieutenant had to reduce almost all the fortified places of the kingdom; and two of these, Drogheda and Wexford, that refused to surrender on being summoned, he put to the sword. The example terrified the rest into timely submission; and, on the whole, comparatively little blood was shed. We shall here quote his own expressions on this horrible part of the business.

"I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood (alluding to the massacre of 1641); and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future. Which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which, otherwise, cannot but work remorse and regret."

The question as to the cruelty or clemency of Cromwell's general character, can, we think, be set at rest by Mr. Carlyle's volumes. That he was, in his ordinary moods, a tender-hearted and humane man, in a very high degree, is amply proved; but, in the excitement of action, or in the heat of opposition, he was all fire and fury, thirsting for death and destruction. He explains a sanguinary order, by his being "in the heat of action;" and in his despatches he uniformly exults over the "execution" done upon the enemy. He seemed to excel common men in the ardour of his military vengeance, as much as in intellect and general warmth of feeling. Being of the excitable rather than the even temperament, he went farther in one mood than he would

have done in another. Even his excitability he could command, if necessary; but, under opposition, it commonly showed itself; and it also appeared in his anxiousness about things, which we have already noticed, and which a less excitable man would, with his experience and reasoning, have overcome.

Mr. Carlyle has added, to his second edition, an interesting pamphlet of Cromwell's, entitled, "A Declaration of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for the undeceiving of deluded and seduced people; which may be satisfactory to all that do not wilfully shut their eyes against the light. In answer to certain late declarations and acts, framed by the Irish popish prelates and clergy, in a conventicle at Clonmacnoise." He was as willing, and nearly as able, to take up the pen, as the sword; and wanted neither matter, nor argument, nor language. The Clonmacnoise manifesto, besides being the cause of Cromwell's declaration, is important for containing a clause urging the Irish people not to be deceived "with any show of clemency exercised upon them hitherto;" the present Lord Lieutenant being, it seems, in danger of gaining over the hearts of the Irish by unusual kindness and forbearance; so that the Drogheda and Wexford massacres could not even prevent his being reckoned a mild ruler. Cromwell's declaration is partly a refutation of the attacks of the "manifesto" on the doings of the Commonwealth, and partly a statement to the Irish people of his "policy," or what all men, Catholic and Protestant, enemy and friend, leaders and people, were to meet with at his hands; and it may now serve as a justification to posterity of his government of Ireland.

He has only been nine months there, when letters, pressing for his return, reach him. The Commonwealth is in danger from Scotland; and it is plain to all men that he alone can save it. Ireton succeeds him in Ireland, and finishes the war. On his death "wooden" Ludlow succeeds. The general treatment of Ireland by the puritan Commonwealth is to be seen in existing documents, to which Mr. Carlyle refers all that may have been believed in Clarendon's statement, that "the parliament had at one time decided to exterminate all the Irish population." Whatever the treatment was, Ireland flourished under it to an unexampled extent.

Mr. Carlyle lavishes his pity and humour upon the poor covenanted Scotch nation, that could not go on without a Charles Stuart at its head. Believing, as the Covenanters did, that a man is "sanctified wholly, in soul, body, and spirit," by divine grace and not by "the works of the law," far less by ceremonies and outward conformity, it was a fearful falling away from the faith, to take up with such an anointed defender. To be sure,

he had signed the covenant; "whereby our parchment formula is indeed saved; but the divine fact has gone terribly to the wall."

Fairfax refuses to be commander of the expedition into Scotland, and on the 26th of June, 1650, the act was passed appointing Cromwell commander-in-chief; on which he receives the befitting congratulations, and sets to work for the new campaign. He is on the march for Scotland on the 29th; his army, on crossing the Tweed, numbers about 16,000, horse and foot. He opens first a paper war with the General Assembly, and the Scotch people generally, thinking he ought to do something by argument with them. He would fain open their eyes to the infatuation of their cause; hints to them that there may be a "covenant with death and hell," and recommends them to read the 28th of Isaiah, from the fifth to the fifteenth verse. He also addresses a very powerful and answerable letter to Lesley, the Scots' commander; but all to no effect; nothing will succeed, till the 3rd of September brings the fearful overthrow of the Scotch army at Dunbar.

Mr. Carlyle, as usual, has devoted himself to the vivid elucidation of this battle. Having gone to the spot, with the old documents in his hand, he completely assured himself of the precise localities of the various parts of the struggle; and he now exhibits a picture of the scene and the engagement that we think the sublimest of all his battle descriptions. The guide-books would do well to copy it, if it were not a great deal too good for them. It is too long for quotation here, and no single paragraph would show by itself. Cromwell had, by it, extricated himself from a position that he confessed to be of great difficulty, and immediately after marched to Edinburgh.

We may, in passing, remark upon Cromwell's style of fighting, which receives a strong illustration from the battle of Dunbar. We can notice, in the first place, his extraordinary care and watchfulness to provide himself with all things needful, and to choose his positions and direct his movements to the uttermost possible advantage. In this quality of severe observation and pains-taking caution, he may be very well compared with the Duke of Wellington. In the next place, we find that his mode in the battle-field is almost exclusively the "Charge," so well known to the enemies of England in other times. Heading his troopers, he rushes upon the enemy with an ardour of blood and enthusiasm that cannot be resisted, even by men of the very same sinew and nerve as his own followers. His "word" is a burning phrase of Scripture ("The Lord of Hosts," at Dunbar), and he, himself, never fought without "some text of Scripture to rest upon," to add to the warmth of his faith and fervour. His charge

was never repelled. "Truly," he says, "his Ironsides were never beaten at all." The enemy's numbers could not avail them against onsets that ruined their discipline. Good English bodies, tenanted by stern, patriotic and religious souls, made soldiers of a rare quality; and such were Cromwell's. Moreover, their discipline was unexampled, and their enthusiastic confidence in him was intense.

In Edinburgh he resumes his paper war; now with the enemy lodged in Edinburgh Castle. He sends an offer to the Governor, to allow the clergy (who had taken refuge in the Castle) to preach in the city without molestation. They refuse, and tell him that they cannot confide in a man of a persecuting party. He defends his party. They reply; he, in return, commences a new communication. "Because I am at some reasonable good leisure, I cannot let such gross mistakes and inconsequential reasonings pass without some notice taken of them;" defends the people of his party in their assuming the ministry of the Gospel without ordination; is amazed, at their calling "the witness of God upon our solemn appeal" (the appeal of both sides to Providence at Dunbar field), and all the other victories of the English Puritans, "bare events;" can only say, "The Lord pity you."

In the confused clash of Scotch parties, what to do with Scotland is a puzzle. But for one thing, Edinburgh Castle must be reduced, and the General prepares for storming that formidable place. But, in the meantime, other victories have been gained. Of three separate parties in arms, two are broken, and the third is a purely malignant party. Cromwell has been never-failing in his pity for the poor deluded Scotch people, seduced to the loss of their lives in such a cause. On the 19th of December, Edinburgh Castle capitulated, and Cromwell has Edinburgh for his winter-quarters, being now master of all Scotland to the south of Forth and Clyde valley. The enemy is entrenched at Stirling. On the 4th of February he marched from Edinburgh towards Stirling, but experienced two days of wind, hail, snow, and rain, that made the soldiers very uncomfortable, and gave himself a dangerous illness, that did not quit him till June; having had three successive relapses, which gave more alarm to the Commonwealth than any other news whatever. Two doctors are sent down from London to him. All the spring and summer he is moving about, gaining successive advantages over the enemy; and by the beginning of August, the crisis has arrived.

"The Scotch King and army, finding their supplies cut off, and their defences rendered unavailing by this flank-movement (Cromwell is possessed of the coast of Fife, and has cut off their supplies from the north), break up suddenly from Stirling, march direct towards

England, for a stroke at the heart of the Commonwealth itself. Their game now is, 'All or nothing.' A desperate kind of play. Royalists, Presbyterian-royalists, and the large miscellany of discontented interests may perhaps join them there—perhaps, also, not! They march by Biggar; enter England, by Carlisle, on Wednesday, 6th of August, 1651."

Cromwell's despatch to the parliament, of the 4th, alludes to the movement, and explains why it was out of his power to interpose, and shield England from the enemy's raid. He follows steadily—"by York, by Nottingham, by Coventry and Stratford; raising all the county militias, who muster with singular alacrity; flowing towards Worcester like the ocean-tide; begirdling it with upwards of thirty thousand men." Charles's standard was erected at Worcester on the 22nd—Cromwell's furled in the neighbourhood on the 28th of August. The royalists gained little accession or sympathy on their march; the Commonwealth had swelled up to thirty thousand men, and it was said, eighty thousand more were ready to rise. Worcester battle is fought on the 3rd of September, the anniversary of Dunbar. We extract a sentence or two from our author's description:—

"The small Scotch army, begirdled with overpowering force, and cut off from help or reasonable hope, storms forth in fiery pulses horse and foot; charges now on this side of the river, now on that;—can on no side prevail. Cromwell recoils a little, but only to rally, and return irresistible. The small Scotch army is on every side driven in again. Its fiery pulsings are but the struggles of death—agonies as of a lion coiled in the folds of a boa! 'As stiff a contest, for four or five hours, as ever I have seen.' But it avails not."

The war is at an end: Cromwell's military campaigning is at an end with it. On the 12th he arrives in London, and is received in procession, "with very great solemnity and triumph; speaker and parliament, lord president, and council of state, sheriffs, mayors, and an innumerable multitude of quality, and not of quality, attending."

In London he is now, member of parliament, member of the council of state, commander-in-chief of the forces, and clothed with victories.

"Scotland, therefore, like Ireland, has fallen to Cromwell to be administered. He had to do it under great difficulties; the governing classes, especially the clergy or teaching class, continued for most part obstinately indisposed to him, so baleful to their formulas had he been. With Monk for an assiduous lieutenant in secular matters, he kept the country in peace;—it appears, on all sides, he did otherwise what was possible for him."

In many ways Scotland was the better for his administration.

The nation has been a Commonwealth for two years and four months, but the parliament, chosen before the troubles began, continues to sit. After all the purgings it has received it is still in discordance with the army parliament; the latter insisting now that it was high time that it should dissolve itself, and give the country a new opportunity of selecting its representatives.

"Between Worcester battle, on the 3rd of September, 1651, and the dismissal of the Long Parliament, on the 20th of April, 1653, are thirty-one very important months in the history of Oliver, which, in all our books and historical rubbish-records, lie as nearly as possible dark and vacant for us. After long reading in very many books of very unspeakable quality, earning for yourself only incredibility, inconceivability, and darkness visible, you begin to perceive, that in the speeches of Oliver himself, once well read, such as they are, some shadowy outlines, authentic prefigurations of what the real history of the time may have been, do first, in the huge, inane night, begin to loom forth upon you,—credible, conceivable in some measure, there for the first time."

We shall pass over Mr. Carlyle's attempts to fill up a clear and intelligible history of this interval, and remark only of his picture of the ejection scene, that it is probably the best and completest than we can now have, although not differing materially from what has been already given by others. Cromwell is now the only fountain of authority in the nation; he is the head of the physical force (perhaps we may say of the moral force too), and this now rules all. It is quite plain that the army parliament had long been prepared for this final stroke; but the actual deed seems to have come upon Cromwell like a fit, on the discovery of "their wanting common honesty," in the gross breach of faith committed by the leading men towards himself. It is but right to consider, on this case of army usurpation, so destructive of constitutional securities for the liberty of the subject, that the composition of the Commonwealth army was very peculiar. It was not made up of soldiers of fortune, younger sons, men in want of an occupation, spirits that disliked the routine of quiet industry, and every-body that came; but had in it a large portion of men of property and standing in the country, who came out to devote their lives and substance to a cause that was dear to them; the very men that would have sitten in the civil parliament, were its officers; they became soldiers to serve an end, and they felt bound to secure that end against whoever should be their opponents. Even in the ranks, the standing picture of the soldier, "full of strange oaths," did not hold; the usual license of armies was always

restrained. Army that it was, now that it came to represent the country in civil affairs, it was a selection more of the best than of the worst subjects.

Six weeks after the dissolution, Cromwell issues his summonses, a hundred and forty in number, to chosen persons throughout the country to come up and assume the government; a "Puritan assembly of the notables." They had been chosen with very anxious deliberation on the part of the officers and their adherents in the counties; an appeal to the country being considered not safe yet. A hundred and thirty-eight answered the summons, and met on the 4th of July. The General, in committing into their hands the supreme power, thinks it right to deliver a "charge" as to their duties; and this is his first "speech," now presented to us, cleaned from misspellings, and perverse punctuations, but in no single word altered, by Mr. Carlyle.

He opens with his favorite topic of the "Providences" that had been vouchsafed to their cause in the series of victories ending with Worcester; and then details the proceedings of the army that led to the dissolution, which he justifies by an exposure of the selfishness and misgovernment of the parliament—their determination to perpetuate themselves, their gross partiality and jobbing, their discountenancing the people of God in the establishment of a gospel ministry, their inability to reform abuses, particularly in the "law, so much groaned under, in the posture it now is;" for none of all which, however, would he have been disposed to lift his hand against the superior magistrate; but, when it came to a "high breach of trust," "we thought it our duty not to suffer it; and upon this the House dissolved." He then counsels the "notables" as to their conduct, chiefly in Scripture language, but with the soundest practical interpretation. He commends justice to the unbeliever as well as the believer; nay, would rather fail to the latter than to the former; and in desiring them to be faithful to the saints, he includes those of presbyterial judgment equally. "I confess I never looked to see such a day as this—it may be nor you neither,—when Jesus Christ should be so owned as He is this day in this work."

It is truly impossible to read the whole speech without being affected with some share of Mr. Carlyle's rapturous admiration of it. Bible language and actual affairs are brought together with a mutual illumination, instead of producing a dark incoherent jumble; we see that the man knew well what he was about, and could communicate his mind with adequate effect to his hearers. He throws off, at random, the soundest political maxims, and

the most generous rules of administration; and, as now edited, he is very remarkably the opposite of unintelligible.

The little parliament failed:—

"It sat for five months and odd days, very earnestly striving; earnestly, nobly, and by no means unwisely, as the ignorant histories teach."

"Routine business done altogether well by this little parliament. But alas! they had decided on abolishing tithes,—nay, far worse, they had decided on abolishing the Court of Chancery."

By a surreptitious move, while the extreme gospel party was absent, it was resolved "to deliver up to the Lord General Cromwell the powers which we received from him." Cromwell was surprised and disappointed; he being responsible for this result. He called a "council of officers and other persons of interest in the nation." From Monday the 12th, till Friday the 16th of December, 1653, their conferences and advisings continued; no little excitement in the public mind meanwhile. On Friday came out the Gazette, announcing Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with "Instrument of Government," in forty-two articles, "Council of State," and other necessary circumstances.

The same Friday afternoon, the installation takes place in the Chancery Court in Westminster Hall.

"His Highness was in a rich but plain suit; black velvet, with cloak of the same; about his hat a broad band of gold. Does the reader see him? A rather likely figure, I think. Stands some five feet ten, or more; a man of strong solid stature, and dignified, now partly military carriage; the expression of him, valour and devout intelligence,—energy and delicacy on a basis of simplicity. Fifty-four years old gone April last; brown hair and moustache are getting grey. A figure of sufficient impressiveness; not lovely to the man-milliner species, nor pretending to be so. Massive stature; big massive head, of somewhat leonine aspect; wart above the right eye-brow; nose of considerable blunt-aquiline proportions; strict yet copious lips, full of all tremulous sensibilities, and also, if need were, of all fiercenesses and rigours; deep, loving eyes, call them grave, call them stern, looking from under those craggy brows as if in life-long sorrow, and yet not thinking it sorrow, thinking it only labour and endeavour; on the whole, a right noble lion-face and hero-face; and to me royal enough."

The Protectorate, as now illustrated by the labours of Mr. Carlyle, is perhaps most expressive of Cromwell's character on the whole; he has things mostly his own way now, and the administration of England during the next five years expresses his mind and will.

By the instrument of government he has to call parliaments;

and the auspicious 3rd of September is chosen for the meeting of the first. Property of two hundred pounds entitles a man to the suffrage. Those that have appeared in the wars against the parliament since 1642, are excluded from voting or sitting, unless they have since done some signal act of repentance.

But the Protector has ten months before him, ere he meet his parliament. In these months he has to extinguish what Mr. Carlyle calls "sooty chimneys," that have burst into flame here and there; anabaptists, fiery republicans, and fifth-monarchy men, are holding inflammatory meetings, denouncing the new despotism; royalist plots, that never ceased, have now taken up the project of assassinating the usurper. He has also to make "Laws and Ordinances, for the peace and welfare of these nations;" of these he passed sixty before parliament met. Mr. Carlyle does not go into these, nor into the detail of the Protector's administration, except by way of occasional indication, leaving another book still to be written upon him, which shall exhibit, in continuous array, all his doings as the supreme civil ruler of Britain. He has also to settle the Church government; for which he appoints Commissions of Triers, to appoint and eject clergymen.

His second speech, addressed to the new parliament, opens with a view of what had been the state of the nation when he became Protector; describing the levelling sects in civil and religious affairs, and in the midst of internal strife, the common enemy on the alert; in which state of things his protectorship had been applied as a remedy. He then tells them what he has done, and how home and foreign affairs stand at present; and earnestly charges them to go on with the peace and settlement of the nation.

Unfortunately, the parliament, instead of taking up the business of the country, fell to debating upon the constitution, and "whether it should be a parliament and single person." Cromwell found this would never do, and summons them to meet him again, and delivers his third speech, which Mr. Carlyle considers the most valuable record of the transactions between the battle of Worcester and the protectorate.

In the former speech he had forborne to speak of himself; he now finds he must magnify his office. He takes God and every living man to witness that he called not himself to it: that is his first assertion; his second is, that he bears not witness of himself, but has many witnesses. He then gives the heads of his own history, especially in the late events of turning out the parliament, and coming to his present place. His witnesses, that is the approvers of his present calling, are within,

without, above ; the first and last he uses for his own satisfaction, the second, those without, he now cites as his defence before the world. They are the judges and city dignitaries that attended his installation ; the officers of the army throughout the three kingdoms, who sent him letters of approval, along with which went the implied consent of the entire soldiery of the Commonwealth : the corporations and societies of London ; approbations from many cities, burghs and counties, voted at the official meetings of the influential persons ; the judges, supreme and subordinate, all the justices of peace, who have acted in his commissions : the sheriffs, who returned members of parliament on his writs ; and lastly, those honorable gentlemen themselves who have answered his summons. All these, he thinks, may put a stamp on his office equal to any hereditary interest. He then tells them, for the better defining of their duties, that there are fundamentals, or things settled, and circumstantial, or things open to change. The fundamentals are such as the limiting the duration of parliaments, liberty of conscience, the placing of the militia in the supreme officer ; these are to be delivered over to posterity. Waxing warm at the levity of tampering men, he declares that, the wilful throwing away of this government, so owned by God, so witnessed to, "I can sooner be willing to be rolled into my grave and buried with infamy, than I can give my consent unto." In conclusion, he requires each member to subscribe a declaration, not to interfere with the frame of government now settled in "a single person and parliament."

To little purpose ; they still went on debating and neglecting pressing business : Cromwell waited impatiently for the expiry of their five-monthly session, at last shortens it to the calculation of twenty-eight days to the month, and on the 22d of January, 1655, dissolves it, after another long speech. His disappointment shows itself in a very decided manner. "He had had his melancholy thoughts, and had sat down by them," having all the difficulties of the nation flowing in upon him, while they cared not to know what was doing, and had not even voted supplies. He tells them what things had thriven under their shadow ; plots and discontents sufficient, if not checked, to renew all the troubles. He had the evidence of all in his hands. After reminding them of their neglected business, he comes to the point of their discussions, his own office, and gives his theory of a good constitution,—namely, a parliament and single person, the single person not being hereditary, but chosen, like the Hebrew Judges, for having been instrumental in doing signal service to the country. He will now have his difficulties ; "and, I bless God, I have been inured to diffi-

culties ;" but they must be answerable, if he has to stretch the constitution, and raise money without them.

The parliament is no sooner dissolved, than Cromwell quenches all the plots and risings, and utterly destroys the hopes of the common enemy. For the better security of the country, he contrives his schemes of "Major-Generals," which we have not time to dwell upon.

One of the most notable of his public acts was his invasion of the West-India Islands. He had fitted out a powerful sea-armament, which sailed from Portsmouth to the west, at Christmas, 1654, not knowing whither ; but, on opening the sealed instructions, it was found to be destined for an attack upon the Spanish West Indies. Spain was the Protector's life-long enemy ; and he now resolves to humble her, by seizing her West India colonies. The present fleet is to attack Hispaniola. The expedition proves a failure ; Jamaica is taken, but not valued ; mismanagement and the climate cut off the men by hundreds.

It is a sore blow to the Protector ; he regrets most bitterly that he did not attend to the fitting out of the armament, and place competent men in it. In all the despatches that he writes on the expedition, his humiliated feelings break out in spite of himself ; to attack the Spaniard being identical with attacking the Devil, he fears there must be something very wrong in his conduct, to bring down such a "rebuke." But he is still resolved ; "we think, and it is much designed among us to strive with the Spaniard for the mastery of all those seas." He believes that, though "God hath torn us, he will heal." "Our own sins," and the open iniquities committed by the fleet, were good cause for the reproof at St. Domingo ; but expedition after expedition will be sent, and a British West India interest created, out of the spoils of Spain.

Besides being the foundation of our West Indian possessions, this enterprise is very interesting as illustrating Cromwell's character under a down-right failure ; the only thing of the kind in his history. And it would appear from his letters, that the agony of it was extreme, almost unendurable. It humiliated his sense of capacity ; and bore hard upon his trust in Providence. Acting, as he most manifestly did, on the conviction, that if a cause was good, and if the agents were true-hearted, Providence would favor it ; failure was to him an evidence of error and sin, and lay heavily on his spirit. How he would have borne a series of reverses, an opposing fate, a career wholly tragical, one cannot confidently say ; but we should guess that it would not have been in a fine heroic stage-effect manner. Probably he would have gone mad ; his hypochondria would have returned upon him victorious. His

confidence in the future rested so purely on himself and Providence, that if these supports had not been confirmed by events, he was a doomed man in all worlds.

His continual reference to the records of the Old Testament, the songs of its heroes, and the predictions and declarations of its prophets, ought to surprise no one. If Alexander the Great had the *Iliad* for his pillow-companion, if every rude tribe derives its enthusiasm and refreshment from the deeds of its ancestors celebrated in song, if every craftsman delights in the lives of those that were famous in his craft, if the present work will prove a solace and a treasure to many a one struggling with difficulties in their worldly career, then was it natural, on the commonest principles of sympathy, that Oliver Cromwell should take incessant delight in the books of Scripture. Believing them to contain the ancient doings of the same God that then controlled the affairs of England, he could not but desire to find in them glowing examples of his own situation, and precedents for all his doings.

In September, 1656, a new parliament assembles; and the Protector, as usual, addresses them on the condition of the nation. A speech of forty-five pages, full of luminous indications of England and Cromwell. He takes up, first, the things relating to being; and, next, the things relating to well-being. Under the first, comes of course, home and foreign enemies; and a large portion is taken up in proving the "Spaniard" to be the great natural enemy of the country, and the great hope of the Charles Stuart interest. For powerful denunciation and well-marshalled argument, this part of the speech will stand comparison with the "Philippics," much better than the compositions usually taken for that purpose. Under well-being, he treats of things to be done for security, such as maintaining freedom of conscience; and things to be done for reformation, such as improving manners, and amending the laws. He is rather fond of getting well-worded distinctions, as we see here, and in a former speech, which turned upon fundamentals and circumstantialia. As usual, he closes, by recommending some of the impressive Psalms or Prophecies, that he had been recently kindling his own zeal upon. It is a speech, on the whole, that if we could go through once, we should not tire of in the tenth reading.

His next speech is a short one, in answer to the parliament's congratulations on his escape from the assassin, Sindercomb. But no less than the next eight speeches are occupied on the celebrated offer of the kingship to him by this parliament. The entire set are given here, and can leave no doubt as to his real feelings on that offer. He had a total dislike to it in his own mind; and

delayed his decided refusal only out of deference to the parliament. On this, and on many other less equivocal occasions, he declared his contempt for a "name." Take away that "bauble," was his natural mode of regarding crowns and sceptres. We find the phrase again in a private note to his secretary, Thurloe. Moreover, Providence, in the late events, had seemed to lay aside the title of King; which looked to him rather ominous. But the finishing argument was the unconquerable objection of a party of his own friends; all the parliament's authority could not outweigh this; and he told them plainly, that he could not afford to lose this party. So that, in short, "I cannot undertake this government with the title of King."

We have no hesitation in affirming that there was not, in the mind of Cromwell, a single liking or predilection, or any feeling whatever in favour of taking the crown. Going carefully over all his words and deeds, we cannot find in him the smallest trace of the love of show or display, of the theatrical or the picturesque. He had grown up among the green fields, and witnessed all the vicissitudes of nature; he had been over the country, and had encountered the scenery that is the resort of the tourist; he had mingled in the most stirring transactions, but he never drops a syllable that shows a feeling of poetical, artistical, scenical, or stage effect. In describing a place or an action, he never makes a picture out of it; he never calls it striking, or beautiful, or touching, as an appearance. Business ends are only the things that ever affect him. The romantic castle-rock of Edinburgh is an object for military possession solely; and in all his campaigns, his view of nature is a military view. It is vain to reply that he was too much engrossed with his great ends to feel the emotions of art, still less to give romantic pictures in his despatches; for there were many times when he had leisure enough, and would have found good amusement in observing natural beauty; and if he had ever done so, it would have appeared in his most hurried compositions. For when a man sits down to write a description of a place or transaction, anxious merely to convey the truth to another's mind, he uses every term that comes up, if it can only assist in giving his meaning; and if artistic phrases have any notions belonging to them, they are seized as well as others. If the terms grand, majestic, wild, are useful in evoking in the reader's mind the whole scene, they are taken along with the unartistic names of wood, or marsh, or hill, or ditch, to aid in the unartistic purpose. Just as when a smattering of geology has gone abroad, certain scientific phrases (such as limestone, igneous, stratified) are adopted in describing places, because they have a meaning

and a force in making one see what another sees. Now, Cromwell is totally destitute of such additional aid to his language. He is never conscious of seeing grand objects, or of doing grand or sublime or picturesque actions. He had work to perform, and cared for the actual performance of it, and not for the figure that he cut in the meanwhile. He seems to have been born devoid of the feeling of art or taste: and he was not the man to affect it. His hatred to a theatrical religion was as natural as would have been his hatred to theatrical slippers to walk the fields in. His rejection of the shows of power, while he had the reality, cost him no effort. He might recognize, as existing among some men, a love of pictures, statues, fine buildings, and classical compositions, and refrain from warring against such things, so long as they kept their proper place of "recreations;" but they offered no charm to himself. For a man that had so much serious business to do, this defect was probably an advantage; and the English nation is not unapt to prefer business to art, and substantial results to glittering appearances. A great deal of the existing taste of this country being communicated from abroad, it is liable to be dethroned for a time, when we are working out the impulses of our native character. Cromwell may have represented genuine England, as well as Leo the Tenth represented Italy. In short, to the poet, "all the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players;" to Cromwell, the world was a field, and man a labourer thereon, "accomplishing as a hireling his day," and receiving his wages at the close.

The first session of this second Protectorate parliament closed auspiciously; and it was expected that a regular settlement and a constitutional style of administration were now possible. The "major-generals" are abolished; and there is to be even a new House of Lords, named, says the Protector to the Commons, "of men who shall meet you wheresoever you go, and shake hands with you; and tell you, it is not titles, nor lords, nor parties that they value, but a Christian and an English interest." His three last speeches are addressed to this, his last parliament. The first is on meeting it, a very mournful speech to read, when one sees that its want of his usual method is owing to the weakness of a breaking constitution. He is obliged to leave the exposition of the business to Fiennes, the keeper of the great seal. The two Houses very ill fulfilled his Highness's expectations. The Commons opened anew the fountains of constitutional debate, on the question how to designate the Upper House. The Protector, as on a former occasion, summons them to meet him at the Banqueting House at Whitehall, and exerting

himself once more to set matters in their true light before them, addresses to them a speech of earnest expostulation and reproach. "Being" is his whole theme now. His tone of manly sorrow is very touching, when he goes over the dangers hanging over the Protestant interest in the world, and the infatuated eagerness of the home malignants to plunge the nation again into civil war. "How can any man lay his hand on his heart, and permit himself to talk of things neither to be made out by the light of scripture or of reason; and draw one another off from the considering of *these things*?" "We have peace and the gospel," would you rather have war and the Pope? The admonition goes for nothing; "the dreary debate, supported chiefly by intemperate Haselrig, peppery Scott, and future-renegade Robinson, went on trailing its slow length, day after day;" and on the tenth day, Black Rod arrives; intimates that "his Highness is in the Lords' house, and desires to speak with you." He reiterates to them, that he came not to his place by his own seeking, and that he expected that the terms that he had accepted it on would be observed, and all further controversy forborne. The speech is brief, but animated and determined, and ends:

"And if this be the end of your sitting, and this be your carriage—(*sentence now all beautifully blazing*, says the Commentator), I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting, and I DO DISSOLVE THIS PARLIAMENT. And let God be judge between you and me."

"His Highness, before this Monday's sun sets, has begun to lodge the anarchic ringleaders, Royalist, Fifth-monarchist, in the Tower; his Highness is bent once more, with all his faculty, the talking-apparatus being gone, to front this hydra, and trample it down once again. On Saturday, he summons his officers, his acting-apparatus, to Whitehall round him; explains to them 'in a speech two hours long' what kind of hydra it is; asks, shall it conquer us, involve us in blood and confusion? They answer from their hearts—No, it shall not! 'We will stand and fall with your Highness—we will live and die with you.' It is the last duel this Oliver has with any hydra, fomented by a talking-apparatus; and he again conquers it, invincibly compresses it, as he has heretofore done."

"Whether in any future year it would have tried another rising against such a Lord Protector, one does not know—one guesses rather in the negative. The royalist cause, after so many failures, after such a sort of enterprises 'on the word of a Christian King,' had naturally sunk very low."

Eight months after this dissolution, and on the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, the Protector's career is at an end.

"Oliver's health, as we might observe, was but uncertain in late times; often 'indisposed' the spring before last, his course of life

had not been favourable to health! 'A burden too heavy for man,' as he himself, with a sigh, would sometimes say. Incessant toil, inconceivable labour, of head, and heart, and hand; toil, peril, and sorrow manifold, continued for near twenty years now, had done their part; these robust life-energies, it afterwards appeared, had been gradually eaten out. Like a tower, strong to the eye, but with its foundations undermined, which has not long to stand, the fall of which, on any shock, may be sudden."

He had the power to nominate his successor, and stated, on being asked, four days before his death, that he had done so, in a sealed paper lying at Hampton Court. The paper was immediately searched for, but could not be found. He was asked again, and was understood to name Richard; "but in fact one does not know." His Hebrew theory of nomination was on the principle of eminent public services; he had never shown any disposition to promote his own family; and if he had fixed on one of his sons, Richard was not the likely man. Whether, by the best choice, puritanism could have maintained the rule of these kingdoms much longer, is a vain speculation.

We may consider ourselves as now in possession of ample materials, in the most available form, for judging of Cromwell and the protectorate. His character, though large, massive, and powerful, is by no means complicated or enigmatical. The entire absence in him of many of the things that went to form the other great characters of his time,—of classical and antique prepossessions, of abstract speculations on man and society, of French manners, of Italian state-craft, and of any regard for mere beauty, appearance, or stage-effect,—reduces his figure to few and simple elements of sublime intensity. His immense faculty of working out his purposes came from a high native intellect, with an exclusively practical cultivation. It was his own personal experience in the management of men and business, that gave him the knowledge of how to select his means to suit his ends. In passing through all the gradations of his rise in life, he contracted a most accurate acquaintance with English human nature and English society, and he seldom failed to calculate truly upon these in his actions. He was perfectly right in telling the Long Parliament that he knew the temper of the nation better than it did. The reason he gave was, that in the course of his campaigns he had come closely into contact with all sorts of men, in all places; and to this we may add another reason, that he could at any time of his life read a man when he met him. The thing that was before his eyes he could always see exactly as it stood, and not half this, and half what he wished, fancied, or resolved that it should be. His experience, gathered in this way,

might be turned into action any day, with perfect safety. And his ends themselves were very simple and intelligible,—to secure a peaceful and happy existence in this world, according to the English model of comfort, and to have the privileges of religious freedom and a faithfully-preached gospel; these he sought, first for himself, and afterwards for the nation. Assuming his sincerity in this respect, his whole life is consistent and harmonious; on any opposite theory, it becomes such a piece of confusion as could not be enacted within the limits of human nature.

His great natural tenderness and warm affections, his slight tendency to humour, his self-command, and force of determination to act purely according to his judgment, the impetus that went with all he did, his strong sense of the necessity of keeping up government,—these and other strong traits, may be seen abundantly exemplified in these volumes. His selfish love of power, his sacrificing of parliaments, and constituting old and new to his personal ambition, can *not* be read in them anywhere.

We have necessarily omitted to notice many of the matters illustrated in the letters given and elucidated by Mr. Carlyle, such as those relating to private and family matters, and also many of his despatches on public affairs. We will here recal one letter to his son Richard, to mention the advices that Cromwell thought suitable to a grown-up son, living idly in the country; namely, to attend to his spiritual concerns, to read Sir Walter Raleigh's History, and to learn the management of his estate.

Mr. Carlyle's volumes may be strongly recommended as the work to base the study of the English Revolution upon, as the backbone of our figure or conception of it; all additional information to find a place in this as in a well-formed outline. There is a great advantage in looking at events and society as they are illuminated by the contact of a great man;—in knowing manners, institutions, and changes, in their connexion with an interesting personage. And in the case where the man creates the institutions and events, we are justified in making the biography contain the history. But apart from this, Mr. Carlyle's book is the greatest combination of genius and research that has been applied to the present subject, and, therefore, is of more worth to the reader than any, or than all others. An hour's reading in it may carry one farther into the reality of the time, than weeks spent upon the generality of histories.

Perhaps the strangest part of the book, is the author's manner of sympathising with the Puritans in their religious convictions. His language and expression is so very unlike theirs, that we hardly think they would have considered it as of the same im-

port. We can only suppose them answering him, as Margaret answers Faust's exposition of his Theism;—

"Doth not heaven arch itself, there, o'er our head ?
Lies not the firm-set earth, beneath outspread ?
The eternal stars, with friendly rays,
Do they not all for ever rise ?
And we ourselves, do we not gaze
E'en now into each others' eyes ?

Feeling is all in all, name is but sound,
Or smoke, o'ershadowing with misty veil,
The glow and warmth of heaven.

Marg. All that is very good, and true ;
Nearly the same the Priest says too,
Only in somewhat other words than you !

Faust. All hearts, in every clime and zone,
Where'er the light of heaven doth shine,
Speak forth that feeling—in the tone
And form of language most their own ;
Then wherefore should not I in mine ?

Marg. So taken it may pass ; but yet—in spite
Of all, there's something in it is not right !
For thou hast got no Christianity !"

Filmore's Translation.

We have no inclination to pass a sweeping condemnation on our author's style, or to join in the Delilah wooings to him to cut his hair. His mode of expression is no doubt what brings out best his thoughts, and feelings, and character, and should not be looked at apart from these. The quaintness that he allows himself to put on, conduces often to the most astonishing brevity. His power of felicitous and forcible illustration has not been often equalled in the world's literature; but the common reader has sometimes reason to complain of his illustrating backward, or citing some unfamiliar point of antiquity to parallel a modern and well-known case, as if he were expounding us to the ancients. His composition is ever floating in humour, and he is constantly casting a dash of the ludicrous upon things still held in veneration by many; and hence, those that cannot be made to laugh, and those whose opinions and convictions are ridiculed, will not derive the full enjoyment of his art. His unmeasured contempt for whole classes of men, under the designations of flunkies, man-milliners, and Dry-as-dusts, will not be forgiven by any that conceive themselves particularly aimed at. There are many that enjoy the sonorous melody of his language; but it must be admitted that the sound is sometimes too much for the sense. He

has chosen to abandon the moderated and regulated tone of a universal mode of address, and to gratify intensely the peculiar feelings of one set of readers ; and he must suffer the consequence by being distasteful to other classes. We are not called on to blame him for this ; we have only to regret, that in handling a subject of universal interest like the present, there should be anything in his manner unfavourable to his reception with the universal public.

On the whole, we are anxious that every one should enjoy this work for himself, and exercise his own discrimination in judging of its subject. We have here attempted to indicate the nature of its contents, and have stated a few inferences drawn from our perusal of it ; and we now quit it, with the expression of our hopes, that it is a work that the English nation will not willingly let die.

. The second edition contains new letters of Cromwell, which the publication of the work has been the means of bringing to light. Some of these, where they assist the narrative, are placed with the text—others in an appendix. The whole printed also separately, in a supplement, for the purchasers of the first edition. The preface relating to them thus characteristically concludes :—

“And now having twice escaped alive from these detestable dust abysses, let me beg to be allowed to consider this, my small act of homage to the memory of a hero, as finished ;—this second edition of *Oliver's Letters and Speeches* as the final one. New letters, should such still turn up, I will not, except they *contradict* some statement, or fibre of a statement, in the text, undertake to introduce there ; but deposit them without ceremony in the loose lumber-room, in a more or less swept condition.”

ART. V.—*Camp and Barrack Room ; or, the British Army as it is.* By a late Staff Sergeant of the 13th Light Infantry. London : Chapman & Hall, 186, Strand. 1846.

FROM the privacy affected in all that relates to the internal management of the army, it is but rarely that civilians obtain an insight into the doings of the dépôt and barrack-room ; and it is only on the occurrence of some such affair as the Hounslow flogging case, that the public can gain any knowledge of the real condition of the soldier. There is policy in this mystery, good policy in hiding from the uninitiated the dark side of the

"road to glory;" excellent policy in parading before the public eye nothing but the "imposing pomp and circumstance of glorious war." A premature withdrawal of the glittering veil might possibly alarm a portion of even that reckless and dissipated class, by whom the *matériel* of our army is chiefly supplied. That such would, occasionally, be the effect, is indicated by the frequent cases of desertions which occur after a short experience of the realities of a soldier's life; and could intending recruits know beforehand ever so little of the fate to which they were about to resign themselves, some of them would surely pause ere they allowed the eloquence of the recruiting-sergeant to delude them into a situation far more degraded and more oppressive than even West Indian slavery in its worst days.

We have long thought that public gratitude would be due to the soldier who, having gone through the various grades of rank open to privates, should publish a faithful, unexaggerated, and unprejudiced account of his experience in the army. To none but a soldier could we look for authentic information on the actual state and the existing wants of the service; but there were so many chances against such a book emanating from this quarter, that we almost despaired of seeing our wish accomplished. At length, in 'The Camp and Barrack-room,' the desideratum is in great measure supplied; this beginning, we hope to see followed up in other quarters by men equally well qualified to show us the realities of "the glorious life of a soldier."

This very interesting book embodies the personal experience of an intelligent and observant man, who, in publishing what we believe to be a faithful account of his military career, has unconsciously furnished a valuable practical commentary upon the article on Military Training in the March number of the 'Westminster Review,' besides establishing all the positions of that article with regard to the present low moral and intellectual condition of the British Army. We shall best render this apparent by accompanying our author through some of the scenes of his military life, from his enlistment at Dublin, to the period of his discharge.

His resolution to enter the army was adopted in consequence of the ill success of a partnership connexion, involving the necessity of seeking new means of support, and a desire to travel. The army seemed to afford the readiest means of effecting the latter object, and at the same time to offer an occupation, fully as honourable as any afforded by employment of a mercantile nature.

Believing that the embarrassments into which he had been

led would not continue longer than two or three years, when he would be able to resume his former position in society, the author looked out for some regiment on foreign service, which would be likely to return home in about that time; and at length decided on joining the 13th Light Infantry. He says, "a shilling was placed in my hand, and I was a soldier; one of the gallant 13th! the illustrious heroes of Ghuznee, Julgah, and Jugdulluk, and many other well fought fields. What paynim metamorphosis was ever effected quicker!"

Passing by the author's very natural reflections on the changes in the relative position of himself and his old friends, and his feelings on quitting Dublin, we quote the description of his first experience of the discomforts connected with the life he had chosen. He left Dublin in a steamer bound for London, during a heavy rain.

"When off Kingston, the day brightened up a little, and, although a soaking rain still continued to fall, I went on deck to have a last look at the shores of the bay, associated as they were in my mind with many a pleasant jaunt and happy hour. The wind had by this time freshened to a stiff gale, blowing right in shore, and the huge waves were breaking with sullen roar on the dark cliffs of Howth and Dalky, whose scathed crests loomed heavily through the thin fog, which now partially hid objects from the eye. But my stay upon deck was short; the roughness of the sea soon caused nausea, and I was under the necessity of again going below and turning into a berth, for the use of which I had paid the difference between a deck and a second cabin passage. The other recruits, poor fellows! were but miserably accommodated, their only shelter being a shed on the upper deck, which admitted the rain almost as fast as it descended, so that the straw provided for them to lie upon soon became wet. In consequence of this, after the first night, they were obliged to get under a tarpaulin, spread at the lee side of the funnel, from beneath which they crawled every morning, chilled and comfortless, and looking as wretched as it is possible to conceive. One of them, in particular, I sincerely pitied, and regretted that I could not get him a berth such as my own. He was a slight, delicately formed youth, and had evidently been tenderly reared. His father, as I afterwards learned, had been a captain in the army; but a considerable time had elapsed since his death, and as his mother, from some untoward circumstance, never got the pension usually given to the widows of deceased officers, after various turns of fortune, he found himself under the necessity of entering her Majesty's service as a common sentinel."

—p. 9.

At Chatham he gets a glimpse of the raw material of which the army is composed.

"Arrived at Rochester, I remained at a public-house, agreeably to

the instructions of the old staff-sergeant, until he came up with the other recruits, when we proceeded together to the barracks, and being there duly handed over by him to the proper authorities, were marched to the receiving-house. The number of recruits already there was upwards of two hundred, the larger part of whom were in no way distinguished for orderly conduct, while many of them had vice and ruffianism stamped indelibly on their faces.

"It was, however, only natural to expect that characters of this description should be met with in a place where the very offscourings of several of the principal cities of the United Kingdom were congregated. Rogues and scoundrels were jumbled together *en masse*, and these, despite their relationship, agreed in no one respect, save in fleeing their more simple companions by means of cards, pitch-and-toss, &c., to the utmost extent of their knavish abilities, and in utter contempt of her Majesty's regulations touching gambling. They likewise indulged without restraint in the use of the most foul and abominable language, and I certainly felt considerable pain of mind as I asked myself, are these to be my future companions? Hard fare I little cared for, and it mattered not to me how rough my bed might be; privations of this nature are inseparable from a soldier's lot, but the prospect of mingling for any lengthened period with some of the individuals I saw in the receiving-house, was, I must acknowledge, excessively disheartening. I was not then aware what a surprising alteration for the better, in many respects, subjection to a strict and uniform discipline would effect in them in a little time."—p. 12.

Although on entering the army our new recruit had made up his mind to "rough it," the sleeping accommodation at the receiving-house seems to have been but little to his mind; he says:—

"As night approached, I began, in Yankee parlance, to calculate where I should stow myself away during the hours sacred to repose, for, fatigued as I was, after a first voyage, to lie in any of the beds was a thing out of the question altogether. After due consideration of the matter, I was fain to betake me to the boards by way of a resting-place, and even thus would soon have been wrapt in the arms of the god of dreams, but for the other denizens of the attic, among whom a row extraordinary arose, owing to there not being a sufficiency of bed-clothes for the whole, and a system of monopoly having been adopted in consequence by the stronger recruits.

"This conduct was not quietly submitted to by the others, and blankets and quilts were pulled about in a way highly detrimental to government property, the crisis meantime approaching when black eyes and bloody noses might in due course be expected; but while the fray was still in embryo, the entrance of the superintending corporal, the sole monarch of the place, put an end to all further squabbling, and, as we chanced to have got into a wrong room, he ordered us all to decamp forthwith. Fortunately for me, a sergeant of my

corps now appeared, and directed us of the 13th to follow him to the quarters of our depôt, the receiving-house being, it seemed, too full to admit of our stay. My new quarters I found to be a very Heaven, compared with the place I had left. Clean sheets were given to me, and a soldier of the room in which I was located, good-naturedly making down my bed, I trundled into it, and being heartily tired, was soon wrapt in sleep."—p. 15.

The first severe trial he experienced was an attack of fever, and during his confinement in the garrison hospital, the strength of home ties was fully understood. Youth and a good constitution soon brought about convalescence, and there being no books, he was fain to seek amusement in looking out on the rich country watered by the Medway, and in conversation with the patriots of his own ward, besides an occasional visit to "Jack Skilly's ward," set apart for the reception of recruits affected with cutaneous diseases; here he met with abundant matter for observation, and thus graphically hits off a scene he frequently witnessed.

"An elevation similar to a guard-bed ran round this ward, on which, as there were neither beds nor cots, slept the patients, whose only covering was a single blanket to each, thick with medicinal grease and dirt. Their principal amusement was pitch-and-toss, which was constantly going forward; quarrels, as a matter of course, frequently arose, and when these happened, off came the blankets, and the combatants pommelled each other in *puris naturalibus*, their fellow-patients crowding around like so many sooty dwellers in a Tartarus, and encouraging them to battle it out manfully. At meal times, a general row frequently occurred, owing to some being desirous of securing the largest messes, and so desperate would the struggle occasionally become, that even Jack, himself, though presiding genius of the place, dared not venture among them, his plan then being, to open the door sufficiently to allow of his thrusting in a mess, and closing it as quickly as possible again."—p. 18.

After his discharge from hospital he received his uniform, and was then, as he says, "every inch a soldier." Drill in the awkward squad followed, under a cross corporal; from this he was in a few days removed to a more advanced company, and became a favourite with the new instructor, owing to whose kindness, he tells us, his time during drill passed pleasantly enough, and he became somewhat reconciled to his new mode of life.

The following extracts embrace the daily routine of the young soldier's life in barracks, a scene of military flogging, and an *exposé* of the impositions practised on recruits, and the harshness with which they are treated by non-commissioned officers and others.

"I rose at five o'clock in the morning, and made up my bed, which occupied, at the least, a quarter of an hour, and was rather a troublesome job; I then made my toilet, and at six, turned out for drill, from which we were dismissed at a quarter to eight, when we breakfasted. From ten till twelve we were again at drill; had dinner at one, in the shape of potatoes and meat, both usually of the most wretched quality, and at two fell in for another drill, which terminated at four, after which hour my time was at my own disposal until tattoo, provided I was not ordered on piquet. During this period of leisure, I generally amused myself by strolling in the vicinity of the garrison (no soldier being permitted to go to a greater distance than one mile), or by reading, the owner of a circulating library in Rochester having consented to trust me with his volumes on my depositing a small sum in his hands. There was no garrison library then, which must be a matter of surprise to every one who knows of what benefit such institutions are to the soldier, who, having thus the means of amusement and instruction within his reach, is, in many instances, altogether prevented from going to the beer-shop to pass his leisure time.

"In this way my first month at drill passed quickly by, its monotony wholly unrelieved, except by one disagreeable occurrence, a man flogged. The sensations of pain and disgust I then experienced will never be obliterated from my memory; nor was I singular in this respect, for many of the younger soldiers, and even some of the officers, fainted in the ranks, and had to be borne to the rear. The soldier flogged belonged to the 68th regiment, then quartered at Brompton; he had undergone a similar punishment a month before, and while his sentence was being read on that occasion, he pulled off his shako and jacket in sheer desperation, flung them on the ground, and declared he would soldier no more. After the execution of his sentence, on going to the hospital, he was placed in the prisoner's ward, and when he had recovered, was again tried for injuring his clothing and mutinous conduct, and was sentenced, a second time to receive 150 lashes. It is usual to get over a flogging affair as quickly as possible, but on this occasion, the commandant, I was told, in order to protract the execution of the sentence, and thus increase the sufferings of the wretched man, ordered him to be flogged in slow time. This was certainly a refinement of cruelty quite worthy of a general officer, whose name will long be remembered by those who served in his brigade during a campaign in Afghanistan, as having carried discipline to such an excess that the spirits of his men all but sank beneath his iron rule.

"The soldier was cut at the first lash, the blood trickling over the blue wheals on his back from the former flogging; nevertheless, he bore five other strokes of the cat without a murmur, but as the seventh descended upon his back, he exclaimed in tones of deepest agony, which still ring in my ears, 'Oh God!!! Colonel, forgive me, I will never do it again.' I looked at the General to discover if a ray of

pity marked his features; cold, stern, and impassive, there was no sign of pity there. 'Eight,' counted the drum-major, and again the instrument of punishment descended upon the lacerated shoulders of the man, who soon after fainted, and underwent the remainder of his punishment in this happy state of insensibility.

"At different periods since, I have seen many men undergoing corporal punishment, and habit has enabled me to look on scenes of this description now with indifference. Perhaps, too, my repugnance to flogging has been diminished in some degree by the feeling, that it is partly a necessary evil in our army, consequent on the *matériel* of which it is principally composed; at the same time, I feel confident that the power of punishment in this way might be exercised much more judiciously, and with greater benefit to the service, than it is at present.

"During my stay at Chatham, desertion was of frequent occurrence, and, I understood, to a greater extent than had ever been previously the case. This evil had its origin in a complication of causes, the major one being the manner in which recruits were treated on their joining, when, not only was the bounty given them absorbed by the purchase of necessaries, but likewise the larger portion, and, in many instances, the entire, of the subsequent month's pay. Thus for two, or perhaps three months, the recruit would only receive two, at the most, threepence per diem; and young lads having good appetites, this trifling sum would be expended in procuring something by way of an evening meal, their ration meals only embracing a breakfast and dinner. Having, accordingly, no money to spend in amusement, and imagining they must continue to be similarly situated while in the service, young soldiers become quickly disgusted with it, and, when destitute of principle, desertion, on the first opportunity, followed almost as a matter of course.

"There was also another cause tending to the same object,—the harshness with which recruits were treated, in numberless instances, by non-commissioned officers, who tyrannized over them with the greatest impunity. These, having sufficient art to veil their true character from their superiors, whose favour they propitiated by officiousness and servility, adopted, out of very wantonness, a system of domineering towards new comers, sheltering themselves in the ignorance of the latter as to military laws and usages. I have frequently heard it stated since by every class of soldiers, and my own experience leads me to be of the same opinion, that the generality of the non-commissioned staff at Chatham are, morally, the lowest and most contemptible of their grade in the service. It is a fact, of the truth of which I have myself been often a witness, that some of them are perfect adepts in every species of fraud, and the larger part are of the most depraved habits otherwise, the necessary result of laxity of principle, and protracted stay in a vicious neighbourhood; for they would move Heaven and earth, were it possible, sooner than join their regiments (whose colours they had mostly never seen) on foreign stations.

"It is indeed a curious circumstance, that under the very eye of the home authorities, the young soldier is perhaps worse treated than in any other part of the British dominions, both as regards his clothing and his food ; even his scanty surplus pay is frequently the object of the most scandalous peculation. He being altogether ignorant of what he is entitled to, and therefore obnoxious to every extortion, is plundered by those military blacklegs, those Major Monsoons of the present period, with the greatest ease, and the least possible compunction. Aware of what must be the answer, they listen with indifference to the commandant, as he asks the recruit, when about to embark for India, whether he has any complaints to make. The reply to this question has been almost invariably in the negative. Indeed, few recruits, were they even aware of their being cheated, possess the ability and information requisite to make a report of a superior with any prospect of success, and otherwise they become subject to trial by court-martial for making frivolous complaints.

One mode of depriving the recruit of his pay, is to give him an old shattered musket, easily injured ; thus, there are ten chances to one that some part of it gets broken while it is in his possession, and he has in consequence a round sum to pay on delivering it into the store, when leaving the garrison. I have known this to be the case with many persons, some of whom had to pay ten shillings for stocking an old musket, in use for the past forty years, and the intrinsic value of which might be ascertained by weighing the barrel, and calculating its worth at twopence per pound. Whether such were ever stocked, is a question the armourer alone can decide ; but in any case, he and the pay-sergeants quietly arrange it all their own way.

"Another method of deriving revenue from the occupants of Chatham barracks is by barrack damages, and the sum realised from time to time in this way must be enormous.

"I was twice quartered in this garrison ; the first time for six weeks, when the detachment with which I proceeded to India were charged tenpence per man ; and the second time for four days, for which we were mulcted fourpence each. How injury to this amount could be done by us to our quarters in so short a space, God and the quarter-master only know. There are usually about twenty depôts at Chatham, from each of which, at an average, one hundred men are annually sent to India ; and, estimating the barrack damages charged to each man during the term of his stay, at one shilling and sixpence, which I am certain is under the mark, we have a sum of three hundred pounds : a large sum, indeed, to be deducted yearly from the shilling, the hard earned shilling, of a few hundred soldiers."—p. 20.

Surely, the authorities must be ignorant of the iniquitous proceedings disclosed in the preceding paragraphs, or a set of peculating rascals would never be allowed to rob the unsuspecting recruits in so shameless a manner ; and yet it is difficult to believe that intimations of what is going on do not

sometimes leak out from some one more knowing and less fearful than the rest. At the very threshold of his career, the soldier is thus made to commence paying by instalments for all the glory and honour he may acquire at an after period.

As might have been anticipated, our author embraced the earliest opportunity of quitting a place so ill calculated for the sojourn of one whose previous habits and associates had been of a very different description; he accordingly received permission to accompany a draft of men to India, and embarked on board the *Gloriana*, bound for Calcutta; and, after the usual number of small adventures in the passage from Gravesend to Portsmouth, they at length sailed from the latter place, and soon encountered a head wind, which rendered the situation of the landsmen any thing but agreeable.

Strange that such defective and disgraceful arrangements as the following should continue to be adopted, when they might, one would think, be very easily remedied, and neither the service nor the State would suffer by a little more regard being paid to feelings of decency and self-respect.

"As we approached the mouth of the Channel, the sea became very rough, and the few women with the detachment were completely laid up with sea-sickness, their sufferings being augmented ten-fold by the wretched way they had of lying. No sleeping-berths had been made for them, and they had only hammocks given them like ours; and it is very difficult (in some cases impossible) for women to get into these. The married people had, therefore, to lie upon the deck during the entire voyage; no small hardship, when it is remembered that a vessel in rough weather frequently ships seas, which come tumbling down the hatchways, setting all afloat below, and beds—if the dirty pallets of common cow-hair, such as is used in mortar, issued to us might be so called—as a matter of course. There was not even a screen to separate their quarters from ours, a gross violation of common decency; and the poor women, lowly as their condition was, felt bitterly the indelicacy of their situation, and often murmured that their feelings should be thus outraged.

"The government of India gives soldier's wives a free passage to its territories, whether accompanying their husbands thither, or going out alone to join them, and a very trifling additional expense would procure berths for them apart from the men; an arrangement which would prevent many an immoral and indecent occurrence on ship-board, alike disgraceful to the military service and to human nature. Convicts, if I mistake not, are kept separate, and why not the wives of soldiers, allowing none but their husbands or families to occupy the same apartment with them? Are soldiers, I would ask, less deserving of consideration than criminals? One should think not: and until our rulers use the powers they possess, in encouraging morality and

decent order, to a greater extent than they do at present, among the lower grades of the army, the troops of the empire will still continue to be as vicious and as dissipated as they have hitherto been ; and crime, as a consequence, be of the same frequent occurrence as now. It is in vain that every soldier is provided with a bible and prayer-book, and that annual returns are supplied by regiments to the principal chaplain of the forces, to enable him to ascertain that they are so provided : if this Spartan indelicacy be forced upon women, the demoralization of them and of the men must follow."—p. 34.

After all, this outrage upon common decency would seem to be but a part of that system which apparently has for its object the transmutation of a human being into a mere machine, to be guided and governed at the will of its director ; and as such a machine can by no possibility have occasion for the usual feelings and sentiments of humanity, as a matter of course, the sooner such incumbrances are got rid of the better. Such would appear to be the principle on which the British soldier is trained. What wonder, then, that garrison towns and military depôts should be places where abominations of every description are practised !

Few events occurred to disturb the monotony of the voyage ; all the ceremonies usual on crossing the line were duly observed, hammocks of sleeping comrades cut down during the night, and the usual routine of squalls, gales, &c., encountered ; one of the most important occurrences before reaching the Cape was the following ludicrous accident during prayers.

"In the morning we caught the southern trades, and the yards were immediately braced sharp fore and aft, as the object is to run as close to this wind as possible. The day proved beautifully fine, and, it being Sunday, as was customary in fair weather, preparations were made for divine service ; a union-jack was spread over the capstan, which was used as a reading-desk by the minister—for we had such a personage on board as a passenger—and seats were formed, by placing spars or capstan bars upon buckets. Up to the present period these spars, &c., had answered this purpose to admiration, but, unluckily now, from being close-hauled, the vessel was lying very much over, and chancing to give a severe lurch, during prayers, away went seats, buckets, and the bulk of the congregation to leeward, greatly to the amusement of some young ladies, whose chairs had been lashed, and who indulged their cachinnatory propensities very indecorously, while the middies, ensconced on the poop, hastily retreated towards the wheel, that they might give their risibility full scope, away from the dreaded ken of the skipper."—p. 50.

The author speaks highly of the excellence and variety of the provisions served out to the troops on board the *Gloriana* during the voyage out, water being the scarcest necessary, in conse-

quence of the men being injudiciously allowed to help themselves from the keg daily allowed for a mess of six, whereby much was wasted; but whilst the healthy men were thus well treated, the few sick, by a strange inconsistency, were as much neglected.

"They never received fresh provisions, and had therefore to subsist on salt diet, the same as issued to the men in health. One of them, who had a disease to which salt meat is poison, and who died shortly after his arrival in India, from the bad treatment he had received while at sea, frequently told me that he was sure the diet he was obliged to use would kill him; and that if he was taken into the general hospital at Calcutta, he would report to the head doctor there the manner in which he had been treated. We had no military surgeon with us, and the ship's doctor, although paid for doing so, could have but little interest in looking after our sick."—p. 58.

The ship was towed up the Ganges to Calcutta; and here the author first saw the dead bodies of the natives floating down the sacred river, with the usual attendance of birds of prey. The detachment was allowed to land, and to spend a few days on shore, in order that the men might refresh themselves after their long voyage, previously to proceeding to Bombay. They were quartered in Fort William, which the author describes. The next morning he procured a pass and set out to view the city. The following scene awaited him on his return to the Fort:—

"On entering our quarters, a scene presented itself for which I was altogether unprepared. During my absence, many of the men had got drunk, and some of these were now engaged in fighting; others were wrapt in the torpid sleep of inebriation, while a few amused themselves, *pro tempore*, in breaking the charpoys [bedsteads] and dragging them along the brick pavement. Their bad passions, like a pent-up stream, had burst out with redoubled violence, from the long restraint imposed on them while at sea, and several completely showed the cloven foot. Unfortunately, the non-commissioned officers possessed no control whatever over the men, by whom they were thoroughly despised; and some of them, who did not wish to resist actual aggression, *vi et armis*, quitted the place altogether, while several others were quite as drunk as the privates, and equally riotous. I had just come back in time to prevent my own charpoy from being added to the many which already littered the floor, and, throwing myself on it, I remained a passive spectator of the disgusting scene.

"In the evening, we had a parade, and such a one it has never been my lot to witness since. There was no sign of the sergeant-major, who was absent altogether; the orderly-sergeant was scarcely able to stand, and, while accompanying the officer through the ranks, which were half made up of drunken men, amused the sober part of

us by exclaiming, now and then, in the deep *patois* of the north of Ireland, 'Oh ! yees'll do, yees'll do.'—p. 75.

At Calcutta the author was appointed pay-sergeant, having previously, during the voyage out, acted as writer to the officer commanding the detachment. After a stay of six days here, the men embarked in the *Queen*, steam frigate, for Bombay. At Ceylon, where they touched for water and coal, the author had an opportunity of examining the canoes of the islanders, which are well described; but we must pass over these particulars, and much other matter of a very interesting character, and rejoin him off the mouth of the Gharra branch of the Indus, whence the detachment was to proceed to Sukkur.

"Here we staid for four days, the last two of which we suffered much from the want of water, our stock on board becoming exhausted. On the morning of the fourth day, our tongues almost clave to the roofs of our mouths; but, at last, we contrived somewhat to assuage our thirst with brackish water, which we procured when the tide ebbed, and the river water floated on the top of the salt. We longed earnestly for the arrival of the steamers, as their coming would ensure us a supply of this necessary, and many an anxious eye was turned towards the Gharra during the morning. At noon our hearts were gladdened by seeing a small steamer crossing the bar, and bearing down upon us. In less than an hour she was alongside, having her deck crowded with sick sepoy, from Hyderabad and Sukkur, who presented a most heart-rending appearance. With very few exceptions, they were all ill of fever, and some were in the last stage of existence. A few of the latter had only dirty cloths wrapped loosely around them, and these falling off while being dragged up the ship's side, their persons were in a state of nudity, as they staggered or were borne to the fore-castle. Several of the European officers were very ill, likewise; one was evidently dying, and had to be carried in his cot, from the little cabin of the steamer to the deck of the *Queen*.

"Another steamer shortly after came alongside, with a similar freight of miserable objects. When one saw these sepoy and their officers, they could never wonder at the dislike evinced by the former to going to Upper Scinde. To the soldier, nothing is more terrible than pestilential disease; he sees his comrades dying hourly around him, until the horrible feeling at length fastens upon his mind, that his own end is rapidly approaching, and that he, too, must die like them. A thousand times sooner would he fall in the battle-field, when his blood is warm and his mind excited, and the shout of victory or defiance on his lips. There is a charm in a death of this sort, unlike death from sickness, when the spirit is bowed down and broken with bodily anguish, and the faculties of the mind benumbed with pain, as the destroyer presses his icy hand slowly and heavily upon the heart, and draws aside the veil from another world. With the malaria fever of Sukkur before their eyes, it cannot be a matter of wonder that the

sepoys exclaimed on their march thither, 'Lead us to the battle-field first, we would rather die there than by disease.' Still, what a contrast was presented by the conduct of the various European corps sent to Sukkur. Part of the 17th regiment suffered severely there, yet they never murmured; the 13th was sent there after long and arduous campaigns in Afghanistan, and who ever heard them express dissatisfaction? The 78th relieved them; the terrible history of their stay is before the world. Their successors in this charnel-house of Indian dominion were the 2nd Bengal Europeans; and did they murmur? No. The devotion of the Europeans in India is certainly most astonishing, yet how is that feeling abused! They are the first to mount the breach, the first to storm a battery, and the first to confront disease; and what has been their reward? Let the diminished pension list supply the answer!"—p. 101.

After dislodging a party of Baloochies from the Shwaen branch of the Brahooik Mountains, the author thus details the sufferings of the party before they reached Sukkur, in consequence of the miserable deficiency of accommodations provided on board.

"The nights and mornings were now very cold; heavy dews fell; and, as we lay upon deck with only a thin cotton awning overhead, we rose chilled and benumbed, and clustered around the funnel to get a little warmth. Some of the men, too, had lost their gutteries, and those of others were broken. There were no great coats among us; and, as the result of this state of things, many were attacked with fever and dysentery, and lay stretched upon the hard planking, without anything under or over them. But the women and children suffered most; they all took the fever, and it is utterly impossible for language to describe their miserable state, on the exposed and crowded deck of the little steamer. No nourishment was procurable for them, except the coarse and unpalatable rations of the men, unless when we came to villages, and, even then, little was to be got, except vegetables, otta, and occasionally milk. However, if any thing could reconcile us to our situation, it was the circumstance of our colonel being little better off than ourselves. A small corner, screened from the rest of the deck by the walls of a tent, was the apartment of himself and his lady, while ascending to Sukkur; the solitary cabin of the steamer being taken up by the single officers, and the master and mate. I shall never forget the kindness of the good old colonel towards the sick men and women; he brought them his own tea, addressed them in the most soothing terms, and did everything in his power to ameliorate their condition. Fortunately, as regarded myself, an old soldier, at Calcutta, had recommended me not to sell my ship blanket, like others, who got a rupee for theirs. I followed his advice, and I would tell every recruit to imitate my example, for I am almost certain that after the severe fit of flux I had had, and the consequent shattered state of my system, but for the blanket, I should not now

be alive. Rolling myself up in it, and placing one half of my guttery under, and the other half over me, with a knapsack for my pillow, I slept warm and comfortable at nights, when those less provident were shivering with cold. Still, raw and chill as the nights were, the day always brought a scorching sun with it, and we were glad to have a screen to protect us from its beams."—p. 116.

When within eight or nine miles of Sukkur, and with the minaret close by the camp in sight, the steamer struck, floated off, and again struck "to stick firmly on another bank, broadside to the current." In this situation, with "one solitary feed of rice, the entire stock of eatables on board," the whole of their beef and pork having been consumed, the day passed away, and—

"Night at last came on ; and, as we were in the centre of the river, at this place about two miles wide, the darkness made our situation appear doubly lonely. Wearied at last with watching the yellow stream, that rushed rapidly past, I lay down and endeavoured to sleep ; but sleep I could not. The angry murmurings of the river, as it hissed and fretted against the steamer ; the distant screeching of the jackals, and the moans of agony proceeding from a dying woman near me, effectually prevented repose. Thoughts of home gradually obtruded themselves on my mind ; I contrasted my former happy condition with my present lot ; and I bethought me how little the generality of people know of what soldiers endure. Occasionally the public hears of their sufferings in front of an enemy, or of the many deaths caused by plague or pestilence ; still they may be said to live on unnoticed and unthought of, without a solitary ray of sympathy to cheer them."—p. 118.

And it is precisely with the view of bringing these unrecorded sufferings of the army more forcibly before the public eye, that we draw so largely on the pages of our author, in the hope that by thus showing the reverse of the glittering picture, a more truthful idea of the realities of the soldier's life, apart from its romance, may be formed.

In honor of the arrival of the detachment, a holiday was given to the regiment ; and the canteen being thrown open to them, with permission to get as much liquor as they pleased, many of the author's *quondam* companions "got most gloriously drunk," though no row, on this occasion, seems to have been the result. The next morning the recruits had to go over all they had previously learned at drill ; and in returning to their tents afterwards, they met the funeral of one poor fellow who had died almost as soon as he touched land, as did two of the five women who had accompanied the detachment, soon after their arrival at Sukkur. After breakfast the author strolled out to view the camp and cantonments, as well as the surrounding country.

What a picture of the ravages of sickness among our Indian troops does the following extract exhibit !

"One of the barracks was occupied by the skeleton of a troop of Bengal artillery ; twelve men being the number alive, out of eighty who had come there a few months previous, and even these were tottering on the brink of the grave ; most of them afterwards died, when ascending the river to Ferozepore. At one period they had been deserted by their followers, and could not get coolies to carry their dead to the graveyard, which they were unable to do themselves, and had, therefore, to dig holes in the floor, as well as they could, and bury them there."—p. 124.

From his own experience, the author is able to recommend young men joining the army as recruits, not to enter a regiment coming off hard service, since the old campaigners look down with contempt on the raw recruit, and view his promotion with a jealous eye, considering him an interloper, who would deprive themselves of something that might otherwise fall to their share. He continues :—

"But although there was much order and regularity, in a military point of view, among the old soldiers, their conduct in other respects was frequently abominable, and their language of so foul a character, as almost to make my blood curdle, and my flesh creep, when I recal it. In many instances, the lips of sergeant and private teemed alike with pollution; and their horrible oaths and execrations, coupled with expressions of obscenity, pained my ears tenfold more than the shrill screaming of the troops of jackals that came nightly from the graves and tombs, to prey upon the offal of the camp. Still, strange as it may seem, I soon became habituated to all this; and their language grew daily less and less offensive, from constantly hearing it, until, finally, I began to imbibe the grossness of those around me in spite of myself. Such is the baneful influence of example. Indeed, it requires no ordinary strength of character to persevere in a course which subjects one to the sneers and taunts of those with whom he cannot do otherwise than associate, and who are not slow to denounce the man who does not act like themselves. The sober, the honest, and the honorable are assailed in a variety of ways ; and let them but descend one step, and, in a majority of cases, they will fall to the last rung of the ladder, where the triangles await them."—p. 128.

We next have a graphic description of a tremendous storm, and its effects on the barracks, which being built only of sun-dried bricks, and plastered with mud mixed with straw, were ill calculated to withstand such an elemental warfare as assailed it on that night, which at one period seemed to threaten consequences equally disastrous with those that subsequently befel the barracks at Loodiana.

The second day after the storm a lance-sergeant was shot dead

by a private whom he had confined for gambling, but whose release he had subsequently obtained without punishment. The criminal

"Was but a very young soldier, and was said to have been instigated to the act by a worthless scoundrel, with whom, unfortunately for himself, he had associated. Many a youth is ruined in the army by bad company, who might otherwise have become a good man, an honour to his corps, and a respectable supporter of national glory."—p. 133.

The murder created a great sensation at the time, but was almost forgotten by St. Patrick's Day, which occurred a few days afterwards; and the men were permitted to enjoy themselves without restraint, having received a caution against drunkenness, which, it is almost needless to say, was but little heeded: for, Irishmen being Irishmen all the world over, about noon a regular shindy was kicked up in honor of the patron saint, the combatants pommelling each other under the burning sun, with the thermometer at 92° in the shade.

"The night closed upon a painful scene in the different barracks. Men in every stage of drunkenness staggered to and fro, or lay on the ground, or upon cots, in the heavy, disgusting sleep of inebriation. Ardent spirit is, indeed, the bane of the soldier in India, and, in numerous instances, also of those of a higher grade. Over the brow of many a scion of the aristocracy has brandy pânée shed its baleful influences, and marred the career which might have been a brilliant one."—p. 137.

The author's remarks upon the dreadful evils produced by drunkenness among the troops, and his exposure of the destructive facilities for procuring liquor, both by allowed and illicit means, we must quote entire, since the system they unfold is one that cannot be too widely known or too strongly reprobated.

"It is absolutely astonishing to see the eagerness with which the mass of European soldiers in India endeavour to procure liquor, no matter of what description, so that it produces insensibility, the sole result sought for. The propeusity is equally deep-rooted and pernicious, and its indulgence is often fatal, and always highly injurious to the constitution. Death, madness, premature debility, and complete disorganisation of the human system, all follow in the wake of the drunkard. *Delirium tremens* is a common disorder in military hospitals; scarcely a single week elapses in any of them without cases of this kind being under treatment; and they are mostly old soldiers, whose constitutions have been shattered by continual dissipation.

"In the existing state of things, every known means has been resorted to for the purpose of checking drunkenness, but without success; the evil still exists without the slightest symptom of diminution.

Regimental canteens are closed, unless at morning and evening, and then the men are placed under restrictions which prevent them from getting more than a single dram. But here the question naturally suggests itself, why are canteens at all permitted in India? The opinion is erroneous, that liquor is an absolute necessary there; at least, the great majority of medical men think so. Still, the Government views the matter in a different light; and its order is, that each regiment have its canteen, where the commissariat arrack is to be sold. That such a nuisance, therefore, as a canteen exists, is not the fault of the officer, nor yet of the soldier, but it is the fault of the supreme power. Places of this character may be useful in the United Kingdom, where the temptations to drunkenness are few in comparison, and where many things are retailed beside liquor; but, in India, liquor is the staple, often the sole article vended in canteens, which are there the training schools in which young lads are initiated into every vice by the old debauchee. Liquor, on a long and harassing campaign, may be, and I am confident is, beneficial, when taken with water; but in a station in the East, where it is necessary to keep the system regular and cool, it fires the blood, and renders it doubly susceptible of disease.

"During the ten months the 13th lay at Sukkur, upwards of fifty men died, the deaths averaging from four to six per month. Twenty-five, if not more, of these, lost their lives through excessive drinking. Some died from *coup-de-soleil* caught when drunk; others from apoplexy, produced by liquor, and a part from acute dysentery, resulting from the same cause. And this is generally the case in every corps in India; half the annual deaths are caused by drunkenness; for, although the indulgence of this vice may not produce immediate death, and a man may even continue to drink hard for years, the constitution daily and hourly becomes more enfeebled, and less and less fitted to resist sickness. But few habitual drunkards ever return to their native country, and those who do, return only to die after a short existence there, embittered by pain and disease, the seeds of which were sown by their own vitiated conduct.

"It is true, that in warm climates, numberless distempers exist, but the best preventive against these is temperate habits. The ratio of deaths among the higher classes of Europeans is less by eighty per cent. than among the troops. This, however, may, in some measure, be ascribed to the former being able to take so much better care of themselves; but most undoubtedly the great disparity is the result of comparatively regular habits, or the sole use of wine, which is not nearly so injurious as the vicious liquors drank by the soldier. Many officers in the Company's service have been known to attain a good old age, and the venerable Swartz, who laboured so long and usefully in the south, saw nearly ninety summers.

"But canteens are not the only places in which soldiers obtain liquor; it is sold by most married women, and often by single men. This is strongly prohibited; nevertheless, the extent to which it is

practised in regiments any length of time in India, is truly surprising; and the amount of evil resulting from this sort of illicit liquor-selling is incalculable. Although detection subjects the soldier to a court-martial, and a woman to being expelled the barracks, and deprived of the five rupees a month allowed her by the Company, the great profit induces both parties to run the risk. And, so cunningly do they manage, that they are seldom caught either selling liquor, or with it in their possession. What is vended in this way is almost invariably of a worse quality, and more poisonous nature, than that procurable in the canteen; and the injurious effects increase in proportion. Dharroo, which resembles whisky in its colour and taste, and which is distilled from a berry, is what is chiefly sold by stealth. It is generally purchased for six annas a bottle from the natives, and retailed at four annas a dram to the soldier, bringing a clear profit of 300 per cent. When the regiment returned from Afghanistan, and money was plentiful, six, seven, and eight annas a dram were charged; and so great was the demand for it, even at that price, that married men who did not join until 1842, had amassed sums of money, in some cases amounting to 200*l.* sterling, by the time I reached the corps.

"I was much surprised on ascertaining that pay-sergeants were, in some instances, secretly engaged in this dishonourable traffic; a part permitting their wives to sell the liquor, and others employing their armourer, or some associate, whom they admitted to a share in the profits, to retail it to the men. As a matter of course, pay-sergeants who did this, were in the power of every man in their companies, and, therefore, could not do their duty as it ought to be done; and, when it is recollected how onerous the position of a pay-sergeant is, the magnitude of the evil resulting will at once be apparent.

"Among the Company's European troops, liquor-selling and drunkenness is even carried to a greater extent than among the Queen's. This difference, in the first place, is caused by the imposition of fewer restrictions; and, in the second, by the prospect a man has of never returning to his native country. Sooner or later, he imagines he must fall a victim beneath the noxious influences of an unfriendly climate; and he drinks to drown all thoughts of the future, and, in his opinion, to enjoy life while he may; thus becoming accessory to his own death, and with the guilt of drunkenness stamping that of suicide on his soul. What a noble contrast to this weak pusillanimous conduct does that of the man present, who, eschewing the damning sin of intoxication, becomes, by sobriety and good conduct (which, when united to ability, rarely is unrewarded in the Company's service), the carver of his own fortunes. It is true, that commissions are not given to men who enlist as privates in that service, which is a great injustice; but, nevertheless, there are numerous situations of trust and emolument, which may be and are filled by soldiers.

"There are most certainly in India a great many inducements for a man to become a drunkard. The want of good society—pernicious example—the absence of employment or innocent amusement—and,

that which makes the sailor fly to the spirit-room when the bark is sinking, despair. Let it be remembered, too, that the British soldier is a neglected man. He is looked on in every country as a being of inferior species; as the pariah of the body politic; and thought to be almost incapable of moral or social improvement. His own officers despise him, and the public at large despise him. Surely, then, when he finds himself treated with universal contempt, it cannot be a matter of surprise that he loses all self-respect, and becomes the reckless and degraded being that he is. He has no one to represent him in Parliament—no one to advocate his cause, as that of the peasant or mechanic is advocated; no wonder, then, while these are progressing in the grand march of improvement, that he is still a being of the last century.

"It is not generally known, that intemperance in the soldier is the cause of an additional expense to the public. At an average, 1,800 European soldiers die annually in India; and each man, by the time he reaches that country, costs Government a sum of forty pounds, if not more. Now, admitting that 800 out of this number are killed by drink, estimating the loss at 30*l.* per man—allowing 10*l.* for intermediate service—we have a sum of 24,000*l.*; which I am certain is far under the actual amount, as regards the Anglo-Indian army alone. Very probably a sum of 40,000*l.* would not cover the loss sustained in this way in the entire army of Great Britain.

"But the death of so many men, and the consequent public expense, are not the only evils resulting from intemperance. It is the cause of very many men committing crimes, who would otherwise have had a clear defaulters' sheet during their service. Five sevenths of the courts martial in India are assembled to try delinquents for habitual drunkenness, drunkenness on duty, or crimes committed while under the influence of liquor."—p. 137.

Here follows a document, drawn up by Colonel Wood, in accordance with Colonel Dennie's instructions, and addressed to the soldiers of the 13th, while in cantonment at Cabul, in the winter of 1839-40. It sets in a striking light the direful effects of intemperance on the European soldiery, stating that the mortality which so heavily fell upon that regiment while at Cabul was decidedly the result of drunkenness. The soldiers themselves are appealed to as to the fact of the drunkards of the camp being the most worthless men, both in quarters and in the field, and the superior state of the native regiments, who, though in a climate the very reverse of that to which they had been accustomed, were, from their temperate habits, quite healthy, while the drunken Europeans were weak and sickly; and, in conclusion, the document calls upon the men to "abstain from the beastly vice of intemperance," and to let drunkards be a term of disgrace among them.

This is all very well; but such recommendations will do not

a whit more good than preaching to the winds, so long as the present facilities for obtaining liquor are offered to such men as compose the bulk of the British army. There is much of truth, of cause for sorrow, and of good sense, in the following paragraphs:—

“In the United Kingdom little is known about the actual condition of the soldier; and, when on foreign service, the mass of society are quite as familiar with the history of the Russian serf, or the South Sea islander, as they are with his. The documents supplied to the Horse Guards are never published; they are solely for the information of the military authorities, and jealously guarded from every eye but theirs. No wonder, then, that editors of newspapers, or political economists know nothing about court martial returns, or that crime in the army is chiefly the result of intemperance. Many even seem to be ignorant that there is such a thing in existence as an antiquated Mutiny Act. Hence the inquiry is rarely made, and never answered, What can be done to make the soldier a better man, and a more estimable member of society?

“In India, where the hydra-headed evil is most prevalent, and local stimulants to drunkenness more numerous and powerful than probably in any other part of the British world, the propensity to intemperance can only be counteracted by the influence of religion, morality, or ambition. The British army presents a wide field for the labour of the Christian philanthropist. ‘Charity,’ saith the adage, ‘begins at home;’ and missionaries would be fully as well employed in converting the soldier—his own countryman—as in endeavouring to convert the Hindoos. While the 13th remained at Sukkur, there was no Christian minister of any denomination there to soothe the soldier in his last hour; to teach him to die as one not without hope, and refrain from the horrid blasphemies which so often mingled with his parting cries of agony. But Sukkur, it was long objected, was an unhealthy station, and not a fitting residence for a clergyman, although he would there have a congregation of 1,200 nominal Christians.

“To make soldiers more moral, the supreme power should eschew canteens; suppress private liquor-selling; establish savings’ banks; get enlightened non-commissioned officers, whose example would be beneficial; teach the soldier self-respect; give better rations; grant increased indulgence to the orderly and good, and deal with the bad even more summarily and energetically than it does at present.”—p. 144.

This chapter concludes with the following good advice to the soldier:—

“As I have endeavoured to point out the evils resulting from intemperance, it may be thought necessary that I should now show the advantages attending sobriety. It is, in the first place, essentially necessary to the happiness of the soldier, and, if happiness is an object with him, should be the most distinguishing trait in his character. The sober man must be ever respected (comparatively speaking) by his officers,

who are aware how valuable he is, from the single circumstance of his being ever in the full possession of his moral and physical faculties. Besides, he can always be depended upon, and may expect some kind of promotion at one time or another. He gets, at the least, every indulgence the service allows; for he is rarely guilty of an offence, and possesses a certain degree of independence which the drunkard can never attain to. Lastly, he can lay by his surplus pay; so that when he is discharged, in addition to a pension, the reward of good conduct, his savings will the better enable him to pass the residue of his days in comfort."—p. 146.

The following account of Sukkur will serve as an example of the little judgment sometimes exercised in fixing on sites for military stations.

"With the exception of its few tombs, and the indefensible old fort of Bukkur, there is little to interest about Sukkur. As a military station, it hardly possesses a single local advantage. Provisions, although tolerably plentiful, are of a bad quality, and vegetables, so essential to the health of troops, are not procurable. During the hot season, were all the Baloochees to the westward to pour into Upper Scinde, not a single European could be sent against them; and when the season for military operations commences, the malaria fever immediately appears, and the regiments there must either be removed to another climate, or a few months sees their corpses crowded together in the unconsecrated graveyard of the station. Thus, for one half of the year, the great heat confines troops to their barracks, and for the other half, the living will have quite enough to do to bury their dead. So long as the Indus continues its annual inundations, Sukkur will be unhealthy, and its garrison, virtually, useless. Troops sent thither in December and January, will remain tolerably healthy until the commencement of August, when, to preserve them in an effective state, they must be removed to Kurratchee, where they will be at some distance from the noxious damps of the marshes along the Indus, and have the benefit of the sea-breeze. Sukkur is utterly uninhabitable for four months, and all the other military stations along the river are very nearly as bad. If troops remain there, they remain to die; while, at the same time, the country is almost equally as unprotected as if there were not a single soldier in it."—p. 151.

As illustrative of the intense heat, in the month of May, at Sukkur, whilst the author was quartered there, he states, that when lying in the open air, it being impossible to obtain any sleep within the walls, and with only a pair of wide cotton trowsers on, each leg being as large as a petticoat, and a thin muslin shirt, he could scarcely bear a sheet, which, however, was necessary as a protection from the dust; and that at midnight the sentries on guard in their shirt sleeves were drenched in perspiration.

Towards the middle of June he was promoted to the rank of orderly-room clerk and staff-sergeant, with double pay, and other advantages. He describes the execution of the young Irish recruit, for the murder of the non-commissioned officer, mentioned before; and states, as "a singular fact, that nearly the whole of the murders in the British army are perpetrated by Irishmen," which is accounted for, from the Irish being "more vindictive and revengeful than either the English or Scotch." It was a source of amusement, at this time, to watch the natives passing to and from the Sudder bazaar; and the immense number of courtesans leads to some remarks on the dreadful profligacy of both natives and Europeans resident in India. The following extract will shew the use made of Lord Ellenborough's "batta."

"The grand topic of conversation at this period, was the six months' batta we were about to receive, which had been granted by Lord Ellenborough, as a consideration for services in Scinde, from the unhealthiness of the climate. The artillery had been paid it early in the month, and the next day, three of them died from excessive drinking. We got our batta the day before the anniversary of Ghuznee, and the canteen was then wisely (?) thrown open, without any restrictions, the time affording a plausible pretext for giving the men every indulgence. Any one who wished was allowed to bring liquor into the barracks, and for three days there was a scene of desperate drunkenness. The serjeant of the canteen assured me, that during this period his receipts were upwards of 10,000 rupees (1,000*l.* sterling), for liquor. Yet, notwithstanding the expenditure of this large sum, there was remitted to the agents in England, shortly after, by the non-commissioned officers and privates of the corps, no less a sum than 1,500*l.* This proved that more of the batta was made a good than a bad use of, at least at that time; and, had there been a savings' bank in the regiment, I am certain that much more would have been laid by."—p. 171.

Soon after this occurred the mutiny of the 64th Bengal corps, which for a while bore a serious aspect; but, through the admirable arrangements of General Hunter, it was quickly suppressed at that time without bloodshed, the ringleaders being subsequently executed.

On the subsidence of the periodical inundation of the Indus, sickness began to make its appearance among the troops at Sukkur, and by September the number of sick had increased to about 180. The author was seized with the fever, and went into hospital, but was convalescent in about a week. The sick men now crowded fast into hospital, and it was so thronged that numbers had to be placed in the verandahs. The natives, too,

began to be affected, and fled from the place. It could scarcely be credited, that in spite of these indications of the extreme unhealthiness of Sukkur at this season, such utter recklessness of human life should have been exhibited, as to send a fine body of Europeans to a station which even the natives were compelled to quit; yet such was the fact, for—

“On the 16th, a steamer arrived with the sick, and part of the women of the 78th Highlanders on board, that being the corps about to relieve us. The Highlanders had only between thirty and forty men sick, and none of these were bad cases. There was not, I am certain, a more efficient corps in India, at that time; and nothing could have betrayed more recklessness of purpose, or more insensibility to the claims of humanity, than the conduct of him who sent them to Sukkur to die!”—p. 181.

The author's reflections on this impolitic and inhuman course are very apposite, and are perfectly justified by the ultimate fate of this fine regiment. In proceeding down the Indus, after quitting Sukkur, the detachment of the 13th met three boats laden with the heavy baggage of the 78th—

“The guard of which consisted of a sergeant and eighteen rank and file, who were all sick of fever, and so very weak that they were scarcely able to bury one of their comrades, who had died during the preceding night. Without a medical person among them, and destitute of medicine, it is difficult to conceive the deplorable state of these men. They had no screen to shade them from the sun, or to protect them from the unwholesome night dews, which now fell heavily; they had no cook, nor victuals proper for sick men; and, thus situated, a fortnight must elapse, before they could hope to arrive at Sukkur.

“Poor fellows! Sick and destitute in the wilderness, their condition could hardly be worse. But such are the scenes which chequer the life of a soldier, and are far more trying to him than the battlefield. We lay to, for some time, in order to permit of their getting medicine, and receiving such other assistance as could be rendered them. Our principal surgeon, a kind and humane man, told me afterwards, that had he been present at the time, he would have taken every man of them back with him, as their lives were of more consequence than the baggage. It is a doubtful matter whether their colonel was of the same opinion.”—p. 188.

And, subsequently, when in the barracks at Colabah, the author informs us, that

“During the early part of this month (February) the remnant of the 78th Highlanders arrived from Kurrathee, and a large fatigue party of our men had to be sent to assist the sick on shore. Scarcely a hundred men were able to march with the colours, and every one

of these had suffered more or less from fever, their attenuated features bearing ample testimony to its baneful effects. They had lost, from the period of their relieving us at Sukkur, until their arrival at Bombay, upwards of 700 souls. The greater part of their band had died, so that their march through the streets resembled a funeral procession, the dark plumes of their bonnets being in strange contrast with the grave-like hue of their faces. Their condition was sadly altered since I saw them reviewed, twelve months before, when they were a superb body of men."—p. 243.

The author, like an honest chronicler, anxious to show all the bearings of his case, candidly avows, that at Sukkur—

"Under existing circumstances, better accommodations could not have been provided for the sick, and General Hunter, himself, came several times to see that everything was done to make them as comfortable as possible. The solicitude he evinced for them was gratefully remembered; and frequently, during our descent of the river, and long afterwards, have I heard the men, in terms of the warmest admiration, speak of the kindly conduct of the 'good old General,' as they called him."—p. 182.

At Kurratchee, however, which, in other respects, is much preferable to Sukkur as a troop station, the sick seem to have been sadly neglected, the medical staff there being most vilely constituted.

"Our hospital establishment, at this time, consisted of a steward, apothecary, two assistant-apothecaries, and three apothecary-apprentices, with about seventy native followers. The European portion of the department were as worthless a set as ever existed; their ignorance was only equalled by their insolence; and, so negligent were they of their duties, that natives were permitted to compound medicines, and even to administer them to the patients. One of them, an assistant-apothecary, who received a salary of about eighty rupees per mensem, was only a boy, and knew so little about his business, that he could not even bleed properly; and I have seen him, when an assistant-surgeon was visiting the patients, and ordering them their diets and medicine, pretending to be marking down his directions, while, at the same time, the pen he held was without ink. Thus, it was impossible for the men to be treated properly; and the worst of the matter was, when his conduct was reported at various times it was never investigated."—p. 202.

On the 4th of December, the 13th marched out of camp, in order to embark for Bombay; and we have the following picture of the wretched accommodation on board the steamer:—

"On board the *Sesostria*, in which I was, there were upwards of 600 people; all of whom, with the exception of about fifty sick, were crowded together on the upper deck in the open air; on which was also a large quantity of baggage; so that we had scarcely room to

stand, and lying, in a majority of cases, was altogether out of the question. What rendered our situation still more uncomfortable, was a rough sea, the waves breaking over the vessel, and wetting us to the skin, while, at the same time, we could not get at our boxes to procure a change of clothes. Along with these annoyances, there was only a single cooking copper for such a number of persons; a small quantity of tea was all that could be got ready for us; I esteemed myself fortunate if I could procure a noggin of this once a day, and that at the imminent risk of being scalded; and this, with a little rice biscuit, which it was impossible, almost, for a sick man to use, was our only diet during the five days we were on board the steamer. I have seen more than one hospital patient snatch the broken meat which a khitmager was giving an officer's dog, and eagerly devour it. And to this humiliating condition were British soldiers reduced, in time of peace, and in the midst of plenty, from the ill accommodations afforded them by the penurious *imperium in imperio* of Bombay! How long did those days of exquisitely acute misery appear to me; sick, cold, without proper nourishment, crippled for want of room, and wallowing in loathsome filth! I frequently thought, as I burned with fever, that my last hour had come."—p. 216.

The regiment, while lying there, became impressed with the idea that the Government of Bombay intended to detain them for the season; but the authorities having apparently been made aware that they had to deal with men who would not willingly be imposed upon, at length hastened their departure, and about the 20th of March they embarked for England. The voyage home in the *Boyne* was quite the reverse to that out to India, in regard to accommodations, quality of rations, &c.

"The *Boyne* had been surveyed for the conveyance of 250 people, and half that number had come on board, with ten invalids of the Company's service. Nevertheless, we were not allowed half the deck, and were consequently much crowded, a large proportion of the men not being able to sling their hammocks. This state of things was at once made known to the commanding officer, the second lieutenant-colonel of the corps; but he, good man, took the matter very easily, and there was no improvement in our situation. Added to this, only half the men were supplied with bed-clothes; each person could therefore only get a blanket or a quilt, neither of which were any heavier than good flannel; and thus there was but a bad prospect of comfort when we got into the cold latitudes. Along with these annoyances, the rations were bad; but, as it was said there were better on board, which would soon be issued to us, we did not report them. Thus we were deficient of the three great desiderata of a soldier on board ship; sufficient room, warm bed-clothes (of the last importance to men quitting a tropical climate), and good rations, which, according to the government regulations, should always be of the best quality."—p. 246.

As a specimen of the quality of these rations, the author tells us, that

"The biscuit was bad [being full of maggots], the flour was the worst Indian otta, and one moving mass of animal life; the pork was frequently measly, and would reduce to one-fourth the weight in boiling; and the peas served out for soup were germinating. It was alleged in excuse, that these rations were passed by the committee at Bombay; but the skipper seemed to be ignorant, as well as our officers, that its approval did not lessen his responsibility. One would imagine, when Government was paying 19*l.* 10*s.* for each man's passage to England, and the soldiers were chiefly working the ship, that at least, though stinted in room, the victuals given us would be good and wholesome. But it is an old adage, 'that it is a bad wind that blows nobody good.' The skipper's pigs benefited by our bad biscuit, of which they got by far the largest share."—p. 247.

In fact, as if the ship's regulations had been framed expressly with a view to render the position of the poor fellows—ill as many of them were with fever and ague—as uncomfortable and injurious as possible, they were obliged to drink their grog at the tub, as it was served out; no distinction was made between the privates and non-commissioned officers; they were allowed to sleep on deck, with insufficient bed-clothes, and were frequently wet through by the sea breaking over the vessel; their watch remained all night on deck, while the sailors' watch remained below; and, as if to crown all, by adding insult to injury, when off St. Helena,

"Nine invalids of the St. Helena regiment had been sent on board, and each man of these was supplied with two good blankets and quilt, and had as much room given him as thirty of our men. Some of these were mere boys, and when I contrasted the kindness and attention shown them in providing for their comfort, with the manner in which the veterans of the 13th were treated, who had grown gray under an Indian sun, and performed marches unparalleled in the annals of British warfare, I could not feel otherwise than surprised. We had fifty invalids on board, passed as such by the principal medical officer of Bombay, yet they received scarcely any indulgence, and were even obliged, unless actually in hospital, to do all manner of duty. Like the remainder of us, they had not sufficient room, nor good rations, nor bed-clothes; and why the Bombay authorities, or their satellites, thought it right and meet to treat us in this way, in defiance of the government regulations, it is difficult to divine. A very late general order, in particular, issued by the Duke of Wellington, peremptorily provides, that troops embarked in freight-ships and transports, be furnished with a hammock and two blankets each; its number is 566, and it bears date, Horse Gnards, 9th June, 1843."—p. 261.

On the 8th of August, two years and some weeks after he had quitted England, the author disembarked at Gravesend.

"Many of the men, he says, expressed the most extravagant joy; and one old veteran in particular, knelt down and kissed the earth. The disembarking officer, contrary to our expectations, did not ask whether we had any reports to make, much to the disappointment of several, who had determined to complain of the manner in which they were rationed during the voyage."

After a few day's stay at Chatham, the detachment was marched to Walmer, where their head-quarters were stationed. Here the author resigned his orderly-room clerkship, and was appointed full corporal and supernumerary sergeant, with a promise of promotion on the first vacancy. As the circumstances of his friend in Ireland were still embarrassed, and, in spite of the hardships of a military life, he had become attached to it, the author tells us he resolved to remain in the army, and zealously set about learning his new duties. He continues:--

"But I found it would be next to impossible for me to remain in the corps, as I had, by some means, become disliked by the adjutant, who, however irreproachable my conduct had been, seemed now disposed to treat me any way but kindly, taking every opportunity to annoy and insult me, and even using abusive language towards me while at drill. Still I bore all this patiently, hoping that good conduct, and a zealous and correct discharge of my duties, might induce him to deal more fairly by me. But I might as well have pursued an opposite course; a private was promoted over my head on a vacancy occurring, and this injustice, along with a series of other circumstances, so disgusted me with the army, that I wrote to my friends for money, and applied for my discharge, much, indeed, to the surprise of the adjutant, who now saw that he had carried matters a little too far, in thus compelling me to quit the regiment."—p. 266.

Various attempts were made, both to fathom the author's motives for quitting, and by promises, to induce him to remain; but, he says, his "resolution was taken; and, despite what Sam Slick would term the soft-sawder of the adjutant, and the well-meaning kindness of the good old colonel, it remained unshaken." He accordingly received his discharge, and once more found himself happy at home, "surrounded by relatives and friends, all pleased and happy at the return of their wanderer, whom, for a long time, they had despaired of ever seeing again."

In publishing the results of his experience, the author has made the public his debtor. The work should be reprinted in a cheap and popular form. Dana's '*Two Years before the Mast*,' and the '*Camp and Barrack Room*,' we would place in the

hands of every young man who, from unsettled habits, adverse circumstances, or the hallucinations of ambition, might be tempted to enter the army or navy, and try a change of fortune. Here is an explanation of what such a change means !

The present edition we hope will be read in those influential quarters, where some attention has of late been excited to the condition of the British soldier. The work will suggest many practical hints, against the adoption of which no valid objection could be urged ; but it will be long before the capital vice of our military system will be abolished ; and so long as commissions are obtained by purchase, the condition of honest and unfriended merit in the army must always be one of degradation.

ART. VI.—1. *An Act for the more easy Recovery of Small Debts and Demands in England.* August 28, 1846.

2. *Bill to amend the Laws of Bankruptcy and Insolvency :* prepared by the London Committee.

3. *Bill to Restore Arrest on Mesne Process in Civil Actions, under certain limitations.* Introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Warburton.

4. *Credit the Life of Commerce.* Being a defence of the British Merchant against the unjust and demoralizing tendency of the recent alterations in the Laws of Debtor and Creditor, with an outline of remedial measures. By J. H. Elliott. Madden & Co.

MUCH has been done for the education of the people, and much more will soon be done, yet has it been forgotten, even by many of those who are deep read and deep thought on the matter, that of all schoolmasters the law is the most apt to teach ; that some of those royal roads to learning—French in six lessons, and the like—are slow courses compared with the speed, the railroad speed by which men learn, not only the theory, but the practice of much that is useful, the instant that the law declares such things *shall* be done, and such other things *shall not* be done, under pain of ———

Some years ago the great teacher (the law) told the utterers of *false promises to pay*—a kind of base coin or forged currency—that they were doing a great public wrong, were indeed committing a crime for which they were liable to (perhaps a too severe) punishment. Though the strong appetites of some, the hopes of escape of others, caused in many instances the

law and its sanctions to be defied, yet on the whole the great portion of the people, even including a large part of the idle, the sensual, and the extravagant, lived within compass, and were careful of uttering false vows and promises; for then they believed it to be a wicked thing, because they knew it to be a *dangerous* thing, to say to their weak confiding neighbours, "Let me have possession, use, and consumption of those luxuries, and at the fixed time I will pay you." But of late years the opinions and the discipline of the schoolmaster have relaxed, and therefore the practice of his scholars, chiefly because of a false and effeminate humanity; but in some degree the change was brought about because it suited the law-making class, and the same principle of "take care of yourself," which has failed in many other cases, was applied to the affairs of commerce, and, through a series of changes, up to the present hour, with, if possible, a more signal failure. As a philosopher said, "I think, therefore, I am," so did the English people say, "We trade, therefore, we are:" to destroy trade and commerce was to destroy no small part of the national existence; to leave out of the question that to destroy trade and commerce, by making it lawful to wilfully break the most solemn engagements, was to subvert no small part of the national morality. Yet this course of bad legislation was persisted in, until matters were brought to a fearful crisis by the act of 1844, with its celebrated £20 clause, which confiscated (or what is the same thing, refused practical means of recovery) all money claims under £20, and at one fell swoop put out of law at least five millions of hard-earned treasure. This act has been calumniously attributed to Lord Brougham, but his lordship has repeatedly and distinctly denied its fatherhood; nor was such likely, seeing how enlightened a patron of the "schoolmaster" he has been for so many years.

Of late, however, some degree of patient inquiry and hard thinking have been applied to the subject, sound doctrines have been developed and demonstrated, the crisis has turned, the course of public opinion is not in the far distant regions of apogee, where honour and justice are unfelt and unknown. There is now a disposition to make the laws, the commercial laws of a commercial people, accord with men's experience and their wants. The Act of 1845 gave some remedy to the creditor, especially if he and his debtor lived within the same district of court, but it was on the whole cumbrous and impotent for general purposes; under its provisions no man need pay his debts if it was more convenient to "bundle and go;" to prepare for which this Act, careful of the convenience of the aristocratic classes, gave many weeks' notice. The most important change

in a right direction, that is in the direction of public honour and honesty, is found in the act of last session, entitled, 'An Act for the more easy Recovery of Small Debts and Demands in England,' 28th August, 1846. But here let it be observed, that the term *small debts* is likely to suggest that the matter is one of but small and partial importance, that it belongs but to a small and unimportant section of commercial transactions; it is not so, but on the contrary, it is one of the greatest possible importance, because it affects the money affairs of a very large portion (almost all) of the middle classes of society, and, indirectly, of the humbler classes too. If there be any truth in the aphorism of Bentham, "*maxima felicitas plurimorum*," the question of *small debts* being a question of subsistence to nearly the whole people, and a question of good morals into the bargain, it becomes, next to the means by which men's lives and persons are secured against violence, a matter of grandest importance.* Poor-laws are not more vital to the existence of the working classes than are small-debt laws to the existence of the same working classes, and the middle classes as well. Great men can protect themselves; great properties can protect themselves; but small men and small properties (small debts especially) must be protected by the law, or they all become annihilated. By the way of Bentham, with the exception of Paley, he is the only writer of note who has written with any sense at all on this subject. His tract on Usury, written some fifty years ago, expounds those true principles of legislation which have been so long pushed aside by heedless quackery, and which, after so much recent suffering, and recent hard labour of thinking, are now being enforced on the public conviction.

The Act 9 & 10 Vict., Cap. xcv., commences by reciting a very great but very obvious truth, that we need not have waited until this year of grace 1846 to have hit upon,—viz., it is expedient that one rule and manner of proceeding for the recovery of small debts and demands should prevail throughout England. Hitherto there had been various rules of proceeding, just as various districts suffering the intolerable misery of living without law, had, at great cost, obtained from the legislature special Acts, while by far the larger part of the kingdom was practically without any law at all. We have now fallen on a happy epoch in law, it being at last discovered and admitted,

* All this has been laboriously expounded in Mr. Elliott's little book, 'Credit the Life of Commerce,' of which we gave a notice a few months ago. It is worth the careful reading of those whose minds are misled by the oratorical fallacies of the day on the subject of insolvency.

that there should be one rule for all the people of England, who are for the future to enjoy the equal privilege of the same law. The extension of the county courts, by the division of the counties into convenient districts, including towns, cities, &c., where one rule and manner of dispensing justice shall prevail, is of itself an immense gain, and one highly creditable to the present ministry; if the machinery of the Act be feeble, as we shall see that it is, we have at least got the place for the machinery and the area of its operations co-extensive with the land itself, and the admission that justice is the right of all the people, and that the place of justice shall be near their own doors. There does not however seem any good reason for various topographical divisions for various social purposes; the parochial Unions made already for poor-law purposes, might surely be the same districts for the adjustment of debt-claims,—the same also for municipal purposes, including highways, drainage, sanitary matters, &c., or if it be found that the Union is too small for some purposes, two or more unions might be grouped together.

The Act consists of 143 sections, of which 57, with great apparent care, provide the constitution of the courts, their organization, duties, functions, officers; pains, therefore, have not been wanting in setting out the ground plan of the Temple of Justice.

It is not until the 78th section that the jurisdiction of the county court is set forth, viz. that all pleas of personal actions, where the debt or damage claimed is not more than £20, shall be held in this court, and shall be heard and determined in a summary way. The person who complains of an unpaid debt or claim shall appear before the clerk of the court, who shall enter the particulars thereof in a book, on which a summons shall be served upon the person complained against a certain number of days before he shall appear before the court. If the plaintiff do not appear to support the complaint set forth in the summons, or if he shall not prove his demand to the satisfaction of the court, *costs and satisfaction* may be awarded to the defendant (sec. 73).

But if the defendant do not appear, the inquiry shall be instituted and conducted to its termination, and execution follow, just as if he were present, unless good reason for absence be given.

If the payment be not made (sec. 94), the court may award execution against the goods; and if by any means the claim be not satisfied or the debt paid, after judgment has been obtained according to the above process, then the creditor may (sec. 98) obtain a summons, *that is another summons*, requiring the debtor

to appear again and answer such charges as are laid against him, and as to his conduct in respect of his not paying the debt; and if he shall not attend the summons (sec. 99), nor allege a sufficient excuse, or refuse to be sworn, or make proper disclosure, nor by his answers satisfy the judge, or has obtained credit from the plaintiff under false pretences, or by means of fraud or breach of trust, or has wilfully contracted such debt or liability without having had at the same time a reasonable expectation of being able to pay or discharge the same, or shall have made, or caused to be made, any gift, delivery or transfer of any property, or shall have charged, removed, or concealed the same with intent to defraud his creditors, or any of them; or if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the judge of the said court that the party so summoned has then, or has had, since the judgment obtained against him, sufficient means and ability to pay the debt, or damages, or costs so recovered against him, either altogether, or by any instalment or instalments which the court in which the judgment was obtained shall have ordered; and if he shall refuse or neglect to pay the same as shall have been so ordered, or as shall be ordered pursuant to the power hereinafter provided, it shall be lawful for such judge, if he shall think fit, to order that any such party may be committed to the common gaol or house of correction of the county, district, or place in which the party summoned is resident, or to any prison which shall be provided as the prison of the court, for any period not exceeding forty days.

The greater part of this clause is given at length, because it contains the heart of the Act, and opens up the principle of legislation that after some years of struggle has been admitted and adopted. It is another step from the lawless period, 1844, in a right cause, but it is a short step, and leaves the law still behind the place of justice, and what the vigorous transactions of a commercial people require for the protection of their property.

No matter what may be the term used to note the procedure, the procedure must be one which allows of instant capture of the person of the accused; no matter what may be the technicality of practice, the principle of law must be just that which is adopted in all other cases of men accused of doing wrong, *they must be taken in hold, and kept in hold, pendente lite, or set at large on bail*. This is what the law allowed by arrest under mesne process, and what it must re-allow under any new mode of dealing with insolvent, or non-paying debtors. We say nothing of the intensity of the offence, nothing of the quantity of social wrong that is inflicted by the insolvent; it may be, and sometimes is, one of a very slight nature, yet it is such an one as requires the person of the debtor to be forthcoming. Against

this, there is no valid reason, nothing but the pertinacity with which fallacies and falsehoods have been pressed into the inquiry by interested persons, the influential, idle, and extravagant. He who is an accused poacher is taken into custody to abide the result. He has taken that which he knows is not his, and has taken that which the law prohibits. And, let us here observe, without entering into a discussion on the game laws, that the English will be a poor people, getting near their last, when there is no room for aught but potato-grounds and cotton-mills; let there be game and country sports, or the English stock will enervate; if the idle rich of vacant mind frequent not Melton Mowbray and Blackmoor vale, they will lurk about the less salubrious preserves of St. John's Wood. He who, poor and hungry, takes a hare or a pheasant from the over-fed rich, is properly arrested and punished; however disproportionate existing penalties may be to the offence, surely, then, he who, rich and over-fed, takes choice things from a tradesman, usually poor and needy, on a word-of-mouth promise to pay, which he does not redeem, is equally punishment-worthy. We hear much of the temptation, but of this it were wise to speak no more, for surely the temptation is greater and far more difficult to be overcome on the part of a hungry Dorsetshire labourer, to seize a hare, his only chance of a hot dinner or supper, the more especially, too, when many of those who ought to know better, tell him, that as a poacher, he is rather a victim than a criminal, precisely the wicked fallacy that other patriots are teaching the young spendthrift, that *he* is rather the victim of the cupidity of another, than of his own vices. Let there be equal protection to all, to the game of the rich against the hunger,—yes, against the hunger, even, of the poor, and to all the goods of the tradesman, against the insatiety of the rich; and this equal protection would be afforded if no class interests were struggling for their own gain, at the expense of the community. He who forges or coins is taken into custody, to abide the issue of each step of the inquiry, painful, no doubt, if he be really, and not technically innocent; but an evil that cannot be completely avoided, one to which all persons in society are and must be liable, in order that the general securities of civilization may be enjoyed by all. When the law-making class were creditors, they extended this sound rule to debtors, but since they have changed places, they have changed their moral rules.

In the matter of debt, the procedure by which (at the discretion of the accuser, and it ought to be at his most serious peril) the debtor was taken in hold, is called arrest under *mesne process*, that is, arrest under *middle process*, *after accusation and before conviction*. This power was taken from the creditor by an Act passed

at the instigation of Lord Campbell, in 1838; like most of the interferences with the law of debtor and creditor, oratory and sentiment then took the place of reason and evidence; and the change has proved, as some of its instigators have been known to declare privately, to be a decided failure. Eight years of suffering, *aggravated by subsequent reforms*, has at last emboldened some clear-headed men to declare that arrest under *mesne process*, effectually guarded against abuse, must be restored; foremost among these is Mr. Commissioner Fane, at whose instigation, we believe, a Bill has been brought into the Commons for that purpose, by Mr. Warburton. This Bill will become law, not so much for its real merits, but it will become law solely because of adequate pressure from without; let the sufferers do their duty, organise meetings, set forth the reckless plunder to which they are daily exposed, besiege the doors of the legislature with petitions, declare to their representatives that their property requires the restoration of this power, so wholesome and effective over bad men, a power rarely used for the purposes of oppression, but resorted to in general with too great reluctance. It was their error, as all practical men know, that creditors but too tardily used the pressure of the law, as indeed do all injured persons. It is only the very choleric, or the very benevolent, who seek the punishment of those who injure them; they are philanthropists, indeed, who can strike in cool blood; when the blood is up any body can bite, a dog can do that, and so can a savage; it is only the good citizen who, without the feelings of resentment, can inflict the due measure of suffering on another, for the purpose of example and correction. Hope there was, that the London Committee would have persevered, that they would have agitated by speeches and writings; they seem, however, to have grown weary, matter more of surprise than blame, seeing that the zealous and intelligent, usually the foremost in all worthy public objects, are just those industrious men, whose own daily avocations exhaust their time and energies.

The finality doctrine has been given up long ago, and, therefore, this Small Debts' Act will no doubt be submitted to improvements from time to time. Experience must teach, and on this subject, where there has been so much error, means should be adopted by which the effects of the laws may be recorded, for good or evil.*

It is a great defect that no provision is made requiring an annual return of the business of the New County Courts, which,

* "The procedure might in a few years be rendered perfect, by the establishment of a Board, as is recommended by Mr. B. Montague. Such a board may be constituted by the assistance of the commissioners, and without

put in tabular form, would supply some evidence of its utility. In fact, the whole business of Bankruptcy and Insolvency should be presented, with the minutest statistic detail, every year to Parliament. Law-making will be for ever quack-physic-making, until the effects are most carefully noted and classed.

It is a favourite opinion that there should be but one procedure, that of bankruptcy, instead of two—insolvency and bankruptcy. This seems hardly possible; the French, who have taken great pains with their commercial laws, have not been able to combine the process. They have, as ourselves, two conditions of the non-paying debtor, *faillite* and *deconfiture*. Bankruptcy has to do chiefly with the collection and distribution of assets of large amount, by a slow, elaborate, and therefore expensive process, it has to do also with the conduct of the bankrupt. The Insolvent Debtors' Court might very usefully continue a separate jurisdiction over small matters, the magistrate (judge or commissioner) having summary powers of committal. Small debts have a peculiar character, when due and unpaid they cause suffering and wrong, but so long as there is hope of payment they are in the state of a wrong uncompleted. The act of theft is completed at once, not so the debt, better that it should be paid at the end of seven years than not paid at all. The magistrate interferes to constrain payment by placing the alternative before the debtor of setting apart a portion of his *future* income, or submitting to

occasioning any expense to the public. The commissioners, by the appropriation of an hour or two in each week, may receive and record the communications made by the merchants and members of the profession, as to the defects in our system, and before two years pass away, by an examination of those different suggestions, and the consideration of the bankrupt laws in other countries, a system may be adopted worthy of the enlightened times in which we live. But the advantages will not stop here. From an observation of the good resulting from this steady and cautious mode of proceeding, it may lead to a permanent board of reform of all law—civil, criminal, and constitutional. This was recommended more than two centuries ago by Lord Bacon, in the first speech he ever made in Parliament, and he never omitted an opportunity to repeat it. He says: 'The Romans appointed ten men, who were to collect or recall all former laws, and to set forth those twelve tables, so much of all men commended. In Athens they had Sexviri, which were standing commissioners, to watch and to discern what laws waxed improper for the time, and what new law did, in any branch, cross a former law, and so *ex-officio* propounded their repeals. King Louis XI. of France, had it in his intention to have made one perfect and uniform law out of the civil law, Roman, and the provincial customs of France.' The same observation is contained in his offer of a digest of the law, published after his death. 'In Athens they had Sexviri, (as *Æschines* observeth) which were standing commissioners, who did watch to discern what laws waxed improper for the times, and what new laws did, in any branch, cross a former law, and so *ex-officio* propounded their repeal.'—*Elliot's 'Credit the Life of Commerce.'*

punishment; either he must abstain from future enjoyment (expense) or suffer. Thus he treats the drunken "navvy" of 21s. per week, and the dissipated gentlemen of £500 per year. Either from unusual exigencies or great extravagance the income has been exceeded, future self-denial must be used, more indeed than is agreeable, and the powers of the law are required to constrain him to a degree of prudence that shall prevent a man's neighbour (his creditor), not himself, from suffering the evils of his past imprudence. This is very unlike the functions of a bankruptcy commission, and requires a separate court and different procedure, less costly and more summary, as well as penal: "pay your instalments, as they arise, out of your after-acquired income, or fail at your peril."

This is offered as no extenuation of the grievous costs of bankruptcy, the whole administration of which requires change. The difficulty of bringing an unwilling debtor into the court is very graphically described by a well-known writer:—

"An ordinary wholesale dealer sells a parcel of goods on credit to the retail dealer, and takes a bill of exchange, payable on a day certain. On the due payment of this bill he relies to enable him to pay the manufacturer who supplied him. The bill of exchange is not paid. He makes inquiries, and finds that his debtor is selling his goods over the counter to ordinary customers under prime cost, is sending away large parcels by carrier in a manner quite inconsistent with the business of a retail trader, and he learns other facts which convince him, as a man of business, that his debtor is about to cheat his creditors. He goes to his solicitor, and this conversation passes:—

"*Client.*—'What can I do?'

"*Solicitor.*—'Nothing! At least, nothing effectual.'

"*Client.*—'Cannot I arrest my debtor?'

"*Solicitor.*—'No! The cry, for many years before 1838, was that arrest was unjust and cruel; and in 1838, the legislature abolished it, unless there was evidence that the debtor was about to abscond; and debtors don't abscond *now*; they don't run away now; because there is nothing for them to run away from; they used to run away from arrest, but now there is no arrest for them to run away from; so that they stay where they are.'

"*Client.*—'Had I not better, then, bring an action against him?'

"*Solicitor.*—'I don't think it will do you much good. As soon as you bring your action, your debtor will get some friend to sue him: he will defend your action; he will make no defence to his friend's action. His friend will get judgment and execution first; and, when the sheriff goes in under your execution, he will find an officer in possession under another execution, and will be obliged to retire, and you will only be so much the more out of pocket. By bringing an action, you will only be throwing good money after bad.'

"*Client.*—'Can I not then make him a bankrupt? he is a trader.'

"*Solicitor.*—'No, you cannot; for you cannot make a man bankrupt without proving an act of bankruptcy; and since the abolition of arrest, you cannot *force* a man to commit an act of bankruptcy. Whilst the law of arrest continued, you could; because then you could obtain the writ *capias*, and the debtor ran away to avoid being arrested, or would not come out of his house at all for fear he should be arrested; and either running away, or shutting himself up in his house, was an act of bankruptcy; you issued your fiat, and got a fair inquiry, and a fair distribution of your debtor's property. But that cannot be done now, since arrest has been abolished.'

"*Client.*—'But I thought that a new act of bankruptcy was introduced to replace those which had been abolished by the abolition of arrest.'

"*Solicitor.*—'It is true that a new one was introduced by a law of 1842, but it is quite useless against a knave, for all that a knave has to do to defeat the process is to swear that he believes he has a good defence to *part* of your demand, and the whole process falls to the ground, and you pay the costs.'

"*Client.*—Am I then wholly remediless?"

"*Solicitor.*—I fear you are, and as long as the law remains as it is, my advice to you must be, if your debtor offers you five shillings in the pound, take it; if he offers you one shilling, or one penny, take it; and if nothing, leave him alone, and rejoice that his next victim will be some one else.'—*Law Review*, Nov. 1845.

Usually the debtor makes himself bankrupt at the time most convenient to himself, when his effects have been placed in safe hands, and his favourite creditors satisfied, and then with the residue of the property he obtains the protection of the court. Having wasted, it may be, all but £150, and owing perhaps £1,000, he incurs the following charges:—

Paid filing declaration of insolvency	£0	2	0
" searching for prior docket	0	1	0
" swearing affidavit of debt	0	1	6
" certificate of filing declaration of insolvency	0	2	6
" fiat	10	1	0
" balloting for commissioner	0	1	0
" court fee for room	0	11	0
" " on opening	0	11	0
" " on first meeting	0	11	0
" " taxing petitioning creditors' costs	0	11	0
" taxing, and copy of costs	0	12	9
" court fee, second meeting, audit meeting, meeting for certificate, taxing assignees' costs, second audit meeting and dividend meeting—six meetings at 11s. each	3	6	0
" fee fund	30	0	0
	<u>£46</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>

And this without reckoning one shilling for the solicitor, messenger, official assignee, and auctioneer, which cannot be less than £50 more. So that a fiat, even in a small estate, cannot be worked under £100, of which the court takes about half. Of the £46 11s. 9d., £40 is clutched by the government, and is applied to pay idle sinecurists, before even the petitioning creditor can claim his expenses. Only think of a law-reforming government asking £40 before it will even *open the outer door* of justice, and ask yourself, gentle reader, if you be in London, or in Adrianople, under a Turkish *cadi*? Thus, a debtor who owes £200 or £300, and has assets to pay 10s. or 6s. 8d. in the pound is at liberty to squander every shilling of the property of his creditors, in order to obtain a discharge from his debts, and protection for his person.

This is not supposititious; the following case occurred a few months ago. G. D., a trader, owing altogether £260, besides about £100 to a creditor on the security of his lease, was possessed of stock in trade and furniture, which afterwards sold for upwards of £100, sufficient to pay expenses and 7s. in the pound. His principal creditors were three in number, and their debts amounted to £200 out of the £360. The creditors declined making him a bankrupt, because the fiat would absorb all the assets, but prepared an assignment of the property to trustees for their benefit, which would have cost about £10. The debtor, through his solicitor, promised to execute this assignment, but he consulted another solicitor, under whose advice he made himself bankrupt on his own petition, and instead of a dividend of 7s. the creditors do not get a farthing.

The expense of justice, even that small dividend of justice which the Bankruptcy Court has it in its power to award, is, however, often not only the denial of justice practically, but it is the means by which the law becomes at once the instrument of injustice, insult, and outrage. The creditor can with difficulty make his debtor a bankrupt; but at any time the debtor can make himself a bankrupt—*when* it suits him—at any instant, his usual practice is, to call together his creditors, and without condescending to go into particulars, or to show his books, to declare himself insolvent, offer 10s. in the pound, and say, “Gentlemen, if you do not accept that, you have your remedy or I have mine rather, my estate may pay 12s. or 14s. in the pound, your only chance of obtaining that is by the Court of Bankruptcy, and for justice there, you will be charged so heavily that the dividend will be reduced to 6s. or 7s.; the difference I have a mind to keep for myself, and if you will not allow it me, I will take care you shall not have it,—the court shall;—so please yourselves.” Or, in other words, a man has injured his neighbour, he, *the*

injurer, says, well, I will restore you *half* of that of which I have deprived you, and if you don't like that, I will law you, I will appeal for protection to the laws of my country. Nothing can more unequivocally show the iniquitous operation of our bankruptcy laws than this astounding fact, which is of frequent—almost daily occurrence.

Bankruptcy being regarded as a civil matter, and only incidentally as a criminal one, the chances of punishment are too few and uncertain. All that the court can do is to withhold the certificate. This operates as a dishonour; but it is of too vague a nature to be very exemplary, and its practical evils to the bankrupt are, as all the world knows, easily avoided; besides, it is a privilege conferred or withheld at the discretion of the commissioner, depending on his mood, his caprice, or his intelligence. With some honourable exceptions, bankruptcy commissioners have made a singularly ill use of their experience; in the grossest cases of fraud they have censured the creditor rather than the cheating bankrupt: rarely have they duly censured the basest commercial acts. Of late, it is true, some new light has broken in upon their minds; their mischievous demoralizing leniency has been severely censured by the better part of the press, and they have become much more cautious; at the present time, solicitors and creditors are encouraged to follow up cases of fraud by the healthy and inflexible justice of Mr. Commissioner Evans and Mr. Commissioner Fonblanque. But to suspend a certificate, to withhold it altogether, or to censure, is not enough; it is true a man may be handed over to the Central Criminal Court, if there be found creditors public-spirited and benevolent enough (or, resentful, in popular language) to prosecute men by whom they have lost a considerable sum, and yet add to that loss by incurring the costs of a criminal prosecution. The prosecution of Bannister, at the instance of Mr. Groucock and others, cost £300. The doctrine insisted on for some years, by Mr. Elliott, must sooner or later be adopted, that all insolvency and bankruptcy must be declared an offence liable to some defined and graduated, but mild punishment; the utmost facility being afforded to the defendant to get relief from punishment, and an honourable acquittal, by showing that he has been industrious, frugal, kept proper books of accounts, avoided commercial speculations, that is, gambling, and conducted his affairs as a good merchant. When a naval officer loses a ship, he is brought before a court-martial and tried; and if he has used good seamanship in all respects, and yet has lost his vessel, he leaves the court with honour: so should it be with

him who has lost his neighbour's property with which he was intrusted to steer through the difficult seas of commerce.

An admirable paper in the *Law Review* (Nov., 1846) shows the steady progress of sound philosophical opinions; even the intrepid writer could not have dared three or four years ago to have written so much sterling truth on this subject, of such immense importance to the middle classes of society. Therein it is insisted:—1. Abolish all process against the goods, or other property, except in bankruptcy.—2. Restore arrest on *mesne process*, guarding it carefully against abuse.

"Interim relief, early relief, precautionary relief, upon a case of *high probability*, as contra-distinguished from that ultimate relief which is founded on *legal certainty*, attained by trial and judgment, after hearing both parties, is granted by all courts acting on rational principles. Observe what is done under the criminal law and in chancery. Under the criminal law, you do not say the mere affidavit of the prosecutor that the alleged criminal is guilty, shall send him to prison *without inquiry*, nor do you say that under no circumstances shall he go to prison till after trial and judgment. You rush into neither one extreme nor the other. You have preliminary inquiry before a coroner, a magistrate, or some proper authority; and, if on the whole there appears a fair *primâ facie* case of probable guilt, you do not allow, what the *Times* very justly calls 'sentimentality,' to prevent you sending the untried man to prison to abide his trial. In chancery, a plaintiff asks for an injunction, or other precautionary relief. You do not say—establish your case by pleading to issue and obtaining a decree, and *then* we will grant you the injunction; nor do you say, on the other hand—the plaintiff has sworn positively—that is enough. 'It may be inconvenient to defendant to have the injunction issue, but there would be ten times more inconvenience if we were to try whether plaintiff swears true.' You do not rush into either the one extreme or the other; you *do* inquire 'whether plaintiff swears true;' you say to the plaintiff, show a sufficient *primâ facie* case, and, if necessary, we will grant the injunction at once, with liberty to the defendant to move to dissolve it; or you take the less strong step of desiring the plaintiff to give notice to the defendant, and you then hear and decide, not conclusively, but by way of precaution, on hearing the statement on both sides. Why should not the analogy, furnished by the criminal law and by chancery, be adopted in the matter of arrest? Why should not the creditor attend before a proper judge, and show a sufficient *primâ facie* case of debt due, producing his written documents, his books, and papers, to fortify his statement; and, on satisfying the judge, either have a *summons* for the debtor to appear, or, on showing a probable case of contemplated fraud, have a *warrant of arrest, a capias ad respondendum*, in the first instance?"

In the experience of one large association formed for the protection of trade, there have been 80 failures in the last six weeks, and of these, only 2 have passed into the Gazette as bankrupts. During the year 1845, there were 470 cases of failure, while in 1846 there were 700. The officers report that of the bankrupts, nearly all became so on their own petition or by friendly fiats, confirming the testimony of Mr. Fane, that few creditors dare attack by law their non-paying debtors—"only one creditor in eight."

The bill presented by the London committee embodies many great improvements; it was withdrawn only on the understanding that the Government would themselves propose a more comprehensive measure. It dispenses with the need of *personal service*, and provides instead thereof, that a creditor may serve his debtor with an account in writing, setting forth his claim, with a notice thereunto requiring immediate payment thereof, by means of a duly registered letter, sent by the post, a receipt for which shall be given by the Postmaster-General to the creditor, and *this receipt shall be evidence of service*. If payment be not made, the creditor may then make an affidavit that he has sent the notice to his debtor, on which the court is authorised to issue a summons, requiring the appearance of the debtor (a trader.) On this, if the court be not satisfied of the statement made by the debtor, it may require him to give an account of his stock-in-trade, and security for fair dealing with his effects, and accounting for the same at the end of fourteen days; which time may be extended or limited; after which the debtor may be made a bankrupt. These provisions will stop an immense amount of fraud.

Assignees, and creditors who have proved their debts, are to be deemed judgment creditors. It further provides that memorials of bills of sale are to be registered, and if not registered to be invalid against the claims of creditors not parties thereto. Great credit is due to the merchants who laboured on this bill; it alone would immediately reform the Law, though still very short of what is required for the full protection of commercial property against the idle, the extravagant, and the gambler; for whose misconduct a defined series of punishments should be set forth, to be inflicted as part of the procedure of the court, and not left to the jerks and hitches of some new law process, or to the caprice, resentment, or indolence of any creditors; and in cases of gross fraud, the process should be continued before a court of criminal jurisdiction.

Mr. Fane estimates the annual loss by insolvency to be *twenty-five millions*, but on his data we think the gigantic sum

stated by Mr. Elliott of *fifty millions* is nearer the truth; the materials by which this conclusion was obtained were given in a former article. But it must not be omitted that these bad laws cause another considerable loss to the industrious part of the community, the amount of which is also many millions more. Encouraged by them, merchants, manufacturers, and traders engage in reckless competition, and in unprincipled and daring speculations, which they would long hesitate upon if they lived under the stringent accountability of more healthy sanctions.* They try to establish a business, and make a connexion, by reducing profits below a safe level; "Heads, I win, tails, my neighbour loses," is their maxim. Other men cannot and will not be driven out of the market; they are compelled at all hazards to reduce their rate of profit and charges, and in the end one or more must fail in the struggle. The fair and normal rate of profit is passed under. It may be said, what is the normal rate of profit? We answer, that on which a man can live and pay his way; and of that he alone is the *responsible* judge. Competition down to the limit where a man can live and pay is proper, is to be encouraged on the received dogmas of English political economy, and is therefore to be protected. Again, it may be asked, what is to be taken as the test of this normal profit? We answer, *the result*; if it be bankruptcy, it has been a rate of profit below that on which the man can live, which has brought about loss to creditors, and also serious loss and distress upon surrounding fellow-manufacturers and traders, with no more public benefit than the sale of stolen goods. Bad bankruptcy laws have reduced profits abnormally to a serious amount, just as the bad administration of the old poor-laws reduced wages below their natural level (low as that level might have been), because relief out of the poor's rate was given in aid of wages. A man may not *sell labour* for less wages than he can live upon, the difference to be made up either by public contribution, *or* by thieving; nor may a man *sell goods* for less profit than he can live upon, the difference to be made up by contribution from the pockets of his creditors. The law has robbed the middle classes of their due and fair rate of profit by many millions a year. As men buy so do they sell;

* By these laws the working classes suffer severe competition and unjust depression of their wages; increase of local and other taxes, combined with declining profits, suggest every scheme to meet the growing difficulties. The pressure is put on the workman, he must work faster, more hours, and for less wages; all persons in subordinate employment suffer severely enough by legitimate competition; increase of numbers and increase of capital, have not done more to grind the poor workman than has that dishonest competition which has been created and nursed into fearful vigour by bad insolvency laws.

but without regard to buying price, they must also sell as their neighbours sell, and hence the result, Insolvency.

This ought to be no new subject, though as yet the facts remain uncollected; the present Lord Chancellor has promised to codify the bankruptcy laws; we believe him to be most sincere and honest in his intentions, but it must not be disguised that Lord Cottenham has shown himself as ill acquainted with the matter of insolvency as either Lord Brougham, Lord Campbell, or any of those law-reformers who have meddled with the subject. The speeches of Lord Cottenham show, that unless he call to his councils quite another sort of experience and quite another set of philosophers, bankruptcy laws will not be improved by his interference. The evidence is ready to hand, thick as blackberries; London, Manchester, Liverpool, can settle the question in one week; intelligent and honest use is all that is wanted. If Lord Cottenham be really sincere (and there is no reason to doubt him), he will use what has hitherto been done, only to avoid the like; all those wicked contrivances by which rogues triumph will be thrown aside; interim order, final order, protection, double and treble inquiries before the debtor can be taken in hold; he will re-construct the insolvent debtors' court, which by its very name confesses to a whole code of folly, or worse,—a court for the *relief* of insolvent debtors! * That law must be lunatic which requires a court to relieve evil-doers from its own doings; on the day that court was opened, millions of rightly-claimed and hardly-earned treasure were confiscated. Let him do all this, and he will make reform a fact, and not a fraud on the public of England, who have of late known change but as further misappropriation of their money, and further law costs but to pension idlers. Men whose function it is to administer these laws, will then no longer be betrayed into the bitterest invectives against the acts of injustice that they are constrained to execute, or say, "This court, over which I preside, is compelled to release the greatest scoundrel after one year, while some trifling cause disables it from releasing many honest men as long as they live; the greatest rogue who apprehends an arrest can command a protection against it, by calling at the bankrupt office; but if a man already arrested be made bankrupt, the whole force of that court cannot give him even a temporary liberty, though he may have gone through all his examinations with credit, and his honesty be ascertained and even commended."

* Formerly, a man could only avail himself of the relief of this court once in five years; now he can as often as suits his convenience, once in five months!

A Commission should be appointed, with a good staff of assistant-commissioners, to show forth the working of these "vile" English laws (as another judge declared them to be), and to collect not only the laws of foreign nations, but the actual influence of those laws. In a former number we gave an epitome of the French law, which seems admirably constructed; the state of French commercial morality we want to know more about, for the morals of a people are a measure of the excellence of their laws. Let the inquiry be honestly conducted; let the materials for legislation be duly classified, and we have unlimited confidence in the probity of the Lord Chancellor, that he will make an honourable use of the evidence so set before him. Whether as a matter of treasure or of morals, the subject yields to none which have agitated the public of late; if wisely settled, it will preserve millions of money to the rightful claimants, and will maintain multitudes in the condition of comfort and independence who are being now cast into poverty; it will at the same time sustain profits, and maintain wages something above the starvation level.

ART. VII.—*Travels in Lycia, Milyas, and the Cibyratis, in company with the late Rev. E. T. Daniell.* By Lieut. T. A. B. Spratt, R.N., F.G.S., of the Mediterranean Hydrographical Survey; and Professor Edward Forbes, F.R.S., of King's College, London, and the Geological Survey; late Naturalist to H.M. Surveying Ship, Beacon. In two Vols. London: John Van Voorst, Paternoster Row. 1846.

SCARCELY, if at all, inferior to the interest excited by the discovery of a country previously altogether unknown to the rest of the world, is that awakened by the exploration of a region, which, having once held a conspicuous place in history, has, from various causes, gradually fallen from its high estate among the nations of the earth, until, in the lapse of ages, it has become almost as much lost sight of as if it had never existed. In the one case, we are, perhaps, introduced to a new order of being,—a new race of men, with new manners and customs, new animals, new plants; all, indeed, indicating a certain degree of affinity with those we had previously been acquainted with, but all presenting certain unexpected and puzzling peculiarities: in the other, we as probably discover such records of the past, as unmistakeably declare that, in all essential particulars, mankind has ever been the same, and that,

in the workings of the mighty intellect by which man is raised above the brute creation, there is, indeed, "nothing new under the sun."

This is especially the case with a most interesting portion of Asiatic Turkey, comprised in the modern province of Caramania; which, having been for a long period altogether neglected by travellers, and left as a complete blank on the map, has, within the last few years, been snatched from the oblivion into which it had fallen. It is, indeed, strange, that a country so accessible, so near the modern seats of civilization, and possessing such strong claims to notice on the ground of its classical associations, should have been so entirely forgotten. To British enterprise is due the honor of having at length directed attention to this interesting district, and of introducing to the notice of the learned the treasures of antiquity with which it abounds.

We learn from Herodotus, a native of the neighbouring province of Caria, that when Sarpedon was expelled from Crete by his brother, he settled in the Milyadian territory, with the Cretans who accompanied him, and who, under the name of Termilians, were, for some time afterwards, governed by him. On the expulsion of Lycus from Athens, by his brother, Ægeus, he took refuge among the Termilians, who, in the course of time, adopted his name, and were afterwards called Lycians. After the fall of Cræsus, king of Lydia, Cyrus turned his arms against the Lycians: Harpagus, his general, defeated the Carians with ease; the Lycians and Caunians seem to have defended themselves with considerable valor, but were, at length, subdued, and Lycia became a province of the Persian empire; under which it remained until that empire was destroyed by Alexander the Great, who marched into Lycia, and having overcome the Persians, Lycia was annexed to Greece. After which, in the course of time, it fell under the rule of the Romans; and was ultimately conquered by the Turks, in whose possession it now remains.

There is, perhaps, no other country, which, in addition to the peculiar features impressed on it by the hand of nature, possesses so many memorials of the various nations which have successively been its masters. The mountain scenery of Lycia is of the grandest character; and in the numerous sites of its ancient cities, most of which are mentioned by classical writers, we find Roman and Grecian remains profusely scattered among what may possibly have belonged to the earliest inhabitants of the country, together with those works of art more especially termed Lycian, and which there seems good reason for believing were executed by the Persian invaders of the country. Among these relics of anti-

quity frequently occur the ruins of Christian churches, many of which, as the splendid cathedral in the plain of Kassabar, are in very good preservation, and testify by their number that the Christian religion, in this, one of its earliest seats, had obtained a firm footing long before Moslem rule became paramount; since which period, a country that presents decided evidence of having been for ages inhabited by a people enjoying a high degree of civilization, has become comparatively depopulated, and sunk into a state of semi-barbarism.

The following brief account of the progress of discovery in Lycia, is taken chiefly from the introduction to the work whose title we have given above; a work we would particularly recommend to the notice of our readers, as containing the latest information on an highly interesting country, to which, as a field for antiquarian research, attention has only recently been directed.

Previously to the year 1811, Lycia was an almost unexplored country. Dr. Clarke, indeed, had visited Telmessus, and Colonel Leake had determined Antiphellus, and examined Telmessus and some ruins at Kakava, but untoward circumstances prevented those gentlemen from prosecuting their inquiries. In the year 1811, Capt Beaufort, hydrographer to the Admiralty, commenced his researches, the results of which were published by him in his '*Karamania*,' in 1818. Capt. Beaufort made known the sites of Patara and Myra, Antiphellus, Olympus, and Phaselis, that of the Chimæra, and others of less importance. About the same time, Mr. Cockerell visited Lycia, and examined Myra, Limyra, Aperlæ, and one of the cities called Cyanæ: he also discovered the first inscription in the character termed the Lycian. In 1838, Mr. (now Sir Charles) Fellows travelled in Lycia, and again in 1840. During these journeys, his researches led to the "discovery of some of the most important sites in Lycia, especially Xanthus, Tlos, Pinara, Cadyanda, Arycanda, and Sidyma. He determined, also, the position of Cydna, and found, at fewest, six other important ancient sites, to which he assigned the names of Calynda, Massicytus, Phellus, Gagæ, Podalia, and Trabala." Mr. Hoskyn and Mr. Harvey surveyed part of Lycia in 1840 and 1841, without being then aware of Mr. Fellows' second journey. They explored the valley of the Xanthus, visited Cadyanda and Dædala, and discovered Caunus, the capital of Peræa. And in 1841, Mr. Hoskyn and Mr. Forbes "made an excursion into the interior; during which they discovered and fixed the sites of two of the Cibyric cities, Cænoanda and Balbura; and found two others, one of which was probably the ancient Massicytus, and the other, perhaps,

Podalia." An account of these journeys, and a map of the parts of Lycia and Caria then explored, are published in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, for 1843.

In the beginning of January, 1842, H. M. Surveying Ship, *Beacon*, commanded by Capt. Graves, R.N., visited the coast of Lycia, for the purpose of conveying away the remarkable relics of antiquity discovered at Xanthus by Sir Charles Fellows. The authors were attached to the *Beacon*, Lieut. Spratt as assistant-surveyor, and Mr. Forbes as naturalist. They were joined at Smyrna by the Rev. Mr. Daniell, as an amateur, he being anxious to become personally acquainted with Lycian scenery and antiquities, the interest attached to which, at that time, began to be extensively felt. The *Beacon* left Lycia in March, her crew having been employed, during the previous January and February, in excavating among the ruins of Xanthus, and in making preparations for the removal of the antiquities. The three friends wished to employ the interval of her absence, which was expected to be but temporary, in completing an examination of a most interesting country, then only partially explored. Mr. Daniell took charge of the antiquities, Lieut. Spratt of the geographical labours, and Mr. Forbes devoted himself to the natural history department. All three gentlemen were draughtsmen, and Mr. Forbes, in addition to his well-known acquirements in his own line, is an excellent classical scholar.

Thus, there was every promise that the survey would be conducted in the best manner, and that the materials obtained would enable the travellers to furnish a detailed monograph on the civil and natural history of Lycia, as well as to complete the knowledge of the present state of an ancient and important province, attention to which had mainly been directed by the previous discoveries of Capt. Beaufort and Sir Charles Fellows.

"These plans," say the authors, "were doomed to be sadly defeated. The materials were brought together; but not before the member of the party on whom the chief part of the duty of working them out was to devolve, had perished through disease contracted in their pursuit. The occupations of his companions have been such as to prevent them, even if they had been qualified, from endeavouring to fulfil the original intentions. Unwilling, however, that the fruits of a journey undertaken in earnestness and good faith should be buried, they send forth this imperfect narrative; a poor substitute for the work projected, but still, they trust, containing many not unwelcome contributions to ancient and modern geography, and to natural history."—*Introduction*, p. ix.

Whatever might have been the result had the original in-

tention of the authors been fully carried out, the importance and extent of the information conveyed in these volumes render any apology altogether unnecessary: the following summary may be quoted in confirmation. After a sketch of the labours of previous travellers, the authors continue:—

“Our party followed next. Besides the cities of Cibyra and Termessus Major, already mentioned, we were so fortunate as to find and fix the sites of Rhodiapolis, Candyba, Sura, the three cities called Cyanaë, Phellus, Edebessus, Acalissus, Gagæ, Bubon, Lagbe, and Lagon. The Gagæ of Fellows, we found to be Corydalla; his Massicytus, Araxa; and his Phellus, not that city, but, with scarcely a doubt, Pyrrha. We found, also, several other ancient cities of importance, and especially two, which we have referred to Apollonia and Mandrapolis. We traced the marches of Alexander the Great, and of the consul Manlius, through Lycia. Mr. Daniell, alone, visited Selge, Syllium, Marmora, Perge, and Lyrbe, and some other better-known sites in Pamphylia, during a journey which was terminated by his premature death at Adalia, whither he had accompanied Mr. Purdie, the newly appointed consul, after parting from us at Rhodes, and returning to Lycia. He fell a victim to the malignant malaria fever of the country, contracted by lingering too long among the unhealthy marshes of the Pamphylian coast, when too anxious to complete his researches. His last days were spent in the house of his friend Mr. Purdie, who tended him with unremitting care and kindness during his sad illness. His remains were buried beneath an ancient granite column in the court of a Greek church, in the centre of the town of Adalia. A tablet to his memory has been erected near his tomb, by his affectionate and grieving relatives. A true and kind heart, a clear and strong head, exquisite and cultivated taste, and fine imagination, were combined in our dear and deeply lamented friend.”—p. xiv.

The justice of the above tribute to the memory of an amiable and talented man, will, we are sure, be acknowledged by all who enjoyed the advantage of an acquaintance with the lamented subject.

One of the most pleasing features of the present work is the scrupulous fidelity with which the labours and discoveries of all preceding explorers of this highly interesting district are acknowledged by the authors. They point out how far they were indebted to the published investigations of Capt. Beaufort, Dr. Clarke, Colonel Leake, Sir C. Fellows, and others who had preceded them in the same ground; and, after modestly stating what they themselves have added to the existing amount of knowledge of the various localities, candidly confess that a vast field yet remains for the labours of subsequent inquirers. This is as it should be; and such a course can but increase our confi-

dence in the good faith of those who have adopted it. Such a tract of country, once holding an important place in history, then so long neglected, and now recently brought into notice as a field for research of the most interesting character, must, of necessity, afford for years to come plenty of occupation for the most enthusiastic and diligent explorers of its numerous relics of former grandeur. And considering how little progress has even yet been made towards a full knowledge of its antiquarian treasures, it may be naturally anticipated that each successive explorer will find much room for correction and addition in the labours of his predecessors.

It would far exceed our limits did we attempt to give anything like a connected detail of the travellers' route, or a description, however brief, of the numerous objects of the highest interest which they daily fell in with during their progress from one classic site to another. Remains of Lycian, Grecian, Roman, and Christian erections, mingled with the curious rock-tombs, invited their examination at almost every step; in some places the inscriptions revealed the ancient denomination of a city, which, in by-gone days, was thought worthy of being embalmed in the pages of the historian—in others no such indication could be found; but nearly all the sites furnished more or less valuable material which well repaid research.

Previously to the departure of the Beacon from Makri, the exploring party made several excursions through the country around Mount Cragus and the valley of the Xanthus; an interesting account of these prefaces that of the longer journey into the interior. Capt. Graves, the commander of the Beacon, accompanied the party in their visit to the site of the ancient Pinara, "the grandest of all the ruined cities of Lycia," which is thus described:—

"Our expectation had been greatly raised respecting this wonderful city, by the account of it which we had received from Mr. Hoskyn, who had told us that it was the finest of all those in the valley of the Xanthus; and the little sketch given by its discoverer had also excited our curiosity; but the reality far exceeded both the report and the picture. At about a quarter of an hour's walk from the village, we suddenly came upon a magnificent view of the ancient city, seated in a rocky recess of mount Cragus. A stupendous tower of rock, faced by a perpendicular precipice, perforated with a thousand tombs, and crowned by ruined fortifications, rose out of a deep ravine, which was thronged with ruins and sarcophagi, and intersected by ridges bearing the more important edifices. Dark precipitous mountains of the grandest outlines overhung the whole. After gazing with astonishment at this wondrous scene, we plunged among the

maze of ruins, making a hurried ramble through them, so as to become acquainted with the localities of the site, intending to pay future visits, for the purpose of more minute exploration. We first visited a fine theatre, excavated in the side of a woody hill, fronting the city. The Lycian theatres are invariably so placed as to command a grand prospect, or when by the sea-side, a broad expanse of ocean. For a scene of rocky magnificence, none of them could vie with the theatre of Pinara. Opposite the theatre are the remains of a building of much later times, with Ionic columns, some of which are double, and have the fluting grooved in a coating of cement. Close by, are several very fine arch-lidded tombs, with Lycian inscriptions. Above is the lower acropolis, a long ridge of buildings, many of them of Cyclopean architecture. Among them is a small theatre or odeum, and a gigantic portal, shattered, apparently by an earthquake. We then ascended to the base of the rock of the greater acropolis, finding on our way a remarkable group of sarcophagi. They are arranged so as to form a square, round an enormous central sarcophagus, with a pedestal-formed summit. This sarcophagus was the largest we met with in Lycia. Its interior is remarkable, the sides being surrounded by a projecting ledge or shelf. The tombs of the square bear no inscriptions, but are peculiarly ornamented, the cement which covers their sides being scored so as to represent the appearance of a regularly-built stone wall, exactly as we sometimes see on plastered houses at home. The stone at Pinara, though hard and durable, being a conglomerate, is not favorable for inscriptions; and the ancient inhabitants seem to have been in the habit of coating it with a fine mortar, or cement, and on that carving the letters. We ascended the acropolis rock by the only pass, a steep and difficult path cut on its side. On its level but sloping summit we found the remains of many fortifications and cisterns, not, however, of the most ancient architecture. Such parts of the margin as were in any way accessible were strongly defended by walls. On the highest part of the summit is an isolated fortification, or stronghold, furnished with tanks, and surrounded by a ditch. The view from this is very grand, whether upward, among the gloomy gorges of Anticragus, or forward, over the fertile plains of the Xanthus, and the snowy ridges of Massicytus. The tombs which perforate the perpendicular face of this gigantic rock are oblong holes, occasionally with a semicircular top. They are mostly irregularly arranged, but occasionally form perpendicular rows. There are no traces of panels or doors to their entrances. They must have been excavated by workmen suspended from the summit. They are now inaccessible, and are the dwelling-places of eagles.

"Descending from the rock, and passing the quadrangle of tombs before mentioned, we came to the remains of an early Christian church, at the head of a deep, dark, and narrow ravine, walled by the precipitous rocks of the lower acropolis, and filled with oleanders and chaste-trees. In this gloomy depth are many very perfect and beautiful

rock-tombs, hewn in imitation of wooden buildings, and bearing on their ledges carved and painted Lycian inscriptions. On the front of the same ridge of rock, in that part facing the valley, are still larger and finer rock-tombs, some of which Urook families had adopted as their winter habitations. Some of these are temple-tombs, with sculptured pediments; and on one are the curious representations of the walls and buildings of an ancient city, figured by Fellows."—p. 7.

Casts of these sculptures are now in the British Museum, being part of the collection brought from Lycia in 1843-4. The above particulars of the remains of the city of King Pandarus, will give a tolerably accurate idea of the general features of most of the ancient Lycian cities. These differ in extent, but agree in a great measure in the character of the ruins. The theatre is almost invariably present; and rock tombs, sarcophagi, remains of temples, walls, and other buildings are, for the most part, abundant; elucidatory inscriptions are, however, frequently wanting.

The following short notice of the site of Xanthus, whence the marbles now in the British Museum were brought, is interesting.

"The site of Xanthus, though beautiful, is not imposing. The hill on which it stands rises abruptly from a level plain, in some places marshy and alluvial. The rapid torrent of the river rushes along the base of the steep precipices of a lower acropolis, at the back of which are the theatre and several of the more remarkable monuments, especially the square columnar tomb, which bore the bas-reliefs descriptive of the story of the daughters of Pandarus, now in the British Museum, and that on which is the longest Lycian inscription known. Above them rises a second rocky eminence, the upper acropolis, the summit of which is mostly occupied by the ruins of an early Christian monastery. On the south-western slope of the city are several remarkable sarcophagi and other tombs, including the tomb of Payara, figured in the frontispiece to Fellows's first tour. Elevated on platforms of rock, immediately above the plain, stood a group of temples, of which the friezes and statues, now in the British Museum, were the principal ornaments."—p. 14.

The greater portion of the Xanthian marbles now in the British Museum, were exhumed during the months of February and March, 1842, under the eye of Sir Charles Fellows. The following extract, in relation to the operations then carried on, is exceedingly interesting, as illustrating the enthusiastic feelings which animated the parties engaged in the explorations.

"Whilst we were there, these sculptures were daily dug out of the earth, and brought once more to view. The search for them was intensely exciting; and in the enthusiasm of the moment, our

admiration of their art was, perhaps, a little beyond their merits. As each block of marble was uncovered, and the earth carefully brushed away from its surface, the form of some fair Amazon or stricken warrior, of an eastern king or a besieged castle, became revealed, and gave rise to many a pleasant discussion as to the sculptor's art therein displayed, or the story in the history of the ancient Xanthians therein represented, conversations which all who took part in will ever look back upon as among the most delightful in their lives. Often, after the work of the day was over, and the night had closed in, when we had gathered round the log fire in the comfortable Turkish cottage which formed the head-quarters of the party, we were accustomed to sally forth, torch in hand, Charles Fellows as cicerone, to cast a midnight look of admiration on some spirited battle-scene or headless Venus, which had been the great prize of the morning's work."—p. 15.

On a conical rock in the valley of Dembra were found intermixed numerous memorials of the different people who at various times have inhabited the site.

"On reaching the summit a magnificent view presented itself over the confined gorge on the other side, and also the valley of Kassabar. The walls inclosing the summit are principally of middle-age construction. They are interrupted by octagonal towers, and built with small stones and mortar, but so well cemented and put together as to remain almost perfect, and to present a smooth external surface, which deceived Sir C. Fellows on viewing them from below, since he calls them Greek. Within the fortress are several large cisterns and portions of wall of both Hellenic and Cyclopean work, showing that it was also well fortified in earlier days. The principal part of the town, of which this appears to have been merely the acropolis, was situated below, on the ground intervening between the two rivers. Attracted by some ruins, visible from the summit, we descended; these we found were also of two ages, viz., rock-tombs and marble fragments, indicative of the Greek, but more numerous and scattered remains of middle-age date, consisting of foundations of walls, and a large Christian cathedral, of early Byzantine architecture, one of the most interesting and picturesque as well as best preserved ruins in Lycia. This very beautiful building had escaped Sir C. Fellows, who passed within two or three hundred yards of it. It is a noble fabric, and one which excited, on examination, a deep interest. It is but little incommoded by rubbish and bushes, so that we were enabled to place ourselves at once, without difficulty, under the lofty dome in the centre or body of the church, and survey its interior, where the noisy chat of a disturbed jackdaw, as it took wing through a large aperture in the vaulted roof, was the only sound to break the solemn stillness then reigning within this impressive ruin. Its eastern end is terminated by a semicircle, interrupted by long windows, the tall stone and brick pillars between them standing

disconnected, their arches above having broken down. The greater part of this cathedral, however, still remains perfect; and it was pleasing to see the tenacity with which stone, brick, and mortar had so long held together against the ravages of time, and through which, in all probability, will be preserved yet many ages, this venerable relic of early days, when Christianity flourished in the country. We had entered Lycia with a thirst for relics of the earlier days of its history. Lycian tombs, Lycian monuments, and Lycian cities, were the principal objects of our search; but here that interest was unexpectedly arrested, and the solemn grandeur of the old and solitary Christian church, towering above pagan temple and Moslem mosque, excited a warmer and healthier admiration, though its age was comparatively modern, and its architecture barbarous"—p. 103.

St. Paul, when on his journey to Rome, changed ship at Myra; and although there is no direct evidence as the period when Christianity was first planted here, it is probable that the apostle availed himself of the opportunity afforded by this visit. Be this as it may, Myra was, for some centuries, the capital of the bishopric of Lycia; and as at Myra itself no remains of a cathedral were observed, the authors consider that the ruins above described are those of "the head church of this diocese, planted here from motives of seclusion and security." No inscriptions were found, although every rock-tomb was examined with the greatest care.

At Myra, a day was devoted to the examination of the ruins, and the rock-tombs are thus highly spoken of:—

"The greater number [of the sepulchres] are of that striking and elegant form peculiar to Lycia, having square mullions and empanelled fronts, ornamented with flat projecting ledges, carved beneath in elegant imitation of rafters of wood supporting a roof. The whole presents the most unique and picturesque assemblage of rock-tombs in Lycia, and they have been considered as a group superior to any in Petra, by a traveller who had seen both localities. We separated, as usual, to examine the inscriptions, and, after collating the two or three copied by Sir C. Fellows, we were so fortunate as to find several others, both Greek and Lycian, that had never before been copied. More interesting than a hundred funeral inscriptions was one scratched or notched in the wall of the antechamber of a rock-tomb, by some Greek lover of old. It proclaimed his passion,—*"Moschus loves Philiste, the daughter of Demetrius."* From these rock-tombs we literally stepped into the theatre, which is overlooked and joined by some of them,—a strange and unnatural union, the play-house married to the grave—the play-goer resting against the house of death, whilst gazing on the most vivid of the recreations of life."—p. 130.

This theatre was of very large size, being 360 feet in diameter;

the rows of seats are nearly all perfect, and the arena is now a corn-field. Much of the proscenium is still standing, the wings of which "were ornamented with polished granite columns, surmounted by Corinthian capitals of white marble," one of them being still in its place.

In their route from Gagæ to Adalia, the rock-tombs, which form so distinctive a feature in Lycian scenery, were not observed beyond "the summit of the ridge of mountains separating the plain of Phincka, from the east coast of Lycia:" two were then met with, which are thus referred to:—

"We could hear of no ruins connected with the tombs just mentioned, which are interesting as the last examples of true Lycian rock-tombs, occurring in the eastern parts of Lycia. Those seen at Rhodiapolis were the only other examples of these remarkable sepulchres met with eastward of the Allagheer Tch. The rarity and eventual absence of them as we advance into the district of the Solymi, the country which the aborigines of Lycia were said more especially to have inhabited, is an important fact bearing upon the history of the people who constructed them, and would go far to show that they were the work of the Persian conquerors, whose favorite abodes were in the rich valleys of maritime Lycia, where almost exclusively such monuments are to be found."—p. 189.

The next place of any consequence visited was Phaselis, the ruins of which town have been fully described by Captain Beaufort. The former importance of the ancient city is attested by the two artificial ports, the theatre, and the numerous ruins of great buildings; these, however, would seem to indicate a different origin from that of the cities previously investigated, for here were met with "no traces of the peculiar tombs and inscriptions of Lycia."

But if, in this respect, the country upon which the travellers had now entered was less interesting than that they had just left, its historical importance was in no wise diminished, as will be seen from the following detail of events connected with Phaselis and the district beyond it.

"The great interest attached to Phaselis, and to the country through which we were now about to pass, depends on their connexion with the history of Alexander the Great, and the progress of his army through this part of Asia Minor. Arrian relates that 'Alexander having happily accomplished the conquest of Xanthus, and about thirty other cities of Lycia, marched from thence in the very depth of winter, into Milyas, a province so named, which properly belonged to Phrygia the Greater, but, by the command of Darius, was made contributory to Lycia. Hither came the ambassadors of the Phaselitæ, who requested his friendship, and presented him

with a crown of gold. Hither, also, the cities of Lower Lycia sent ambassadors, and entered into amity with him. He thereupon ordered them to deliver up their cities to those whom he despatched thither for that purpose, which was accordingly done. He then passed into the province of Phaselis, which he reduced, with a certain fort built there by the Pisidians, who from thence made frequent incursions into the country.'

"The route of the army from Xanthus we are enabled to trace from our knowledge of the features of the country, and take it to have been by the mountain plain of Almalee, through the valley of Arycanda, down to the plain of Limyra. For, in the depth of winter, the season in which he marched through it, no other line is open or practicable. As the Termessians, who were hostile to him, possessed the passes from Milyas into the Pamphylian plain, he was of necessity obliged to adopt this mountainous and circuitous route to reach it,—a line of march which, however, would have been far more difficult than the former, had the inhabitants opposed his progress, instead of receiving him with open arms, as their friend and deliverer. Of the situation of the Pisidian fort taken by him, we can form no conjecture, having seen no remains near Phaselis to correspond with such a position. The historian, in his twenty-seventh chapter, continues to describe the course of the army from Phaselis to the Pamphylian plain. It proceeded in two divisions. The king, in person, led one coastwards *through the sea*, according to Plutarch, by the straits called the 'Ladders' (an appellation very appropriate), to the coast at the foot of Mount Climax seawards, described by Captain Beaufort, as presenting 'a succession of projecting cliffs which would have been difficult to surmount, but round which the men would readily pass by wading through the water.' The second division marched by a much more circuitous route over the mountains, to avoid the dangers and difficulties of the Climax. According to Arrian, the Thracians led the way as guides. This statement has been a source of difficulties to modern commentators on the life of Alexander, as it seems strange that the Thracians should have been chosen as guides in a country so far distant from their own. A chief object with us, in visiting Phaselis, was to trace from thence the course of the second division of Alexander's army; to find a mountain route, which, by avoiding the rugged knot of mountains forming Climax, would eventually lead us into the Pamphylian plain. On inquiring, at Tekerova, about the existence of such a pass, we were told of a mountain road, passing near Sarahagik, and a Turk, who happened fortunately to be going that way, offered to be our guide."—p. 197.

In pursuing this route, the travellers entered a mountain gorge of very grand character, the cliffs on each side of which towered to the height of above two thousand feet, and overhung the bed of the torrent rushing through the narrow pass between them. After following this mountain road for some distance,

they reached the summit of the pass, at an elevation of about 4,500 feet above the level of the sea. From this spot three valleys descended in different directions. Through one of these called Tchandeer valley, separating Climax from Baraketdagh, is the pass into the plain of Adalia, and is considered by the authors to be the route by which Alexander's army reached Pamphylia. Here are situated the ruins of a city, which are thus spoken of.

"This day has been devoted to a careful examination of the ruins of Sarahagik, which are about an hour's ride from our halting-place. We sought in vain among the many inscribed tombs there for any certain clue to the name of the ruined city. It is probable, however, that, to one of two recorded cities, Marmora or Apollonia, this site may be referred. The former was a fortress or town, on a lofty rock, taken by Alexander when passing the Lycian frontier, and mentioned by Diodorus and Arrian. The latter was a city of Lycia, founded by a colony from Thrace. A coin with the legend ΑΠΟΛΑ: COΛ: ΑΥΚ is mentioned by Mr. Arundel. The letters ΑΠ: in one of the inscriptions we copied, may possibly be an abbreviation of the name of the town. This conjecture is founded on a passage in Arrian. In that author's history, it is stated that the guides who led the second division of Alexander's army—that part of it which marched to Pamphylia by the mountain route—were Thracians. Why Thracians should have been selected to conduct the troops through this out-of-the-way part of Lycia, has been a point of difficulty to translators and commentators, which some have got over by supposing that Thracian pioneers of the army, who cleared the road for its advance, were intended, and not guides, selected on account of their knowledge of the country, as the original text would seem to imply. But if the ruined city at Sarahagik be Appollonia, the Thracian colony, the difficulty of the passage vanishes; for, than the inhabitants of this city, whoever they were, no fitter guides could have been chosen through these mountain passes, in the very centre of which they lived. Moreover, this would account for the unopposed march of the army through this dangerous and easily defended pass, which could hardly have been the case had the people of the city in question been unfriendly, as, were it Marmora, they would have been, seeing that the latter fortress or town was hostile to Alexander, and besieged and taken by him. This view respecting the connexion of the city at Sarahagik with the Thracian guides of Alexander's army, interesting as tending to illustrate an obscure point in the history of the great conqueror, was suggested by Mr. Daniell on the spot."—p. 203.

Proceeding onwards, the travellers, through the reports of the country people, were induced to visit the remains of a "castle" about a mile from Tchandeer, which, from the description,

they fancied might be the ruins of Olbia. These ruins, however,

"Proved to be the remains of a large and irregular fortress, much of which still stood entire, leading the people around to exaggerate their importance, for they presented not the slightest traces of ancient architecture. The site is a very grand one, and the view from it superb, overlooking a wide expanse of the Pamphylian plain, and extending to the Pisidian mountains. This prospect of the pass and its entrance entirely removed any doubts we might have had respecting the identity of the route we were travelling with that followed by the army of the Macedonian hero."—p. 206.

The disappointment experienced on finding these ruins of so little importance, led to the neglect of others on the opposite side of the valley; but which were subsequently visited by Mr. Daniell, who found them of great interest; these are supposed to indicate the true site of Marmora.

The next halting-place of the travellers was Adalia, which "is the largest and most important city on the southern coast of Asia Minor," with a population of about 13,000, 3,000 of whom are Greeks. From the numerous relics of antiquity, indicative of the former extent and importance of the city, the authors are disposed to adopt Col. Leake's opinion, that Adalia is the modern representative of the ancient Attaleia (a city founded by Attalus Philadelphus), in opposition to that of Capt. Beaufort and Dr. Cramer, who regarded it as the site of Olbia, probably from an insufficient examination. This opinion was further strengthened by the fact, that Attaleia was formerly the principal sea-port of Asia Minor, as Adalia is now; the ancient bishopric of Attaleia is also still retained in Adalia, and the change of name is very slight indeed. These considerations strengthened the authors' opinion of Adalia being the site of Attaleia, and led them to conclude that they would find evidence of the site of Olbia on the Lycian side of that city. Attention was therefore directed to the solution of this question.

"In passing along the shore, on our way to Adalia, we had seen traces of ruins near the Arab Soo river. To these we directed our course; but instead of descending to the sea-side, rode westward, over the rocky plain. At about three miles and a half from Adalia we suddenly found our horses treading on the foundations of a massive wall. Following its course northwards, we found its termination at the edge of the cliff, over a narrow ravine, seventy or eighty feet deep, through which flowed the Arab Soo. The southern extremity of the wall ended in like manner at the edge of the precipice, forming the southern boundary of the plain, so as to cut off a spur or promontory of the elevated flat, precipitous at three sides, and thus easily

convertible into a strongly fortified position. The length of the great wall is not more than two hundred yards, and the foundations are of the unusual breadth of fourteen feet, and built of squared uncemented blocks of great dimensions. The entrance or gateway was evident at the southern extremity of this massive substructure, where are also visible, for several yards on either side, deep ruts of cart or chariot wheels, worn in the bare travertine rock."—p. 215.

But few ancient remains were found in the area thus bounded; but everything seems to have been done to strengthen the position, and rock-tombs of undoubted antiquity exist in the immediate neighbourhood. All these indications seem to agree with the site of Olbia, "a fortress of great strength," the position of which is spoken of by Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy, as being before Attaleia, at the beginning of Pamphylia. Certain difficulties in the way of this conclusion exist in connexion with the river Catarrhactes, which is described by ancient authors as falling with great noise over a high rock, between Olbia and Attaleia: whereas, in the present day, there are only several small separate streams of no great size. Captain Beaufort himself seems to solve the difficulty in the following passage, though inclined to look upon the modern Adalia as the ancient Olbia.

"The water of those streams is so highly impregnated with calcareous particles, as to be reckoned unfit for man or beast; and, near some of the mills, we observed large masses of stalactites and petrifications. Now the broad and high plain which stretches to the eastward of the city terminates in abrupt cliffs along the shore: these cliffs are above a hundred feet high, and considerably overhang the sea, not in consequence of their base having crumbled away, but from their summit projecting in a lip, which consists of parallel laminae, each jutting out beyond its inferior layer, as if water had been continually flowing over them, and continually forming fresh accretions. It is therefore not impossible that this accumulation may have gradually impeded the course of that body of water which had once formed here a magnificent fall, and may have thus forced it to divide into various channels."—p. 219.

The following observations on the preceding quotation, from Captain Beaufort's '*Karamania*,' are geologically interesting:—

"The very correct solution which Captain Beaufort here gives of the difficulty respecting the present appearance of the Catarrhactes, applies equally to its present place, and depends on the geological structure of this part of Pamphylia, the rivers of which, charged with calcareous matter, are continually depositing calc tufa, and changing their beds; so that, two or three centuries hence, their courses will, in all probability, be as different from those they now run as their

present beds are from their ancient; even the present disposition of the streams differs from that described by Captain Beaufort, doubtless having altered since his visit. Hence the chief argument in favor of the non-identification of Adalia with Attaleia, and the placing of Olbia at the former site, can be allowed to have no weight in deciding the question."—p. 220.

The importance of Adalia, as a station to the traveller who wishes to explore the southern part of Asia Minor, is thus spoken of :—

"It is easily reached from Rhodes, where steamers call twice a month on their way from Smyrna to Syria. With Lycia on the one side, and Cilicia and Pamphylia on the other, the traveller is in the midst of ruins unequalled in interest and preservation, a great number of which, especially those of Cilicia, are as yet but very imperfectly known."—p. 222.

Being especially anxious to explore the upland part and boundaries of Lycia, where the sites of Termessus, Cibyra, and other important cities yet remained probably unvisited, the travellers resolved to leave unexplored the remains in the neighbourhood of Adalia, and to retrace their steps to the Solymian mountains, where they hoped to find the ruins of Termessus, one of the largest and most important cities in the south of Asia Minor. Arrian's description is quoted by way of rendering more clear the geography of their route; but this we must pass over, in order to give entire the description of the discovery of Termessus, perhaps the most interesting portion of the whole narrative. General Köhler, in 1800, as recorded by Colonel Leake, in taking a northern course through the plain, from Adalia to Shugut, reached a pass where there were extensive remains of a fortified city, which seems to be considered by modern writers as identifying the site of Termessus. But these remains are situated at the foot of a mountain pass, whilst Arrian, in his minute description of the ancient Termessus and its people, says expressly, that "they occupy a city situated on a high mountain, steep, and rugged on every side, so that the passage up to it is difficult." Another site for Termessus, more in accordance with the description of a city on a hill, was therefore to be sought for; and our travellers accordingly left Adalia in quest of it, taking a north-west course, by the Pacha's road, towards the Gulelook pass, where they had been informed they would find ruins. At a distance of about three miles from the pass, they took up their abode in what their guide called the Eski (old) Khan, a large "quadrangular building, constructed of squared blocks of calcsinter, each marked with a masonic monogram." This khan was surrounded by ruins, the most

singular features of which are "the aqueducts, which intersect the city in all directions, and are formed of solid walls from eight to ten feet high." From the inscription *ΠΟΤΑΜΟΣ ΛΑΓΟΝΙΩΝ* on a pedestal at one end of a cistern, it seems probable these ruins are those of Lagon, though out of the position generally assigned to that city.

Bending their course, on leaving Lagon, to the Gulelook, the most northern of the two passes which open into the plain of Adalia from the Solymian mountains, the travellers followed the course of a dry torrent-bed until they reached the foot of the hills at the entrance of the pass, where their expectations were raised by "the appearance of ancient fortifications, crowning an eminence on their left; and of a fine Hellenic tower at the foot of the mountain on the right." But here we must allow them to describe the discovery in their own way.

"The valley became more and more confined. We were evidently entering an important pass; every here and there were traces of fortifications: suddenly, in the narrowest part of the gorge, we came upon a range of perfect and admirably built Hellenic walls, stretching across it, fortified by towers, and passable only by the ancient and narrow pathway. The fortifications mentioned by Arrian, the pass through which the army of Alexander marched, seemed before us, and at every turn we expected to see the walls of Termessus. Our guide pointed to the summit of the mountain above us, and said he had heard of ruins there. About a mile beyond the gateway, we reached a *khan*, consisting of three stone buildings, and a coffee-house, kept by Turkish soldiers, acting as guards to the pass. Here we put up for the night, not a little gratified by the assurance given us by one of these men, that the report of ruins on the neighbouring mountain was true.

"Early in the morning we commenced the ascent of the mountain, to seek for the ruined city. The first part was over steep and rocky ground, but after a time we came upon an ancient roadway, leading towards an opening in the mountain side between two towering rocky peaks. Following this road, which was buried in trees, and encumbered by underwood, for an hour and a half, we suddenly came upon two ancient guard-houses, almost perfect, one on either side of the way. We did not linger to trace any connecting wall, but hurried anxiously on with sanguine expectations. For nearly a mile we met with no other traces of ruins, some sarcophagi were at length discovered among the thicket, and near them, on the face of a great rock, were carved in large letters, the words *ΠΑΤΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ*.

"Suddenly, after crossing a low wall, we emerged from the thicket, and entered an open and flat area between the two great rocks, and walled in by inaccessible precipices. On it ruins were profusely scattered; numerous built tombs and sarcophagi, fallen buildings of large size, and a temple, the ornamented doorway of which still stood,

fronted by a goodly flight of steps. Fluted columns of large dimensions lay strewed in fragments upon the ground. Unwilling to delay until we had ascertained the full extent of the city, after a hasty glance we proceeded to the upper end of the platform. Here the valley became more contracted, and a strong and perfect wall was thrown across it. Within this, ruins of nobler style and more perfect preservation appeared, especially a palatial building of great extent, having numerous doors and windows, and almost perfect to the roof; like the others, it was constructed of rectangular blocks of limestone, without intervening cement; before us, on what appeared to be the mountain top, a third wall appeared, to which we ascended, expecting to find the acropolis. Hitherto we had met with no mention of the city in any of the inscriptions, but, on ascending to the last mentioned wall, we came upon an inscribed pedestal, which assured us we were in Termessus, a name shouted out by the finders with no small delight, and echoed by the old rocks, as if in confirmation. It must have been new to them after having rested so long unspoken. On reaching the third wall, our surprise was great at finding that hitherto we had been wandering as it were only in the vestibule of the city, and that Termessus itself was yet to come, built on the mountain top, even as Arrian has recorded. It stood on a platform, surrounded by a natural wall of crags, three to four hundred feet high, except on the east, where it terminated in a tremendous precipice, diving into a deep gorge, opening into the Pamphylian plain.

“After crossing the third wall, our attention was first attracted by an avenue, bordered on each side by a close row of pedestals, terminated at each end by public buildings, apparently temples. These pedestals were almost all inscribed, and the inscriptions in good preservation. One of them was of peculiar interest, confirming this site as Termessus Major, ΤΕΡΜΗΣΣΕΩΝΤΩΝ ΜΕΙΣΩΝΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ.

“Above the avenue to the west, appears to have been the habitable portion of the city,—the buildings there, which are all fallen, having the aspect of the remains of dwelling-houses. To the south and east the ground is covered by public edifices, many in tolerable preservation, others prostrate,—all of substantial architecture. In the centre is an open levelled space, which from an inscription proved to be the Agora. In the midst of it stands an isolated rock, about fifteen feet high, surmounted by a plain sarcophagus, below which, at the head of a flight of steps, hewn out of a rock, is a recess with a seat (a Bema?). There are also niches for votive tablets. The area of the Agora is undermined by extensive cisterns, the roofs of which are supported by massive pillars and arches. This area seems, during the middle ages, to have been inclosed by the walls and cells of a monastery, one of the very few remains of Christian origin at this site. Termessus was the seat of an episcopal see. Around the Agora are the most important public buildings; the most perfect of these is a great square erection with highly finished walls, ornamented with Doric pilasters, and having only two windows, placed high up. A smaller and similar

building stands behind the larger, the most prominent object among the ruins, and by its side a second, in front of which are two pedestals, bearing inscriptions, one in honour of Plato, who appears to have been held in high esteem by the Termessians, and the other dedicated to the Muses, of whom this was probably the temple. By the side of the Agora, and on the left of the great square building, are the fallen remains of a Doric temple, apparently (from an inscription) dedicated to the sun. Some of the blocks are of Parian marble, and are fragments of sculptured friezes. A search and excavation among them would probably lead to the discovery of many works of art."—p. 231.

The authors give a minute description of the theatre, and state that it is well preserved. Most of the existing ruins at Termessus, as well as the rock tombs, are of Roman date. It is rather singular that the name of the city was not found in any of the funeral inscriptions examined; but these are said to be so numerous, that many days would be required to copy the whole.

In their journey from Termessus, through Milyas and the Cibyratis, in the route of the Roman army under Manlius, the travellers spent three days at Stenez, a scattered village about 3,500 feet above the sea-level. One day was spent in a visit to the site of an ancient city, close by the village. No inscription was found to enable them to determine the name of this city; but in Livy's account of the march of Manlius, the authors believe they have a clue, which enables them to identify it as Mandropolis, which was a city on the mountain route, between Cibyra and Termessus, near the marsh Calaris: the situation of the ruins referred to agrees with the description; and the supposition is moreover supported by the probable etymology of the word Mandropolis.

"If it be derived from *μανδρα* (a sheepfold) and *πολις*, the name would apply to Stenez at the present day, the plains about it being entirely devoted to the pasturing of sheep and goats, for which the short sweet herbage is best fitted, and studded with folds—*mandries*, as they are still styled throughout Greece, and by the Greeks of Asia Minor."—p. 248.

A large lake, or rather marsh, was afterwards met with, which would seem to be the lake Caralis, or Caralitis, by the side of which the army of Manlius encamped on their route to Mandropolis. It was an expanse of water, choked with reeds and rushes, being in character very different from the true upland lakes, and accounting for the term *palus* applied to it by Livy. A mountain brook, twenty feet broad, and one foot deep, was

crossed further on, which answered to the description of the Caulares.

As the authors approached Horzoom, they looked out anxiously for signs of "ruins, having made sure of finding the site of Cibyra in this locality." They, however, saw none until directed by the villagers to a spot close by, where were found the remains of a great city, which, as they had anticipated, proved to be those of Cibyra.

The authors make the remark that "in Lower Lycia, where wood abounds, stone is carved in imitation of wood-work;" on the other hand, in Cibyra, the "Birmingham of Asia," many fragments are made to imitate iron-work. "Iron ores are plentiful around the Cibyratic plain, and Strabo states that the Cibyratæ excelled in engraving on iron.

The travellers next visited Ebajik, where they expected to find the site of the ancient Bubon, which, they say, "would complete our knowledge of the Cibyratic tetrapolis, Cenoanda and Balbura having been identified by Mr. Hoskyn, and Cibyra by ourselves." A guide conducted them to—

"The foot of a steep conical hill, about a mile south of the village, where many hewn blocks and several broken sarcophagi indicated the neighbourhood of an ancient site. The city we found on the hill-side, and an inscribed pedestal, on which the words BOY-BONEQN H BOYAH KAI O ΔΗΜΟΣ, forming a part of a long inscription in which Bubon was twice made mention of, left no doubt respecting its name. The inscription itself is very interesting, on account of its recording public honors paid to a certain matron of Bubon, for her good services in multiplying the number of young Bubonians. The ruins are of no great extent or architectural interest."—p. 264.

As the two theatres of Balbura present some curious features, a description of them may be interesting.

"There are two theatres: one is placed on the south side of the acropolis hill, so as to command a fine prospect, its diameter is one hundred and two feet. The rows of seats are sixteen, and are curiously interrupted in the centre by a great mass of the solid rock, remaining in its natural ruggedness. At first sight, it appeared as if this theatre had never been completed, but a closer examination showed that the terminations of the seats were closely and carefully adapted to the irregularities of the projecting rock, and that its centre is hollowed out, as if for a chair or throne. The effect of this strange and unique arrangement is highly picturesque. In front of the theatre, occupying the place of a proscenium, is a platform of the same level with the arena, and faced by a high wall of polygonal masonry, strengthened by buttresses; a fine specimen of its kind, and

in beautiful preservation. The other theatre is equally remarkable; it is placed in a hollow in the front of the mountain, on the south side of the stream. The arena, which is one hundred and fifty feet in diameter, massive and vaulted, is the only part built. The hollow in the mountain side formed the cavea, and the projecting ledges of rocks, the more prominent of which are hewn into rude seats, served to support the spectators."—p. 269.

When CENOANDA was visited by Mr. Hoskyn and Mr. Forbes, during the previous autumn, they found no theatre there; on their present visit, the authors made a scrutinizing search for one among the thickets, and their search was crowned by success. They discovered the theatre, built in the hollow of a hill, but so buried among the trees and bushes that they had passed it many times before they found it.

Whilst engaged in exploring

"Cragon, et Limyren, Xanthique undas,"

it was to be expected that they would pay some attention to another classical subject, ere, like CAUNUS, they quitted a locality where—

"Chimæra jugo mediis in partibus ignem,
Pectus et ora lææ, caudam serpentis habebat."

Accordingly, when at Sidyma, in Mount CRAGUS, they made anxious inquiries after "live Lycian lions, necessary elements in the construction of the Chimæra in its popular form," but without success, for neither here nor in any other part of CRAGUS could they hear of any, though leopards inhabit the mountains. But they were more fortunate with regard to the flames vomited by the monster; for

"Not far from the Deliktash, on the side of a mountain, Captain Beaufort discovered the yanar, or perpetual fire, famous as the Chimæra of many ancient authors. We found it as brilliant as when he visited it, and also somewhat increased; for, besides the large flame in the corner of the ruins described by him, there were small jets issuing from crevices in the sides of a crater-like cavity, five or six feet deep."—p. 193.

We fear the following scientific solution of the phenomenon will dispel any remaining illusion, as effectually as the monster of old was annihilated by the Pegasus-mounted Bellerophon.

"At the junction of one of these masses of scaglia with the serpentine, is the yanar, famous as the Chimæra of the ancients, re-discovered in modern times by Captain Beaufort. It is nothing more than a stream of inflammable gas issuing from a crevice, such as is seen in several places among the Appennines. The serpentine immediately round the flame is burnt and ashy, but this is only for a foot or two,

the immediate neighbourhood of the yanar presenting the same aspect it wore in the days of Seneca, who writes '*Læta itaque regio est et herbida, nil flammis adurentibus.*' Such is the Chimæra—
 ——— '*flammisque armata Chimæra*'

deprived of all its terrors. It is still, however, visited as a lion by both Greeks and Turks, who make use of its classic flames to cook kabobs for their dinners."—ii, 181.

On quitting Lycia, their last look over the scene of their labours was obtained from the highest peak of Cragus. In a plain at a height of 4,000 feet, the travellers found many families of Urooks, who, according to their annual custom, had brought their flocks and herds from the plains to this elevated spot, where they pass the summer months, thus escaping the heat and malaria of the lowlands.

"Leaving our attendants and horses among them, we commenced the ascent of the highest peak of Cragus, which rose precipitously more than two thousand five hundred feet above this alpine plain. The first half of the way was through a thick zone of forest; the remainder was among precipices of bare rock, in the crevices of which lay the accumulated snow of winter, furnishing a pleasant refreshment as we toiled upwards under a broiling sun. From the sharp and narrow summit of this lofty peak, we enjoyed our last look over Lycia; below us lay the whole expanse of the Xanthian plain, and beyond we could see far into the gorges and yailahs of Massicytus, now as familiar to us as the hills and valleys of our native land. In the bird's-eye view before us, long journeys of miles and hours appeared as brief spaces asunder; and the labyrinth of hills and crags we had so lately trodden, seemed levelled into plains and gentle undulations. Such is the steepness of Cragus, that its precipices plunge from the snowy summit to the sea, and from the lofty pinnacle on which we stood, we could see the waves breaking white against its base. This was a fine spot from which to bid farewell to a beautiful land; nor did we descend without sensations of regret."—p. 301.

And here, with equal regret, we also must take leave of this interesting subject, not having room to say one word on Lycian geology and natural history, which, with the learned dissertations on the inscriptions, occupy nearly the whole of the second volume. We trust, however, that our remarks and extracts will induce our readers to consult the book for themselves. The volumes are illustrated by numerous views and ground plans, and a general map of the country completes a work which is one of the most important and interesting of its class that has lately issued from the press.

ART. VIII.—*The Spanish Marriages.* 1. *Journal des Debats.* Paris: 1846.

2. *Eco del Comercio.* Madrid: 1846.

DURING the first parliament after the passing of the Reform Act, it was remarkable that no question relating to foreign affairs could obtain any serious attention in the House of Commons. Not merely was the opinion of the country directed to the amendment of domestic institutions, and, partly on this account, indifferent to such discussions, but a feeling was very generally prevalent that our Government had been accustomed to interfere too frequently, and oftentimes most needlessly, in the intrigues and disputes of foreign courts. We may soon have the opportunity of ascertaining whether the electors of 1847 entertain the same opinions as those of 1832.

For a long time the newspapers of this country and of France have been engaged in a most furious controversy respecting the marriage of the Duke de Montpensier with the Infanta of Spain. The language used upon our side of the water has been distinguished for its bitterness, its violence, and the coarseness of its invectives. Yet people ask,—what does all this mean? What is the history of this dispute? Why should the marriage of the Duke de Montpensier affect the friendly position of the governments of Great Britain and France? Why should it be sought to array the people of the two countries against each other, because a royal duke and a royal princess have married? Surely the world must have made little progress in civilization during the last century, if the destinies of great nations are to depend on the marriages of the members of royal families.

The facts of the case are involved in much mystery, though, substantially, they appear to be represented thus.—During the visit made by our gracious sovereign to Louis Philippe, at the Chateau d'Eu, having Lord Aberdeen, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in her train, an arrangement was made between those royal personages respecting the disposal in marriage of the hands of the Queen of Spain and of the Infanta, her royal sister. Though neither filled the position of near relatives, yet with no uncommon paternal and maternal indifference, the young and royal ladies were not consulted in the matter. The King agreed that his son, the Duke de Montpensier, should not solicit the hand of the Infanta—unless the Queen of Spain married and had issue—provided, that no member of the House of Coburg sought the hand of her sister, the Queen of Spain. It is said, on the other side, that it was agreed the Duke de Montpensier

should not present himself, unless a Coburg offered for the hand of the Queen of Spain with the sanction of our Queen. One side say, that the Duke de Montpensier was free to present himself if a Coburg appeared. The other side say, that the appearance of a Coburg was not to set him free, unless such a Coburg was supported by England; in fact, that the petty German prince was to aspire to the throne of Spain on his personal merits! Finally, a Coburg was presented as a suitor, and rejected by the Queen of Spain; the Duke de Montpensier was presented as a suitor to the Infanta, and accepted.

Before the marriages were completed a most remarkable breach of diplomatic etiquette was committed on the part of the British Minister at Madrid, in the publication of a letter—written apparently with a view to publication, and seemingly for the purpose of influencing the Cortes against the marriage. The marriage was, however, submitted to the consideration of the Cortes, and almost unanimously approved of. Then followed certain undignified and petty exhibitions of temper—in attacks made by the agents of the British government on the French King—in the absence at the Court of Madrid of the British Minister—and the absence at the Court of Paris of the Marquis of Normanby.

All these proceedings would be most exceedingly ludicrous if they merely affected the parties immediately engaged in them; but, considering the principles of constitutional government violated—the danger of allowing state affairs to be debated and decided on in France in the absence of Cabinet-ministers, and the highly prejudicial effects to both Great Britain, Spain, and France which have resulted from the royal and personal disputes that have followed—they are exceedingly reprehensible. First, Lord Aberdeen is to blame for having permitted her Majesty to be concerned in a matter for which he and his colleagues—so far as any act was done, or advice was given, or agreement made—were solely responsible. He should have counselled his sovereign against allowing any personal feelings to be enlisted in the disposal of the hand of a Spanish princess. It is not our affair as to whom a foreign sovereign or her sister may marry; it is her or his duty to decide that question. If a member of the House of Coburg,* or the House of Bourbon, offer himself as a suitor, bearing the credentials, interest, and recommendations of his family, still the decision should remain with the Court of Spain. It is idle to say, the King of the French has violated the inde-

* It should be remembered that the young Prince of Coburg, if a Protestant, in order to gain this worldly crown, must have renounced Protestantism.

pendence of Spain, if it was pre-ordained at the interview at Eu that the Queen of Spain should not listen to the marriage of a French prince with her sister, except under a given state of things. Independence there could be none, if the choice was to be restricted in any direction, or at any moment.

If our facts are not precisely accurate, and it is not our fault if they are not correct, still our reasoning applies to any arrangement respecting a Spanish marriage made, with the knowledge of Lord Aberdeen, at Eu. It was his duty not to have sanctioned interference. He should have distinctly declared, that the royal family of Spain were free to marry whom they pleased, and that the government of Great Britain would continue on the most perfect terms of cordiality with any power that should become allied to that family. It was at Madrid, and not at Eu, that any condition should have been suggested, if the interests of Spain required it. The royal family at Madrid, and the government there, were the sole and the only authorities to decide or settle on any terms connected with the marriage of the members of that family. If this had been done—if there had been a total abstinence from all discussion respecting a Spanish marriage—as there ought to have been—we should have heard nothing of the interruption of the cordiality and good feeling which existed between the courts of Great Britain and of France, an interruption and an evil most injurious to the people of Europe.

The next step in the affair was a continuation of the fault committed by Lord Aberdeen. The strange letter of Mr. Bulwer to a member of the Cortes, cautiously and well written, no doubt, but having the object to set the Cortes against the marriage of the Duke de Montpensier and the Infanta, made its appearance. What right has a minister at a foreign court to enter into a public discussion on a royal marriage? If there is any reason to object to such a measure, it is to the court of that foreign power—to those to whom he is accredited—to whom alone he ought to address himself. It is his duty to keep aloof from all opposition to the Court at which he resides for the purpose of maintaining peace and bringing to an amicable issue all differences with his own government which may arise. If that Court is about to do what is injurious to the public interest of his own country, or to violate any agreement it has made, still to that Court, and not to the public—through a letter addressed to a well-known politician—is a foreign minister bound to address himself. The appeal to the people—even in this form—is an act of that solemn and high character, that it cannot and ought not to be deputed by any government to its minister. If it must be made, it should come from the government at home—it is the *ultima ratio*

of a people, expressed through their governors, appealing to another people against their sovereign.

In this case, the interference was the more blameable, for the question of the marriage was not ultimately decided by the government, or by those who administer the executive power in Spain. It was made in order to influence the votes of the members of the Cortes. How that body is constituted—whether or not it truly represents the opinions of the Spanish people, no foreign government can discuss. If from mal-constitution it was about to agree to what the British minister disliked, why make the semblance of an interference which he must have known would be futile? If it was not likely to agree to it, then the remonstrance was needless. But, in the former case, our government had no right to assume that any legally constituted representative authority in Spain did not represent public opinion. How should we treat the letter of a foreign minister, published in London, on that assumption? How long should we tolerate his presence in the country after such a publication? Who is there professing the most extreme democratic opinions that would read any such letter with satisfaction, or justify it on the ground that the provisions of the Reform Act are not sufficiently extensive, or that the influence of rotten boroughs, which that Act professed to destroy, still interferes with the decisions of Parliament? The Queen of Spain acted according to the forms of the Spanish constitution—her proceeding received a legal approval in the almost unanimous vote of the Cortes in favour of the marriage—a vote which was the strongest censure that the proceedings of our government could receive.

It does not appear that the royal negotiators at Eu esteemed the treaty of Utrecht to have any relation to their proceeding, and they were, perhaps, wise in not paying attention to it. The events of a few years after it was made, completely showed the folly and criminality of the war which preceded it; and nearly every anticipation it was designed to meet has proved to have been idle and groundless.

As, however, that treaty does afford much instruction at this time, and has been frequently cited, as though—contrary to the fact—it had been violated, the more important events connected with it require notice.

In anticipation of the death of the King of Spain, the first treaty of partition was made in the year 1698. It provided that the Electoral Prince of Bavaria should have the kingdom of Spain, the Indies, the Spanish part of the Low Countries, and all the dependencies of the Spanish Crown, except Naples and Sicily, Sardinia, and the province of Guipuscoa, on this side

the Pyrenees; Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, Final, and the places on the coast of Tuscany called Presidii, all of which were to go to the Dauphin, in consideration of France renouncing its claim to the succession; and Milan was to be given to the Archduke Charles, the Emperor's second son.

Mr. Hallam's remarks on this treaty deserve to be remembered:—

“William III., from the reservedness of his disposition, as well as from the great superiority of his capacity for affairs to any of our former kings, was far less guided by any responsible counsellors than the spirit of our constitution requires. In the business of the Partition Treaty—which, whether rightly or otherwise, the House of Commons reckoned highly injurious to the public interest—he had not consulted his cabinet; nor could any minister, except the Earl of Portland and Lord Somers, be proved to have had a concern in the transaction: for, though the House impeached Lord Orford and Lord Halifax, they were not, in fact, any farther parties to it than by being in the secret, and the former had shown his usual intractability by objecting to the whole measure. This was, undoubtedly, such a departure from sound constitutional usage, as left Parliament no control over the executive administration.”

The sudden death of the Prince of Bavaria disconcerted the arrangement, and on February 21, 1700, the second treaty of partition was signed on the parts of Great Britain, France, and the Dutch States. All that the Prince of Bavaria was to have had was to be given to the Archduke Charles, the second son of the Emperor of Austria; the Dauphin was to have, in addition to what had been before proposed, the Dutchies of Lorraine and Bar, and the Duke of Lorraine the Dutchy of Milan. The Emperor of Austria expected to succeed to all the dominions of Spain, and would not be a party to the treaty. The King of Spain died November 1, 1700, and, by his last will constituted the Duke of Anjou, the second son of the Dauphin, the heir of the great territories he had governed. Three powers had partitioned a sovereignty over which they had not a tittle of claim, and Louis XIV. preferred the testament of a dying king to an arrangement which, though he had sanctioned it, he had no right to have been concerned in. The morality of the proceeding is to be blamed, yet it may be questioned whether more advantage is not gained to the independence, the liberty, and peace of nations by the failure, from whatever cause it may proceed, of such arrangements made between foreign powers, than by their success. In disputes between private persons, neither the obligation nor morality of similar contracts could be sustained; and the law of nations, which ought merely to dictate rules of

morality on the largest scale, certainly does not give to them any aid.

That a Duke de Bresson should be found in 1846 to succeed the Marquis d'Harcourt of 1700, is not surprising. If no disgust is shown at intrigues to arrange the affairs of foreign countries, the intriguers ought to expect to be defeated by intrigues. That the people of this country should aid and support them in any resentment arising from disappointment, is an expectation which has not the slightest foundation.

After eleven years of war, peace was made between Great Britain and France. The treaty of Utrecht was agreed to in 1712, and communicated to Parliament in the following year. The right of a joint succession to the crowns of Spain and France was renounced, though no doubt was entertained, that had the opportunity to assert it arrived, it would have been done.

"In St. John's earlier letters he talks about a renunciation by Philip of the French crown; but De Torcy shows him that such a renunciation would be null and invalid according to the laws of France, that there, when the King died, the next of blood succeeded him on the throne, which he did not hold of the former king nor of the people, nor of his own will, but by the right of blood as sovereign lord of the kingdom; that these laws could be abolished by God alone, and could not be over-ruled by any renunciation, abdication, or edict whatsoever; and that, though Philip, as King of Spain, should, for the sake of peace, give up his right to France, his cession would be invalid, and he would still be King of France, if no nearer heir stood before him, by the law of nature and the law of God. In reply to this the English secretary had stated, 'It matters not much to us what opinion is entertained in France as to the right of succession, so long as we in Britain believe that any one may give up his own right, and that the sureties of that cession may maintain the validity of it by force of arms. In short, it is Her Majesty's resolution to have it done.

"The necessity, indeed, seemed imperative. By succeeding to the empire and the hereditary dominions of Austria, the Archduke Charles had arrayed against his Spanish claims a host of politicians, who had formerly preferred him to Philip; but death had been still busier in the house of Bourbon than in the house of Hapsburg; the Dauphin, Louis XIV's son, had gone to the grave the preceding year; the Dauphin's son, the Duke of Burgundy, had followed in the spring of the present year, and Burgundy again had been followed by his eldest son, a child of six years; so that there now remained nothing but a sickly child, two years old, (afterwards Louis XV.,) between Philip, King of Spain, and the throne of France. Hence the union of the two crowns—the Hydra of Europe—seemed almost certain; and, if not prevented, a ten years' war had been useless."—*Pictorial History of England*, vol. iv., p. 266.

Louis XIV. complied, and the renunciation was made ; but, let it be imagined that he had refused, and the war to have been continued. For what purpose would it have been prolonged ? It would have been a war on account of the remote possibility of an event which has not occurred during nearly a century and a half. What a lesson the lapse of time has taught, and, apparently, to how little purpose. We obtained the renunciation of a crown which would have been claimed, despite of the treaty, the moment the opportunity to claim it came. We were ready to have continued a war throughout Europe, to prevent the assertion of a claim which, for 130 years, no man has been entitled to advance.

Is it wise, then, to bring forward this treaty, in order to assert the propriety of a similar renunciation on account of the marriage of the Duke de Montpensier. How many lives stand between him and his unborn sons, before the crown of France, by succession, could be united to that of Spain ? There are two sons of the late Duke of Orleans—there are the Duke de Nemours and his children, the Duke d'Aumale and his two sons, and the Prince de Joinville and his children. They and their issue must be extinct before the unborn issue of the Duke de Montpensier could succeed to the throne of France. Why, nature has made a renunciation in the offspring of the elder children, more lasting in the probability of its endurance than any diplomatic engagement which has yet received the signature of kings or ministers. The present branch of the House of Bourbon has not reigned for one generation in France, and yet some men dare to think of terms on which the succession to the crown shall be regulated on the occurrence of an event to which all ordinary probability is opposed !

The history of the treaty of Utrecht, and that document itself, are, however, at this time of no farther importance, than the instruction they afford of the evils of pretending to regulate the succession of crowns without the concurrence of the Government and the people whose affairs are interfered with. In the late case, there has been no violation of the treaty of Utrecht. It does not prohibit marriages between the members of the royal families of Spain and France. If the renunciation it contains is still valid, this marriage does not interfere with it.

There is one consideration, however, which ought not to be overlooked ;—it is most probable that the issue of the Duke de Montpensier will be of Spanish birth and of Spanish education, with Spanish predilections ; and that if, in the course of descent, the two crowns become united, it would be a Spanish prince who would succeed to the throne of France. Such a prince, in order to

govern France, must understand the principles, and adhere to the practices, of a constitutional monarchy; he must comprehend the value of fixed rules of government, which, in Spain, are now unknown, or despised; he must respect opinions; he must loosen the trammels on commerce; he must promote the education of the people; he must know the value of the criminal law being distinct, certain, definite in its provisions, and in its execution speedy; and, in one word, he must be fitted to govern a people advanced in civilisation, and himself be ready to conform to the law. No Spanish prince in existence, called on to rule France, could understand any of these things; not one of the Spanish royal race is capable of estimating the value of the institutions of France to which the people are most attached. But if the expectation of succession should induce the Duke de Montpensier to educate his children, so as to fit them to govern in France, great would be the blessings which he and they would confer on Spain. In this connexion, which alarms some, there appears the hope of the substitution in Spain of better influences than now prevail—a firmer rule, and, consequently, more protection and security in every pursuit. Either a Spanish prince, who shall claim the throne of France, must be able to act in the spirit of the constitutional rules of the French government—and then he must be more enlightened than Spanish princes have been—or he must resign all pretensions to rule in France. In the former case the world would gain; for a more abominable and execrable government than that of Spain cannot exist, and great and beneficial may be the changes which the influence of the humane and benevolent Duke de Montpensier may accomplish. He will be opposed by malignant speculators and the most corrupt officials; and in resisting them, numerous will be the essays on the establishment of French influence which will appear. French intrigues will be talked of, as if in Madrid no intrigues had ever been heard of; and every change will find opponents, though no man will be able to prove that any change could be for the worse.

It is to be most sincerely hoped, that not merely will the royal personages, who have been influenced by angry feelings, exhibit moderation, and an early forgetfulness of what has happened, but that the present Administration will put an end to all further correspondence. Too much has been written on what should, at an early stage of the proceedings, have been left alone. The people of this country wish to have a Liberal Government; they are not anxious to be experimented upon by the Protectionists; they wish every thing to be done in Ireland which can produce confidence in the law, and security and peace

to the inhabitants, and they know that from a liberal Government this alone can be obtained ; but peace with foreign nations is an object they will insist on. The present state of affairs is startling. The "*entente cordial*" is at an end, without a single man in England, beyond the circle of political life, having any knowledge of the cause. Whispers of an intended attempt, on the part of Austria, to check the new Pope in the just and excellent reforms he is engaged in, and the Treaty of Vienna broken by the Austrian occupation of Cracow, are matters of grave import. Would the good understanding with France—whose government, beyond all others on the continent of Europe, is the most enlightened—have been disturbed, if we had abstained from interfering with Spanish marriages ? Would the liberal measures of the Pope be threatened, or the Treaty of Vienna have been broken, if the private family interests of the House of Coburg had been left alone ?

We protest against the renewal of the practice of William III. arranging Spanish affairs in the absence of his cabinet—we protest against being involved in a dispute respecting a right of succession to the crown of Spain, which may never arise—we protest against the "*entente cordial*" being broken on account of an affair, in which the English people neither have, nor feel any interest.

There is much hope that the errors of Lord Aberdeen have been checked, and that there is some exaggeration in reports of what has lately happened, from the fact of the presence in the cabinet of Lord Grey. When the dispute with the United States was pending, he doubted whether he could, with satisfaction, accept office. His reasons were manful, honourable, and worthy of a civilised age. He who acted so well then, cannot fail to take the right course now—and to repeat the declaration of the late Earl, his father, that one of the chief objects of a liberal administration should be the preservation of PEACE.

T.

FOREIGN LITERATURE

AND

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. *The Countess Hahn Hahn's last Novels.**Clelia Conti.* Von Ida Gräfin Hahn Hahn. Berlin. 1846.*Sibylle. Eine Selbstbiographie.* [Sibylla. An Autobiography. By the same.] Berlin. 1846.

"In her first passion woman loves her lover;
In all the others all she loves is love."

So says Byron. The maxim, as it thus stands, is more witty than true; but wit, though it be not identical with truth, is so closely associated with it as always to indicate its vicinity. It may be too much to allege generally the existence of the two phases above mentioned, or even a tendency towards them, in the history of any given woman; but, as regards different individuals of the sex, we may fully admit the reality of the distinction so pointedly and happily expressed by the poet. It sets before us two strongly contrasted orders of character. There are women, in whose finely tempered organization the affectionate instincts hold their due pre-eminence over all the other faculties, and whose nature finds its full contentment in the intensity and unfailing steadfastness of their personal attachments. Others there are, endowed with excellent gifts, in ample, but not harmonious measure: the balance stands awry, and the result is wretchedness. Intellect or imagination predominates in them over the peculiar attributes of their sex. They may be loved, and they may love again, but not with their whole souls; the capacity to do so infers a serene inward repose which their restless heads deny them. At variance with themselves, they feel a constant craving for emotions to fill the void in their bosoms. Some fly for relief to devotion, some to literature or art, others cast themselves into the whirl of dissipation: all, all in vain! They labour, in their kind, under the same curse as Hamlet. In him, an inordinate development of thought and imagination dwarfed the power to will and to act; in them, it misleads and stifles the pure, simple, holy, instincts of the heart.

Clelia and Sybille are types of these two classes of women ; the one, a creature of radiant genius, lovely and loving, like Heloise ; the other, a being of cold heart and overstrained imagination, yearning vainly for an ideal bliss, and disdaining that which heaven abundantly offered to her hand ; living in dreams, at once enthusiastic and sceptical ; suspiciously analysing every good thing within her reach, and resolving it into an illusion of the feelings, or an error of the judgment. The common charities of life ; the duties which she fulfilled with exemplary regularity ; a husband's indulgent tenderness, or a daughter's endearments, to her brought neither peace nor joy. Sybille's path lay smooth before her, but she stumbled and reeled upon it. The world dealt hardly with Clelia, but she overcame all outward obstacles, in the faith and might of her pure earnest heart. If her sufferings were great, greater far were the blessings she imparted and received. She died young, but not until she had fulfilled the end of her existence ; living from first to last true to herself and to those with whom nature or her own free will had united her destinies.

" All who joy would win,
Must share it : Happiness was born a twin."

The history of Clelia's childhood is thus narrated by herself.

" My father was an officer in the Austrian service, and sprung from a noble but not wealthy family of Lombardy. My mother was a German. He became acquainted with her at Carlsbad, married her, and took her to Verona, where he was in garrison. There I was born, the only child of an unhappy marriage. Each had been attracted by the striking beauty of the other ; but their characters were mutually repulsive. My father was fire, my mother ice ; his blood was like lava, hers like water. In all probability she had been so startled by his dazzling qualities that she mistook the sudden emotion for love. I believe that to enable her to enjoy happiness and impart it, she should have remained in her north German home ; as it was, she did neither. She did not know how to deal with my father. Her marvellous beauty always drew him towards her, though it could never bind him fast. I know not wherein lay the cause of his failing, in eye, temperament, or soul ; I only know he paid homage to every beauty. My mother possessed that magnet in the highest degree, and knew not how to use it. With but a little show of cordiality and warmth on her part—with a smile, a word, a kiss—she might have restrained him from a thousand volatile acts ; but it was not in her nature, she could not be loveable. He was one of those men who will yield anything to affectionate entreaties : she never addressed him on any occasion in the language of entreaty. However earnestly she desired in secret that he should or should not do anything, she never condescended to request, but stated her opinion briefly and coldly, made no attempt to influence him, and seemed to be utterly indifferent towards him—seemed I say, for it was anguish to her heart to think that she was neglected for other women, less beautiful and high-souled than herself ; for, she was like crystal in coldness and purity. Not all her sorrows ever moved her to an explosion of jealousy. I believe it would have made my father happy to find her capable of jealousy ; but she thought that beneath her, and carefully concealed the bitterness of her grief under a show of calm indifference. The consequence was, that he thought she did not care for him, that she even disliked his society ; and so he would leave his home, often when he would certainly have

gladly remained in it. Once I remember my mother saying to me, under some unusual impulse of painful feeling:—

“Clelia, entreat your father to stay with us!—entreat him with all your heart, Clelia!”

“I did so with the whole fervour of my little heart of eight years; and he staid at home. But my mother did not know how to entreat. All this was quite unintelligible to me then. I felt pained and confused between my parents. My whole love belonged exclusively to my mother;—I saw her always, was continually about her, found her invariably gentle and sad, and loved her with a vehemence, the recollection of which even now fills me with wonder. I felt instinctively that she was not happy; and as my little untutored heart was not capable of being the judge between my parents, and as it would not rest satisfied with anything short of a positive feeling, it followed that my mother became the object of my idolatrous love, whilst I felt almost aversion for my father. For me, too, he had moments of impetuous fondness; but as soon as other thoughts and objects entered his head, they in their turn engrossed him; he overlooked me then completely, and this was a terrible vexation to me. My mother, on the contrary, always treated me with the same perfectly equable kindness; she never overflowed with fondness, but neither did she display absence of mind and indifference: she was gentle and placid as the Madonna, whose image became so blended in my mind with my mother’s, that my childish prayers were always addressed to the latter. But I was by no means a happy child, though I had, in so gentle a mother, what usually suffices for the happiness of childhood: the fault lay in the unfortunate peculiarity of my own temperament. Not in vain was I my father’s daughter. All his fire burned in me: but it was so little responded to by my mother, that I firmly persuaded myself she loved me little or not at all. Well, then, I was resolved I would warm and win her affections thoroughly; and the probability is, that I only made myself extremely irksome to her, for indeed I had but slight means of manifesting the love I bore her. I was obedient, attentive, and desirous to learn, and for this she praised me in her own way, in a few words; but I distinguished between praise and love, and the former did not satisfy me at all. I would be always about her, sit by her side, hold her hand, look in her eyes, throw my arms round her neck twenty times in an hour, and overwhelm her with kisses, caresses, and endearing words. If she was reading, I knelt down before her, and gazed fixedly on her face, until she looked up from her book, and her eye rested for a moment upon me. If she sat at the piano, I would climb up behind her, and enchanted by her exquisite voice, I would clasp her neck so tightly as to hinder her singing. Whenever she dressed for an evening party—which happened very rarely—I used to burst into tears at the thought that I could not see her among the finely dressed people, in the brilliantly lighted rooms. Her answer to my tears was, ‘For shame, Clelia!’—to my caresses, ‘That will do, Clelia; do not always interrupt me so;’—and when I knelt before her, it was, ‘Do not be always crawling about the floor, Clelia, like a little dog!’ Once I replied to her, laying my head on her feet:—

“Yes, I am your poor little lap-dog, mamma, only too glad to lie at your dear pretty feet.”

“Stand up, Clelia!” she said, chidingly. “You must not exaggerate so: it is near akin to lying. People must never say more than they really feel.”

But I did really feel to wards her the unbounded submissive fondness of a dog for its master, and it was not my mother’s reproachful words that grieved me, but the thought that I could not convey to her any conception of my love.

Another time I entered her room just as she had finished her toilette for a grand dinner. I see her still before me! She was dressed in violet-colored

satin, with diamond ear-rings, and her beautiful arms shone in their marble whiteness below the very short sleeves which were then the fashion. I stood still for a moment, perfectly dazzled, then flew to her, embraced her, covered her shoulders and her arms with kisses, and cried out in extasy,—

“ ‘Oh, you are too beautiful, mamma!’ ”

“ She put me aside quietly, and said, not angrily, but with something like annoyance in her manner,—

“ ‘It is not becoming in little girls to be so forward, Clelia.’ ”

“ My father was present at this scene, and feeling for the poor little glowing heart so sorely abashed, he drew me fondly to him, and said, ‘ You are quite right, my dear. Mamma is too beautiful. She looks exactly like a picture of the Madonna.’ ”

“ ‘ You are both actors,’ she retorted coldly.

“ It seemed so to her, because her feelings were of a different complexion from ours; but we did not deserve the reproach—my father no more than myself. He had the quickly excited propensiveness, the feverish susceptibility to impressions, that make a man volatile and changeable, so that, in himself, his thoughts and actions, he is not the same to-day as he will be to-morrow, and was yesterday. His defect was an ungoverned abundance of feeling, not a want of it, and he was too much the creature of impulse to be able to play a studied part.

“ I wonder that, constantly curbed and restricted as I was by my mother, I did not turn from her and transfer my affections to my father. This did not happen, and I can account for it only on the ground that I was too like himself in temperament; or else, because I did possess one quality of which he was wholly destitute, and which I inherited from my mother: I was true. So I continued to love her, passionately and faithfully, but far from happily, since I learned gradually to suppress the utterance of my feelings, that I might not displease her, and to be dumb, when I would fain have wept or exulted aloud. I am convinced, it was her purpose to accustom me to a certain inward discipline, and to quench that impassioned disposition of which she had seen such unhappy effects in my father; but it was not stifled, and only burned the more intensely, from being compressed and concentrated. Had she left me, unhindered, to disclose my love in my own childish way; had it been possible for her to sympathise with it a little, to express pleasure at it, and to encourage me to communicate my thoughts to her freely—oh, I should have been transcendently happy! As it was, I was outwardly reserved and demure, and inwardly sad and heavy-hearted. I know not how it would have ended with me, had not her sudden death made a total change in my position. She died of an inflammation of the lungs, in the full bloom of her strength and beauty, before she completed her thirtieth year. I was in my twelfth. The blow was so violent, that at first it was more stunning than painful. I became, not exactly ill, but sunk in a sort of lethargy, a dull brooding perplexity. Did she love me? Did she know how I loved her? These questions rolled mistily through my brain, and I did not dare to give them voice, since the very doubt seemed to cast a reproach on the dear departed.”

After her mother's death, Clelia was placed by her father as a pupil in the Ursuline convent. She grew strongly attached to the good nuns, and to her young companions. The solemn music, and the beautiful poetic symbols and legends of the Catholic faith, opened a new world of delight to her ardent soul; and the problem that had painfully occupied all her little life was now resolved—she could give her dead mother proof of her unbounded love, by praying with ecstatic devotion to the Virgin for the repose of the departed soul. She

would gladly have taken the veil, but for her father's dying request that she would forego that purpose. Without a moment's hesitation, she gave him the promise he required, and would, with as much readiness, have consented to die in his stead, had the offer been made her.

Another abrupt change, and a very sad one, now befell the poor orphan. Her father had an only sister, whose husband, General Baron Thannau, of Inspruck, became her guardian ; and with him she left her sunny native land, for the snowy clime of which she had shuddered to hear, even from her mother's lips. It had been well for her had this been all ; but the simple, trusting, generous girl was removed from her peaceful convent into a new world of envy, malice, meanness, and all sordid and odious passions. The baroness's grand object was, to marry off her two common-place, waspish daughters ; and Clelia, with her beauty, her enchanting voice, and the fortune inherited from her mother, was a formidable impediment to the schemes of that worldly woman.

"My aunt was a woman, such as—I am glad to think—are not often to be met with ; bad to the heart's core. By her voluptuous beauty, seconded by her intriguing cleverness, she had, in the beginning of her wedded life, acquired so complete a sway over her husband, that at first from blind fondness, and afterwards from habit, he saw only with her eyes, heard with her ears, assented to whatever she decided, and put himself entirely into her hands in everything but what concerned his military duties. She abused her power unsparingly. Her heart had certainly never known love, nor perhaps her senses desire—she was horribly cold !—but intrigue was the element in which she lived ; and to captivate men clandestinely, to win them away, if possible, from another, or to carry on the secret intercourse amidst the most difficult circumstances—these were darling pleasures, from which she never desisted, not even when her daughters were grown up : on the contrary, this only added one more complication to the game, and made it so much the more interesting. She was no longer young, and her beauty was on the wane ; but when she pleased, she had so much grace of manner, she was so fascinating and so practised in the arts of allurements, that every one owned her charms. With Achatz Thannau (her husband's half-brother) she was on terms of the closest intimacy, which she contrived to conceal with extraordinary adroitness, at least from her husband and daughters, under an appearance of half-motherly, half-sisterly affection. He was an extremely handsome man, and a gross libertine, twelve years her junior. In order to prove how far his passion would go, she had resisted him two years, under heaven knows what show of virtue, and when at last he had made up his mind to desist from the pursuit, she had—yielded. His ardour had by this time considerably cooled ; but her sway over him remained the same. All this I should never have known had not Achatz subsequently acquainted me with it, and thereby justified in my own eyes the secret aversion I had from the first felt for my aunt, independently of her unkindness towards me. Of her ways and doings I had then no conception, and of her feelings this only was clear to me, that she could not endure me. She would not on any account have it divulged in society that I possessed a small fortune, so much stronger seemed to her the attractive force of 50,000 florins than that of her daughters' charms. I passed for a poor orphan, received into the family from compassionate motives ; and my timid demeanour, my plain attire, and my willingness to withdraw into the background, gave colour to the report.

* * * * *

A small piano found a place in my little room. I was so much alone that I had ample leisure for practice, and my days were almost wholly employed in music. In the family circle I was very silent, and always busied with my needle or other handiwork. Sometimes I was taken into company, where I almost always behaved awkwardly—at least I was invariably scolded, on that ground, by my aunt. I had talked too much, or too little; I had bowed to some one as profoundly as if I had been saluting a king; or else, comported myself as though I had been a queen,—smiling too graciously on one person, and frowning on another. One day I dressed too negligently, and the next, too coquettishly. I was on the rack in company, so that I quite lost that natural ease of manner, which is the most consummate of all outward graces, and was looked on by the people around me as little better than an idiot, an opinion for which I cannot blame them. ‘So beautiful, and so stupid!’ I heard a young man whisper another, as he glanced at me. He had made two or three attempts to enter into conversation with me, but had been unable to elicit from me more than a few monosyllables.”

Achatz Thannau became a suitor for her hand; his brother consented to the match, and Clelia, whose feelings were quite passive on the occasion, was ready to do whatever her guardian desired. But there was another party to be consulted—the baroness. Her malice was excited to the highest degree, when she discovered the scheme, and it was all vented on the poor docile girl, whom she treated as an artful hypocrite; and, charging her with carrying on a guilty intrigue with Achatz, she locked her up alone, for three days, on bread and water.

“Now should have been the time for me to become fanatically devoted to Achatz. But no such thing; quite the reverse. I shed quite as many tears in anger, as in sorrow. It is on his account, I said to myself, I am thus unjustly treated. Why did he pull me into his room? Why does he always want to talk to me? Why does he love me—aye, why does he do that? Oh! if I am to be ill-used on his account, I will give him up, that I will.

“After three days’ confinement, I was summoned by my aunt. She told me she knew all; but the marriage could not be. I was too young, Achatz had no fortune, and the match was altogether unsuitable. I must change my coquettish and hypocritical behaviour, and not think, for the present, of a husband; it was most unbecoming in so young a creature. With these words, she dismissed me; and I found on my piano a hurried note from Achatz, written in pencil:—

“‘Sweet Clelia, do not let yourself be frightened by that Megera, and do not believe her. I will marry you, in spite of everything.’

“I answered him on the spot:—

“‘But I will not marry you! I have endured too much vexation and suffering through you already, and have more to expect. This I cannot bear. Marry whom you will; I shall heartily rejoice at your happiness, but do not expect it from Clelia.’

“This unlucky note I carried about with me for three days, before I could deliver it, so helpless and timid was I.”

Contrary to her former practice, the baroness now resolved that her niece should always accompany her when she went into society, lest Achatz should have an opportunity of speaking with her alone. Clelia was, therefore, ordered to prepare her ball-dress for the next

Sunday, though she declared she had never learned to dance, and should not know what to do at a ball. No matter! she was to dance, if any body asked her, provided it was not Achatz. Whether she danced well or ill did not signify; no one would notice her. But the good lady was mistaken: Count Gundaccar Osnat desired to be introduced to Clelia:—

“And Gundaccar spoke to me in Italian; he was the first that had yet done so in Inspruck! It was a near chance that I did not throw my arms round his neck in an extasy at hearing once more the sound of my native language. I could have shouted for joy, and yet the tears stood in my eyes. I know not what feeling of unspeakable gladness possessed me. I know not what we said, or how it came about, but I found myself waltzing with him.

“Yes, it was thus we became acquainted—we danced together. To me it seemed as if I was dancing into a new, glorious, wonderful life. Everything was new and charming to me, and I expressed my surprise with such unbounded *naïveté*, that at last Gundaccar asked in amazement, whether I had lived in a cave, like Calderon's ‘Semiramis?’ I knew nothing of Calderon, and asked no questions about him, or his dweller in the cave; but I told of my convent life in Verona, and of the almost as secluded and much more dreary life I led in Inspruck; and Gundaccar, in his turn, told me of the cheerful life he enjoyed in Venice, where he resided in the house of the Delegates, and held some official appointment. I did not know what it meant, only I understood that he had a distinguished career before him. He was an only son, and could his parents have chosen for him, his place should have been nowhere but on a throne. He was then nineteen, and a model of young manly beauty. * * After midnight the ladies sat down to supper; the gentlemen stood, and Gundaccar placed himself behind my chair, to wait upon me, as he said. But this distressed me exceedingly—that he should stand whilst I sat, and that I must besides turn my back to him! I had no desire to eat, and only took a few sweetmeats and fruits because he handed them to me. He asked me to pour him out a glass of wine, and I did so with pleasure.

“‘Hebe!’ he said. I was just as little versed in classical mythology as in Spanish literature, and had no notion who Hebe might be; yet the name pleased me. * * * * *

“With a heart full of bliss I lay down to sleep that night! It was the first day of my life that offered matter for gladsome thought. I did not oversleep myself next morning, but went to the mass as usual, and was as intent on my devotions as usual, until—I saw Gundaccar leaning against a pillar near me. I had related to him my whole daily routine, beginning with the mass; and he had not forgotten it. There was an end to my devotion—my thoughts wandered. The name of Hebe occurred to my mind, and the gay music, and the waltz that confers the strange privilege of resting on a man's encircling arm. And between all this I thought, O Jesus Maria! he does not pray, I am sure: then I will do it for him. But then, in the midst of my prayer, I asked myself, what is this stranger to me that I take upon me the care of his soul? I was glad when the mass was over and Gundaccar had disappeared. At the holy water fount there was a slight throng, and I waited until it should have passed; when suddenly Gundaccar, stretching over the heads of some ladies, dipped the points of his fingers in the holy water, and held them out to me. I had not perceived his approach, and when I wanted the little service he was there. My fingers touched his, and I was not a little shocked when I saw, that instead of making the sign of the cross, he put the points of his fingers to his lips. I hurried away, my heart beating so that I could scarcely breathe. This emotion

was changed into a less agreeable one when I reached home, and Achatz meeting me, said eagerly, 'Clelia, I must speak with you alone.'

"Until then I had always behaved towards him like a bashful timorous child. Now I awoke at once to self-possession, and answered him calmly: 'All connexion between us is broken off, past and gone. You know it is; my aunt has told you so in words, and I in writing. I request, therefore, that you will look upon me and treat me as a stranger.'

"'You are my bride, sweet Clelia, and my bride you shall be!' he exclaimed, and seized my hand—my right hand, with which but just before I had touched Gundaccar's. This was too much! I would not endure it. I flung aside his audacious hand with the one I had still at liberty, pushed him back, and flew like the wind up the three flights of stairs, to my room, where I threw myself on the bed, and washed the hand Achatz had desecrated, in a flood of tears. At once he was become hateful to me! At once he was a person who should not touch the hem of my garment! The exclusive vehemence of my character, which lay dormant so long as there was no object to call it forth, awoke again—and now, not in love, but in hate. This may have been unjust and unreasonable, but it was involuntary."

Next morning she proceeded to the church, in the sure anticipation of again seeing Gundaccar; nor is she disappointed:—

"I threw myself on my knees with a fervour inspired by thankfulness for his presence, and hid my face in my hands to conceal my glowing joy. When I rose to leave the church, Gundaccar hastily quitted his place, and stood beside the holy-water fount before me. This day there was no crowd at all; no one was there but he and I; and I might very easily have helped myself to water: but again he anticipated me, and dipping in his fingers, he held them out to me with so imploring a look as plainly showed it was no mere act of courtesy, as yesterday, but—more. I could not possibly refuse his humble request; I touched his fingers, and turned away hastily to depart, for I did not wish to see him, if he should perchance put his fingers to his lips, as before.

"So passed some days. We saw each other every morning; never exchanged any salutation but with our eyes, never spoke one syllable together; but—I never took the holy water otherwise than from his hand. That almost imperceptible contact, light as a breath, and yet mighty as an electric shock, transient and fiery as lightning, filled me with an unearthly rapture. I always descended the steps of the portico as if it were a heavenly ladder, and felt as if I winged my way, not walked, through the streets. It often struck me that the Saints must have felt somewhat as I did, when they had a vision from heaven. The four-and-twenty hours of my day concentrated themselves in the pulse-beat of that second in which I touched the points of Gundaccar's fingers with mine."

Another ball takes place; Gundaccar's attention to Clelia is remarked, and this leads to a sudden alteration in her aunt's views. Partly from a wish to secure Gundaccar for one of her own daughters, partly from pure malevolence, she becomes now as eager to promote Achatz's matrimonial designs, as she had been before opposed to them. Meanwhile, the lovers have found means to meet in secret. The window of Clelia's chamber opens on the roof, and Gundaccar finds access to it from his father's house. What immediately follows is the eternally-recurring story of *Romeo and Juliet*. Gundaccar's parents refuse their consent to his marriage with Clelia, who is per-

secuted to accept Achatz; the day is even fixed for the wedding, and the lovers resolve to anticipate it by flight. But, Gundaccar does not keep tryst. The appointed night—the last before the hateful wedding day—passes away. Clelia is told that her lover has betrayed her. His own father assures her he is actually on his road to meet his destined bride; the unhappy girl is stupified by the blow, and in that state she is hurried through the ceremony that makes her the wife of Achatz.

We are now arrived at the second epoch in Clelia's history. Awakening from the trance of despair, in which she has become nominally the wife of a man she abhors, her first act is to declare she will not acknowledge his surreptitious claims upon her; she will regard her marriage as null and void, and be true to Gundaccar. She keeps her vow, and offers to purchase her freedom with the surrender of half her fortune; but Achatz withholds from her all means of escape, and keeps a close watch upon her, hoping that time, and his assiduous attentions, will prevail over her obduracy. Ere long, Clelia becomes a mother, and her child is the child of Gundaccar. This event, instead of inducing Achatz to dissolve his inauspicious marriage, only hardens him in his purpose. He is now actuated by the additional motive of revenge, and for seven years he continues to be the inflexible jailor of a woman who despises and loathes him. He takes her first to France, and afterwards to Switzerland; gives out that she is labouring under mental alienation; and effectually cuts her off from all chance of communicating with any but himself and his spies.

Meanwhile, what had become of Gundaccar? He, too, had remained faithful to the memory of his first and only love, during seven years of aimless and fruitless wanderings. Chance directed him, at last, to the villa where Clelia was a prisoner. It was night. He heard her voice singing his own favourite air. In a moment he was at her window, and in a moment more he was bearing her away with him to Paris. He had not wilfully deserted her, on the fatal night when he had failed to bring her the promised rescue. The man he had bribed to make out a false passport for him, had betrayed him to his parents. Countess Osnat was a woman of determination. She immediately gave her son an opiate, had him put, while under its influence, into a carriage, and set out with him to Moravia, to her brother, whose daughter she intended him to marry. On recovering from the effects of the potion, Gundaccar insisted on returning to Inspruck. He would have palpable evidence of what his mother told him. If Clelia was a hypocrite; if she had been intriguing, at the same time, with him and with Achatz, and had now married the latter, he would turn from her door, and never see her again. His mother assented to this: they went to the general's house, asked for Clelia, and heard from the servant that she had departed the day before with her husband:—

"They immediately resumed their journey to Moravia. Gundaccar remained gentle, amiable, pensive; he retained the bent which the decisive

moment seemed to have impressed upon him. He talked with his mother by the way on indifferent topics : on men, things and books,—not a word on his inward feelings. This seemed, even to *her*, unnatural.

“ ‘ Do you really love her so much—this Clelia ? ’ she said once, interrupting his long, deep reverie.

“ ‘ Yes,’ was his brief reply.

“ ‘ She is not worthy of you ; you will forget her, my son,’ was the only consolation she could give him.

“ ‘ I will try to hope so—but I do not believe it,’ replied Gundaccar, quietly.

“ ‘ She tried to talk with him about his future prospects ; he paid no attention : of his avocations in life ; he was silent.

“ ‘ But a rational being must have some plan and purpose in life,’ she exclaimed, impatiently.

“ ‘ When I had one, I was considered irrational,’ he retorted.

“ ‘ One must have some wish—some will.’

“ ‘ It is not always easy to compass one’s wishes, mother ; and my will—you have paralysed.’ ”

* * * * *

“ Gundaccar fell into a sad, futile, dissipated way of life. Indolent, like all children of fortune, he expended what energy he possessed in his resistance to his parents. It had been awakened in him with his love for Clelia, and had become concentrated, or rather petrified, round that love, for it did not give him elasticity and power of will. His first ardent wish had not been fulfilled ; his first vigorous effort had been baffled, and so there was an end for him of wishing and striving. He gave up the helm, and let his bark drive as the waters impelled it ; he rode, sported, played, and drank ; he lost all the ambition that before had fired him at times ; all pleasure in his promising capacity for painting, to which he had once been so earnestly addicted, that he often requested his parents to allow him to adopt painting as a profession. He plunged for a while, with apparent ardour, into those boisterous trivial amusements that served to deaden the sense of pain ; but the remedy soon lost its power, and he fell into the most dismal apathy and weariness of mind. He would have applied himself again to business, but he had no longer the perseverance to wrestle with its dry details ; or he would have resumed his painting, but there was in him no nervous energy—no imagination. His weak and morbidly sensitive nature craved outward excitements, to relieve him from the wretched feeling of inward vacuity. He found them ; but the temporary relief, in the end, only aggravated the evil, for his health began to suffer ; he spat blood, and, instead of sparing his constitution, he only gave himself up to greater excesses. Life was terribly indifferent to him. He courted dangers, for they afforded him a sort of intoxication. The wildest and most hair-brained feats of hunting, and other field-sports, no longer yielded him any emotion. He went to Greece, and took part in the war of independence ; but his health broke down under the exertion. He was ordered home by the physicians ; but a winter spent in the mildest climate of Europe, that of Cadiz, saved his life.

“ He continued for years at variance with his parents, and had never returned to Inspruck.—Count Osnat fumed at his son’s idle, vagrant habits, that led to nothing but an enormous outlay of money, and accumulation of debts. The Countess was terribly mortified at the utter disappointment of all her ambitious hopes ; but disappointment in her proud, cold soul, took the complexion of anger. Gundaccar felt that his parents had reason to be dissatisfied with him ; but he felt likewise, that all things would have been far different, had they not blighted his existence by one fatal error. As almost always

happens in such cases, both parties felt more keenly the injustice they suffered than that they committed.

"In this dismal ruin of his existence, nothing was left subsisting but his remembrance of Clelia Conti. He had loved her—her only; no woman before, none after her. None had been mixed up in the history of all his reckless follies. Many had tried, but none had succeeded in alluring, not to say fettering him. He shunned them at first, and soon acquired such an ill repute for rudeness, that they in their turn shunned him still more. The thought of Clelia was the only one in his whole existence that was sweet to him. She had been false and hypocritical, she had preferred another to him—true; but he had loved her! and during the period of his love had felt more blessedness, more vigour of soul, than ever in his life before or after. He had then voluntarily sought that encounter with life and its realities, in which he had afterwards succumbed without a blow; he loved her still, because that love reminded him of a time in which he possessed his own esteem. He had no wish to see her again, for he looked upon her only as Thannau's wife; at most he wished to know whether she had always played a feigned part with him, and had never loved him. That appetite for intrigue and double-dealing which he imputed to Clelia, and found in other women, he hated as vehemently as it was in his nature to hate anything."

Looking round them where to choose their place of rest, the reunited lovers selected Paris, for no where could they be sure of more privacy and freedom, than amidst the giddy tumult of the great city. Safe in the desired haven, their past sorrows were repaid by more than a year of serene happiness. One thing only troubled them; Achatz took no steps to annul his pretended marriage, and the baroness Thannau contrived to prevent Clelia's trustee from pressing the business on her behalf with any activity. Achatz had lost his captive, and was content to let her go, but he had no mind to part with her fortune; but when Clelia offered to resign it all to him as the cost of her freedom, he gladly assented to the bargain, and she became the wedded wife of Gundaccar. But now came a new disaster: Gundaccar's parents, who had liberally supplied him with money whilst he was living with a mistress, suddenly withdrew their hands from him when he married. The one they considered a transient folly which would wear itself out if left to take its own course; the other they regarded as an intolerable evil, that required to be put an end to by the promptest and most coercive measures. The young couple were now almost destitute, with barely enough left from the sale of their effects, after paying their debts, to secure a few weeks' subsistence for their children. The different effects which this heavy blow wrought on Gundaccar and Clelia were in accordance with their respective characters. In him it produced utter despondency, but it roused her to brave exertion. He tried to paint for his children's bread, but heart, head, and hand failed him, and he turned again to the fatal solace of the weak and despairing—intoxication. Even from this abyss of misery and degradation did Clelia save him.

"In anguish of soul Gundaccar struggled long against the temptation that promised him stupefaction and oblivion. He strove against it with the best strength he possessed, and, like all weak persons, he found a sort of consol-

tion and even excuse in the reflection, that he wanted only the outward means and ways to rouse himself to real persevering industry. 'Had I learned a handicraft trade,' he said to himself, 'I could set about something that required only the spur of outward necessity, but not that inward impulse which I cannot create for myself by the mere effort of my will. A cabinet-maker, or a turner, or a watchmaker, can ply his calling under any and all circumstances, and always find work enough to support his wife and children. But to be a painter it is not enough to have expert hands; the intellect and imagination must be active and buoyant; and mine are crippled. Were I constrained to physical labour, bodily weariness would smother painful reflection, and that would be a welcome beguiling of care. But every other that I fly to yields no relief, for the body is a hurthen to the soul because it does not do its duty.'

"At last his fortitude was exhausted, and with secret horror and despair, he had recourse to the means that afforded him a momentary respite, and that expense of mind and body. Clelia besought him with every form of entreaty and argument she could think of, to pluck up heart, and make some attempt to relieve their necessities. If he would only procure so much as would take them to Italy!

"And when we get there, what then?' said Gundaccar; 'believe me, it matters nothing to us where we live: that is the privilege of wretchedness.'

"But we will not remain in wretchedness, my darling Gundaccar, we will work our way out of it, and we shall do so more easily in Italy. Have I not often heard you wish that you could have made painting your profession? You had all the requisite ability, and nothing hindered you but the little indolence common to people of wealth and station. You were not disposed to earnest application; mere dilettantism did not supply you with the requisite stimulus.—perhaps too the scenes and circumstances around you were not fitted to inspire you. How different would it be in Italy!"

"The inspiring beauties of Italy's sky and land would be counterbalanced by our penury.'

"No, Gundaccar; under a fairer sky we breathe more freely, and feel more strong in the living energy that prompts us to battle with penury till we overcome it.'

"Yes; when one is hale and strong, Clelia.'

"You will grow hale and strong in Italy. The climate will quicken your nerves, and restore health to your lungs. You will be quite a different man there, my darling Gundaccar,' she said, embracing him, with an indescribable expression of mingled confidence and pity.

"Hopeful, like an angel as you are,' he replied; 'but what can I—what shall I do.'

"Finish the pictures you have begun, Gundaccar, send them to a sale-room and dispose of them.'

"I cannot complete them. I have lost the leading principle and groundwork of their conception, and cannot recover it. Besides, the light here is too unfavourable—too dead. What a prospect! black chimneys, dirty roofs, and gray smoke, and the dreary, misty, cloudy season!"

"That is too true,' she answered, with a sigh. Then, pausing a moment, she said, hesitatingly, 'But you can sell your finished pictures.'

"You know I have none.'

"Nay; but you have, dear: those yonder;' and she pointed to three exquisite pictures, hanging, without frames, on the bare walls, and gladdening the poor chamber with their loveliness. They were three portraits of Clelia. In the first she was represented as the Muse of Song, who had raised him by her enchantment from his darksome estate into her own radiant sphere. A laurel wreath encircled her glorious brows, and her upturned eyes seemed bent

on images not to be seen on this earth of ours. The second picture showed her as the Angel who had revealed to him a world of love and truth; the figure was in the early Florentine style, sweet, simple, modest, and surpassingly holy; the long golden hair falling over it in a shining flood; the hands laid flat together, as accorded with the calm prayer of a serene soul—not convulsively clasped, as in the anxious supplications of sad humanity—the eye downcast, gazing from above into a lower region, and resting with heavenly tenderness on a beloved object there. The third picture, in the Venetian style and costume, was the Wife—only the loved and loving Wife—but even therefore the most beautiful, perhaps, of all; a living, breathing, lovely woman; not transcendent, like the Muse; not exalted above earth, like the Angel, but bathed in such a radiant glory, that the thought inevitably occurred to the beholder: ‘Should the earthly form be consumed in that Promethean fire, the Muse would soar out of it to Olympus, and the Angel to Paradise.’

“‘Clelia!’ cried Gundaccar, his voice trembling with indignation.

“‘I meant only the two first,’ she hastened to reply. ‘No one knows me, and the pictures are so beautiful and poetical.’

“‘Neither the first nor the last!’ exclaimed her husband. ‘No one knows you! But I know you. It was more with my heart and soul than with my hands and eyes I painted you, and while I did so, I cannot tell what divine revelations fell upon me. And shall I now profane all this, and carry to the public market inspirations drawn from your genius, your being, and your beauty? Oh! you are raving, Clelia.’

“‘The inspirations which Raffael caught from the beloved Fornarina made him immortal,’ replied Clelia, soothingly; ‘and Murillo, I have read, did not disdain to carry his everlasting works literally to the market. No act of love or genius ever profaned the soul of him who performed it.’

“‘I cannot do it,’ cried Gundaccar. ‘It would seem to me like selling my own soul—and for what? For vile mammon.’

“‘No, Gundaccar, for your children’s bread,’ she said, with a mournful smile.

“‘I will try to finish the new picture,’ said Gundaccar, resolutely.

“And he did begin to paint; but he felt so languid, dull and cold, that he worked without any spirit. Art will not endure that; it claims to be treated with genial warmth. He painted badly. This was the last drop that made the cup run over; he no longer resisted the temptation to revive his jaded spirits by artificial stimulants.

“When Clelia was aware of this, she bitterly reproached herself for having urged Gundaccar to a point at which his want of energy made it impossible that he should maintain a steadfast position. ‘I should have foreseen all this,’ she soliloquised. ‘He cannot bear this morbid super-excitation; he wears himself out to no purpose, and feels himself growing ever weaker and more miserable. My God! how will this end?’”

She thought of giving lessons in singing; and her instructor, a countryman of her own, and a fervent admirer of her exquisite powers, zealously undertook to find her pupils; but before he could accomplish his promise, the two children fell into a slow wasting fever.

“She thanked God that her teacher had not yet succeeded in getting her pupils, and that she was spared so long the task of giving deliberate lessons, under such distracting circumstances. In her husband’s presence she never uttered a lament, and still less had she a word of reproach for him. Once, however, she wavered. Might it not have a startling and salutary effect on Gundaccar were she to say to him, ‘I know all! I am aware of the sad

propensity that is making you and me wretched. You cannot overcome it alone;—well then, let us consult together and think how it may be done.”—But she recoiled with horror from the execution of the idea.—“He would be abashed, he would feel humbled and ashamed before me, and that I could not bear! any thing rather than that! No, no! my lips shall never utter the dreadful word. He shall not surmise that I have detected his melancholy secret; and I will never look upon him or treat him in this respect otherwise than as a sick man, for that he is: his nerves are disordered, and they disable his will, which has not been habituated to command them.”

“Sometimes a thought, that threatened to break her heart, would rush upon her, when she involuntarily made a comparison between her own love and Gundaccar’s; when she reflected how her love had made her so strong, and his had made him so weak, that she was able to be, to do, and to bear everything, and he nothing. ‘He does not love me! he does not love me!’ whispered a frightened voice within her. But then she threw herself on her knees, and her trusting heart replied ‘He does love me. He loves nothing, cares for nothing, hopes for nothing but me; he has lost, neglected, cast away everything but me. He loves me, therefore he is mine; and because he is mine, I must save him.’”

The rescue came at last. Her Italian friend having found means to help her to an engagement as Prima Donna in Palermo, she easily obtained Gundaccar’s consent that she should act according to her own discretion, and carry out her plans for their common welfare, without disclosing their nature to him until they were actually effected. With implicit trust he accompanied her to Palermo, where, unknown to him, she made her *début*, electrified the audience, and when the curtain fell, and the public, in a delirium of enthusiasm, were clamorously calling for the great actress, she hurried away to throw herself into her husband’s arms, and faint upon his bosom. The victory was won; the demon of penury and despair was finally routed.

Clelia Conti is, in our opinion, by far the best of all Madame Hahn Hahn’s works. As regards the talent displayed in it, it is not inferior to its predecessors, whilst it immeasurably surpasses them all in truth and cordiality. Hitherto the grand aim of our authoress’s writings appears to have been the justification of inconstancy; they all seem to have been composed with the distinct and strenuously-pursued purpose of showing how sheerly impossible it is for persons of superior natures to submit to the ordinary regimen of vulgar souls, and—

“*Avaler à longs traits la constance et l’ennui.*”

She has perseveringly mistaken weakness for strength, an ignoble blemish for evidence of innate nobility, and in her ‘Ildas,’ her ‘Faustines,’ &c., she has claimed our admiration and sympathy for beings who are either contemptible or detestable. It was sad to see so much ability so perversely applied; the greater, therefore, is the pleasure with which we hail her entry on a new and better path. Clelia Conti is Madame Hahn Hahn’s own triumphant refutation of all her former heresies.

It ought not to have been followed by ‘Sibylle,’ a work that bears such an unpleasant likeness in tone to those of the Ilda and Faustine series, as inspires us with unwelcome misgivings. The conversion, we

fear, is not complete; there seems a tendency to relapse. Fatigued, apparently, by her first brief and happy effort to pourtray a genial, healthful nature, the authoress has again betaken herself to her favourite subjects, only the treatment is not quite what it used to be. If she dwells with unction on moral deformities and idiosyncracies, she no longer glorifies them, but gives them simply for what they are. This indicates, at least, a step gained in the right direction. But the book is, in all respects, a failure; above all, it has the cardinal fault of not being interesting. Sibylle tells her own story, and it is one very barren of moving incidents; her own individual feelings are the continual theme of her discourse, and, as she is a being with whom it is scarcely possible to sympathize, and as there is not another personage in the story in whose fortunes the reader takes any concern, it is needless to say how tedious is the whole production.

2. *Briefe aus Paris.* 1842. *Pariser Eindrücke.* 1846. [Letters from Paris. 1842. Impressions of Paris. 1846.] By Karl Gutzkow. Frankfurt. 1846.

GUTZKOW'S name, at least, is extensively known, and must be familiar to those who have never read a line of his works. He owes this wide-spread celebrity chiefly to his being "the best abused gentleman" among the living writers of his fatherland. His incontestible merits have naturally made him a mark for envy and malice, and instead of deprecating hostility, he has courted it by the acerbity of his learned and astute criticism, by his scorn of the idols of the day, and the petty politics of literary coteries, and by his stoical determination to shape his own path, and walk alone in his own unaided strength. He was dubbed by the police of Prussia, in early life, a member of "Young Germany;" but he soon peremptorily disavowed the title; and although in his hot youth, amidst the general ferment excited by the French Revolution of 1830, he wrote some rather savage nonsense, yet in his maturer years he fully justified his claim to be regarded as a man of sober, sagacious, practical understanding. Finally, Schücking, a writer of some authority in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, says of him that, considering the force and variety of his powers, he is the most remarkable of living German authors. Beyond this brief notice of the man, we deem no further preface necessary to introduce the following extracts from his book on Paris. He begins his observations on the French in their great Vanity Fair, Longchamps:—

"Easter has brought cold weather with it, and a frosty Longchamps, with red noses, muffs, and fur capes. The holidays are come too early, before the earth has had time to array herself becomingly to receive them. The human figures look no better than the *Champs Elysées*. Longchamps is understood to set the fashion. I saw no new ones there to-day; but to-morrow all the *Follets*, *Petits Couriers des Dames*, *Psyches*, &c., will have long accounts of

such novelties. I have strong suspicions that, in many a carriage, what seemed to be the fair owner thereof, was no more than a lay figure, hung with certain shawls, silks, and velvets, for trade purposes. Four young exquisites wore hats, made of a ribbed stuff, that looked very ugly, but are sure to become fashionable. You can have fine clothes for nothing here, if you can undertake to bring them into fashion at Longchamps.

"There were thousands of persons in the *Champs Elysées*. The carriages formed four rows, two going, two returning, those of the decidedly genteel being in the middle. I observe that the Frenchman is, at bottom, very servile; title and rank are everything with him. What, if all the grand cry of freedom and equality were an illusion! Democracy certainly cannot abolish gentility; but it should make the genteel shy of appearing conscious of their superiority. Whichever way one looks about him in this country, he discovers social anomalies, that ought not to be found in a land that has undergone two revolutions. It is sad to think of the possibility of a third taking place here.

"Of the countless carriages in Longchamps, the greater part are hired. Many an article of dress is seen there, of which one may boldly predict that it will find its way, on the morrow, to the pawn-shop. * * It is curious that every one of these negligently reclining individuals thinks herself the centre round which all Longchamps turns. Poor drops in the sea! Behind the most stylish carriages, if they have not the privilege of driving in the inner rank, follows an advertisement van, or a horseman, with a gorgeous banner, proclaiming to the crowd the marvellous news, that 'In the rue Poissonnière boots are to be had at ten francs a pair.' Custom! custom! is the grand end and aim of everything you see here,—not excepting those lovely languishing eyes, the owner of which, as she reclines voluptuously in her carriage, little suspects that her own poetic apparition is closely succeeded by the vulgar prose of an English blacking van."

France is now possessed with a mania for new systems of philosophy, and new forms of society; but, as the former are spurious, so too must be the latter, which are derived from them. The socialist, communist, Fourierist doctrines, &c., which are at present in vogue, are but a modification of the barren materialism of the eighteenth century. "I call it," says Gutzkow, "a materialism that is based on the craving for enjoyment without labour, and I trace its origin to the national character." All France rings with Jeremiaades about the burthen of toil. Nobody is willing to work, because there are persons who enjoy the good things of life without earning them; or at most they would like to work—say for ten years—provided they could in that space of time accumulate enough to live independently on the interest of their capital for the rest of their days. How to become suddenly rich, how to acquire, at one stroke, the fruits of a whole life of industry, is now the universal problem. It is an opium dream that has seized upon the whole people. The popular writers foster the delusion, for their works abound with the most astounding instances of paupers jumping into the condition of millionaires. With what a gorgeous profusion do Eugène Sue and Alexandre Dumas lavish mines of wealth on their heroes and heroines! The Bourse, too, has done even more mischief in this respect than literature: it offers thousands of specious opportunities for creating a capital out of nothing, and

achieving that darling object of every Frenchman's desire—to be a *rentier*. Let the *rente* be ever so small, if it be only enough to keep its proprietor from starving, then is he a happy man; he has no need to toil any longer—he is a *rentier*, and *il flâne*. In former times the French took a different course to help themselves to *rente*—they went to war, and served as mercenaries wherever there was pay to be had and booty to be won. It was not the love of glory alone that animated Napoleon's armies; they plundered enormously, both collectively and individually.

"The greatest incumbrance of the present French policy, the conquest of Algiers, would long ago have ceased to press so heavily on the country were it not that the civil and military officers regard their mission to Africa as an opportunity of making fortunes there, after the manner of Roman proconsuls. An important case was tried a few years ago, in the course of which it appeared in evidence, that Louis Philippe himself, who is knowing in all matters of *rentes*, gave a general an appointment in Algiers, with the advice that he should retrieve his shattered fortunes by the means his position there would afford him. Ambition animates the educated in France, love of lucre the masses. Hence the desire for war felt by so large a portion of the community, for war for its own sake, no matter on what ground."

Notwithstanding the restlessness of the French temperament, its fickleness, and its appetite for new emotions, Gutzkow is greatly struck by the disciplinable instinct of the people. "Look," he says, "at the crowd collected at the doors of a French theatre—how quietly and orderly they take their places *en queue*! Compare their staid behaviour with the pushing and scuffling of an English or a German crowd in like cases. The Frenchman is always ready to follow any leader who has energy enough to claim command. The man who cannot read is led by him who can; he who does not think himself qualified to be an officer serves cheerfully in the ranks." The bold assertion of an individual opinion at variance with that of the majority is a rare thing in France. The fact has been often noticed by observers of all shades of thinking, and has been by some ascribed, in part, at least, with considerable probability, to the system of centralization, and the minute interference of authority in all the concerns of the public. Where everything, down to the most ordinary routine of parish business, is prescribed by the higher powers, the subject can have no opportunity of acquiring that practical readiness and self-reliance, which are the growth of independent municipal and local institutions.

"It must be admitted that the Orleans dynasty has been a misfortune for France. It is true that so too were the Bourbons, and perhaps in a still greater degree: true that these unroyal sons of Orleans may have saved France from anarchy in the first years after 1830, but this was a purely negative merit, and what is worse, it was their only one. * * * At first the July throne was to be a monarchy, surrounded by republican institutions. That was a great farce. The republican institutions gradually dropped off, and the throne alone remained. The rancour and madness of party spirit sought year after year to kill the king. Every one feels abhorrence for the murderers, and pity for their intended victim; nevertheless we cannot regard the luck of always escaping, unscathed, as a merit in the house of Orleans.

"This dynasty stands really on alien ground in France. I have said that Louis Philippe fears the French; high functionaries of state have assured me that he despises them. He has grown quite out of sympathy with his French native land; he has always felt ill at ease in that turmoil of passion and ambition, and has lapsed with his whole family from all moral confederacy with France. Louis Philippe, a worthy honest man (?), was never fashioned for a ruler. He throws aside his dignity, and, like an anxious dramatist who trembles for the success of his piece, he has a shake of the hand for everybody, from the leading tragedian to the scene-shifter; he would fain gain the good will of the French people, as a diner-out buys the civility of servants, by slipping a few coins into their hands; he comes to no fixed resolution, no system; the sum and substance of his doctrine is this, that he himself is an embodied principle,—his life a moral necessity; and it is enough for him, that he exists, vegetates, and keeps his ground as long as possible. Can this be called reigning? Is this policy?

"There was something royal in the Bourbons. They were hurled from the throne, and driven out of France; but, even in the misery of exile, they played out their native part with dignity, nay, even with ludicrous dignity. They returned to France, resumed the throne with the easy pride of men to the manner born, and ruled, badly indeed, but with a certain energy and self-reliance which is wanting in the house of Orleans. The Bourbons never ceased to be French; they took the old France away with them, and brought it back when they returned, with its hair-powder and patches, no doubt, its vices, prejudices, and antiquated aristocratic humours,—but, likewise, with all the national pride, the old chivalric grace, the imperturbable confidence in the durability of the Most Christian Monarchy, the pride in France's tried strength, in France's never-exhausted resources. Of all this, the Orleans dynasty possesses not a particle. Its movements are uncertain, its steps feeble, its repose unassured. Its foot strikes no thousand-year-old roots into French soil, but steals timorously along over its dust; it has no trust in the people,—none in itself; it has no past, no future; it resides in the Tuilleries, not as proprietor, but as a tenant.

"If the true art of government consists in giving a legitimate form, and opening a legitimate path to the impulse of an age or nation for change, innovation, and increased welfare, then has nothing been done in France to further this true policy.

* * * *

A trusting confidence in the great affairs of mankind should be the banner of this policy. Where has the Orleans dynasty displayed this confidence? Where has it set up this banner?

"Not a single great act has ever emanated directly from the king. All the impulses he has immediately given have been negative, not one of them creative or animating. The Bourbons chose the Jesuits and the ultra-royalists for their counsellors; the public knew how they stood with them. The strife against them in the chambers, the professors' chairs, and the press, was open, free, and hearty; a strife that called knowledge and the higher qualities of men's characters into play, and not as now, only intrigue. The strife of those days exalted the nation, and gave a loftier tone to education and morals; it made possible a revolution like that of 1830, which could so remarkably restrain itself within the bounds of magnanimity—of self-command. Now the court fluctuates from one party to another; the young princes pull long faces, because they are denied recognition in Russia; the ladies shed tears at the spiteful wit of the Faubourg St. Germain; the king himself receives the doctrinaires to-day, the Thiers party to-morrow; would gladly squeeze the hand of Odillon Barrot, and would have no objection to come to terms with Mauguin, Cornuëlieu, or the Charivari. Not one living statesman in France knows how he stands with Louis Philippe; nor is this to be imputed to the king's cleverness, but to his instability. One comes, another goes; they all profess their

alacrity to uphold the welfare of the monarchy, and the king vacillates between them. * * * *

"If we inquire into the nature of the means by which Louis Philippe has hitherto neutralised parties,—what is it? An indescribable selfishness, that has spread from above downwards to all parts of the body of the state, so that, in every function, each part regards only itself, and the general body lies paralysed. * * * *

What France is now suffering under, is not the exhaustion of its resources, nor the perturbation of party, nor the intrigues of its ambitious statesmen,—but it is the spirit of fear, distrust, and dissimulation, the bircling temper, the want of self-reliance, and the cringing habits with which it has been infected from above. And all this in a people that has such an eagerness to be busied, or at least amused; in a people that is prone to obey so submissively, if only it is commanded with energy; in a state, which, through its unity, is the most governable in the world, China, perhaps, excepted. All Paris is like the Palais Royal,—its animation is gone. There are fine shops, where no one buys anything, but only lounges past them; eating-rooms on the first floor, and coffee and newspaper-rooms below."

This is a cheerless picture for those whom it more immediately concerns, but one from which foreigners will not fail to extract comfort. They naturally enough argue, that the depression and enervation of France bodes well for the peace of Europe. "This may be all very well," says Gutzkow, "and far from desiring to stir up the German press against Louis Philippe, I congratulate his native land on the opportunity it has derived from his system to refresh itself by repose."

"One thing, however, I must remark; history proves that every anomalous departure from the natural course of things, only leads, sooner or later, to a more threatening revulsion towards the re-establishment of the normal condition. The present enervation of the French will have its revenge. Yes; I am even of opinion that the mutual relations of nations stand on a sounder footing, when each is free to enjoy the use of its natural powers. That France should be proud and vigorous does not necessarily imply that she should be warlike. A nation may have the faculty of pursuing an active career conceded to it without putting a sword into its hand. The range of ideas in the nineteenth century is so copious, the field for a policy that should walk in the light of our age is so extensive, that the bounding pulse of the national heart may well be aroused without any heating of drums. The possibility of doing this has not been comprehended in that buckster-like balancing of interests by which France has been governed since 1830. The nation has been kept quiet for the time by this policy; but, soon or late, some cry will break this lethargy, some spark will kindle the silently accumulating fuel."

It argues ill, our author thinks, for the constitutional system in France, if all the bulwarks that have been erected against the revolutionary flood break down as rapidly as the Chamber of Deputies has done. The disrepute of this body has incredibly augmented within the last four years; and, with the exception of the bankers, stock-jobbers, and stockholders, who universally imagine that their own prosperity is the prosperity of the community, it is no longer looked up to with deference or interest by public opinion.

"Its strength is broken; death has struck down some of its best pillars, and others have become impaired by age. Those who, like Berryer and Lamartine, should have shone conspicuously, by force of character, when it was no longer

possible for them to achieve great things by their oratory, have exhibited incredible weaknesses. The only vigorous, informed, impassioned leaven of the Chamber is Thiers; but all the world knows that his individual self is the only thing for which he now and then blows up a sort of storm in that little standing pool. In Guizot and Thiers there stand mutually opposed, not two principles of government, but two methods. The one is disposed to go slowly and cautiously along, the other a little faster. They hid against each other to the King only as to which will serve him best. In Thiers there is more of the fiery Frenchman than in Guizot, in whom there is something of the Calvinistic strain, something that savours of the Genevan school. This slight shade of difference apart, the course of things would be almost the same under the one as the other, at least so long as Louis Philippe lives.

"The other elements of a Chamber, based on taxation, a Chamber more than a third of which consists of public functionaries, officers, and other subordinates of the government, are not of a nature to excite any lively admiration for the representative system, excellent as it is in its pure and genuine character. A seat in the Chamber of Deputies is become a position of emolument; not that the taint of corruption imputed to this institution, is to be understood in the gross literal sense; no, the bribery is of a more refined sort. The deputy must bestir himself in the capital for the benefit of his province and his constituents; he is so near the ear of government. The government wants his vote, and he sells it on consideration of a place or two for his relations, a favour to his friends, an admission to a first subscription for a new railway, or any one or more of the thousand opportunities a ministry possesses for using its divining rod and discovering precious metals under the common ground of life. Guizot, a conscientious man, is not the inventor of this subornation. No, the venal eagerly offer themselves for sale, they put the pen into the hand of the passive minister, and he has but to subscribe his name. They have opportunities for benefiting themselves, their constituents, relations, and friends; and the philosopher, smiling at first at human frailties, comes at last to despise them as he gratifies them. But if the system does not accord with Guizot's character, it does so with his master's, who is well versed in scrutinising the passions of men, and turning to his own advantage the earthly complement of God's image.

"After the king's death it will be impossible to uphold the present Chamber of Deputies; which has become a mere trick-working machine in his hands, by means of which he contrives to govern France with apparent equity, but entirely in accordance with his own will and pleasure. Should Thiers or Lamartine then come to the helm, they would find themselves mistaken if they reckoned on meeting in the Chamber with the same elements as those with the nature of which they have made themselves so familiar by the study of sixteen years. An altered electoral census would suddenly set before them another generation, fashioned to new views, and other principles than those of the old performers in the comedy of 'The System.' This change in the electoral census will probably be proposed by the Regency itself; and forms perhaps a clause in the testament which the king will bequeath to his sons and grandsons. The first King of the French has studied history, and has long been a silent observer of the manner in which things rise and fall. He will, no doubt, have learned from the old dynasty the usual practice of new reigns to meet the natural wish for change, and he will have instructed his son accordingly. Harmless internal reforms divert public attention from the perilous ground of foreign politics; and what is there that can be changed with greater facility than this Chamber of Deputies, which has none of the *prestige* of an ancient venerable institution? If any of the foreign cabinets look forward to the king's

death as to the opening of a lion's cage, let them advise the Duke of Nemours instantly to seize the expedient of electoral reform; it will meet the restless and dangerous craving after *some sort of new thing*, hush all parties in the country, give the French in reality the increased freedom they deserve, and protect other nations from any outbreak of that arrogant and aggressive spirit that might again possess France, when suddenly left without a master; for I am not disposed to expect any thing salutary to Germany from what France calls her glory, her national honour, and her freedom."

Being in Paris at the time of Lecomte's attempt on the king's life, our author was shocked to see the apathy manifested by the public. He remarks on this subject :—

"People say that the king is much beloved in Paris. I will not contest the point, I will not discuss the opinion of his political opponents, who call him a traitor to the maxims and men who put him on the throne; and I will even say that it is not to be expected of a man of his years, and whose course of life has been such as his, that he should wear the poetic, grand, and genial physiognomy which unhappily we so sorely miss in almost all living sovereigns. I repeat, that all Parisians who live in dread of *émeutes*, of the breaking of their shop-windows, and of the reduction of the rate of interest, behold in the king their staunchest support. He is liked, therefore; but this I can aver, that the expression of that liking is the coldest and tamest that ever was witnessed.

"It was the first of May, the king's *fête* day; the weather beautiful. A heavy rain had quickened the vegetation in the garden of the Tuilleries, and filled the air with the fragrance of the blossoming trees. A soft moonlight evening followed; the king was to appear in the balcony of the chateau, and more than ten thousand persons had been admitted by special tickets into the smaller garden. The regimental bands played under the balcony. At last appeared the king, who so recently had had another escape from assassination. With him were his two grandsons, the Comte de Paris and the Duc de Chartres, and the Duchess of Orleans now and then joined the party.

"In the ministerial papers appeared the following statement: 'Immense acclamations filled the air. Never was the royal family so received; never were the cries of *Vive le Roi!* so prolonged and vehement. Enthusiasm was carried to the highest pitch.'

"Not one word of this is true. The vast crowd was silent for a whole hour. The king appeared in military uniform, with a three-cocked hat, a tall, gaunt figure, altogether unlike the usual stout, plump, portraits of him, with white whiskers and the infirm carriage of a very old man, for whom we felt twofold compassion in presence of that cold insensible crowd. Not a man of them raised his hat, whilst the king was incessantly taking his off and howing. Three or four persons, commissioned for the purpose, shouted *Vive le Roi!* No one responded to the cry; the king sat down. Sentinels were posted, of course with loaded weapons, on all the adjacent roofs and galleries, for it was a daring act of the king's to expose himself so openly. His little grandsons, designated, in the official newspaper style, *l'avenir de la France*, beat time to the music. The king encouraged them to do so; it gave them a gay, saucy, perhaps martial appearance. It lasted much too long for a spontaneous impulse, this time-beating; children soon tire of such sports, but the Comte de Paris durst not cease, he was obliged to work on unceasingly at his enforced musical programme. The Duchess of Orleans, who has learnt what is called in France, *s'effacer*, to make herself small, did not remain long on the balcony, but slipped away as soon as she could. But the 'immutable thought' (*pensée immuable*) held on. The *claqueurs* of the police again shouted *Vive le Roi!* Again he stood up, took off his hat, and bowed smilingly. Dead silence as

before, no response. *Vive la Reine!* some one shouted, and still there was silence, and when at last the cry was given out of *Vive le Comte de Paris!* the farce was dissolved in laughter. And this was the scene of which the *Journal des Debats* said, 'Immense acclamations filled the air,' &c.

"So much of Paris as was not present, the provinces, the electors, foreign nations and foreign courts believe these words. When I recounted what I had seen to a banker, he answered coolly—'People do not shout in France. When there is no hissing, it is just the same as if every one had shouted.'

"This, I own, astounded me. Our warm, strong-beating German heart! Our enthusiasm for all we love and reverence! The *blasé* Frenchman lets the *claqueur* shout, and joins tacitly in the applause, inasmuch as he does not hiss.

"I should like to know whether Louis Philippe views the matter in the same light as does his banker. Would not a little more love and affection be welcome to him after another attempt on his life? Or do we Germans take too sentimental a view of such matters? It may be so; for, while we were thus reflecting, one of our party had his pocket picked."

Gutzkow had two or three interviews with Thiers and Guizot, and sat at their tables. He appears to us to have taken a pretty accurate measure of the personal and political character and circumstances of both statesmen. Of the former he says, that his preconceived notions were not disappointed on nearer acquaintance,—a thing which does not happen in the case of a great man.

"Thiers is unquestionably one of the most remarkable phenomena of our time; a journalist who plunges into the torrent of a revolution, and is borne along by it to become twice prime minister of one of the first nations of the world. One is astounded at the circumstances that could have produced so singular a result, and still more at the talent of the man who contrived to avail himself so dexterously of those circumstances. * * *

To me, too, there is something exceedingly surprising in the fact, that Thiers owes his fortune, not to a lucky star, not to any vast comprehensive genius he possesses, but to a single personal accomplishment—the gift of oratory. I confess, I am shocked by this discovery. * * *

Thiers said, 'Our Chamber likes to be entertained; it is made up of people who cannot bring themselves to endure being bored for the good of the country. Whoever would make sure of them, must amuse them.' And, in fact, Thiers commands the Chamber by amusing it. * * *

It was not the genius of this statesman that transferred him from a fifth-floor lodging to his splendid mansion in the Place St. George, but his talent. Talent is always more prosperous in France than genius; perhaps it is so all the world over.

"So long as the kings of France are dependent on their ministers, and these again on the chamber, the career of a Thiers may be re-enacted in every session. A young deputy ascends the tribune for the first time. He waits five minutes, until the noise made by the prattling representatives of the nation has subsided, takes a few sips out of the glass of *eau sucrée* beside him, and begins—'Messieurs!' First, the audience criticise the tone of his voice, then his dialect,—is he from the north or the south? Then they note his action, his pauses and intonation, then they pass insensibly to the consideration of his system, and finally of the view he takes of the matter in hand. If the latter, though not correct, is acute, if he displays wily turns, if his language is free from the common-place phrases of the bar or the lecture-room, if it have none of the frothiness of Odillon Barrot, or the hard, dry style of an uncouth republican; if the voice, the delivery, the manner find favour, and if, besides all this, he

has a prompt and pointed reply for any passing remarks by which he may be interrupted, why then his fortune is made. Before the speech is yet concluded, the king is already informed that a new genius has arisen. In the evening he is spoken of in all the journals. The ministers would think themselves fortunate to have such an orator for their champion; and in the next arrangement of a cabinet, France has acquired a minister who, but a few years ago, lived by the favour of a bookseller.

* * * * *

"If, in the course of his Napoleonic studies, Thiers gradually became so enamoured of his hero that he began to imitate him, and brought it to such a pass, that he was ready, if war broke out, to seize the truncheon and put himself at the head of the army; on the other hand, nature had unquestionably already impressed upon him an outward affinity with Napoleon. He looks like the Corsican. The form of his head and the rounding of the chin bear a strong resemblance to those of the bronze Napoleon. The keen falcon glance is concealed by spectacles. His hair is gray; in other respects he is a hale and young-looking man of forty. He is so short of stature, that he must always look up when he is speaking. He is fond of sitting on the arm of a chair, and collecting a group of hearers round him, to whose remarks he listens with great affability and good humour. Thiers has not contracted any ministerial airs. He still retains all his southern flexibility of manner, the *bonhomie* of a good fellow (*eines guten Jungen*), the cordiality of a *roturier*. One likes him because he is natural.

"I was not much interested," said I, 'in the subject of your yesterday's speech on the harbour of Algiers; I only admired your method of treating it, and your oratorical powers. It is true, your colleagues in the chamber make it an easy thing for you to hold your ground. I never heard worse speaking than that of the gentleman who preceded you, M. de Corcelles. I cannot understand how a man of honour and feeling can ascend the tribune, and deliver an harangue that is listened to with the most utter indifference.'

"These people make their speeches," replied Thiers, 'not for the chamber hut for the electors, who read them in the papers, give them in imagination suitable action and delivery, and rejoice in having sent so clever a deputy to Paris.'

"What is the secret of the orator's art?" I resumed. 'I believe it is nature. One should have clearly defined thoughts to utter, and should say no more than is necessary. * * * The debate of yesterday was very stormy.'

"Stormy? I thought it very quiet, almost sleepily so."

Allowance must be made for diversity of habits and tastes. Gutzkow might reasonably call a debate "stormy," in which a fierce exchange of personalities took place between Thiers and Soult, each charging the other with habitual disregard for truth. Gutzkow pursued the conversation by remarking:—

"I admire the calmness with which you encounter opposition."

"One learns to do so as a minister: one must also acquire the habit as a parliamentary one. All this roaring and screeching is mere wind. If you take it quietly, and smile, you remain master of the field. The chamber is like every large body; it is as childish as the audience in a theatre. The finest things, if badly played, are hissed off. *Ces messieurs* are all very wise legislators, hut, collectively, they have all the defects of a pit audience."

"That confirms me," I subjoined, 'in the belief, how much a good deputy may learn even from a bad actor. It struck me, during yesterday's debate,

that these gentlemen were not familiar with the simplest rudiments of the art of dealing with a multitude. They did not even know how to enforce silence. The worst actor knows that. If he is in the middle of a sentence, and people are talking in the boxes, clapping doors, or showing in other ways their impatience of his bad performance, what does he do? He suddenly stops speaking. Every one sees, every one hears this. The actor is silent. Why is he silent? All eyes are bent on him, a deep stillness ensues, and the cunning player proceeds uninterruptedly with his part.

"Very true," said Thiers. "When I want to procure silence, I very often adopt the expedient of uttering a gross paradox. That brings the uproar to a climax. I let them all shout until they are tired; it gives me time to recover my breath, and presently the noise subsides, for every one is curious to know how I prove my proposition, and the chamber is all attention."

The conversation next turned on language. Gutzkow remarked that German is very ill-adapted for oratory.

"The English tongue," he said, "is as natural as passion itself. French is the language of conversation, of mutual understanding and amiable persuasion. The German language, though our poets find in it a free stream of abounding beauty, is yet far too abstract for ordinary purposes; it expresses nothing right out, is full of paraphrases, and is far too much a curial language to be all the orator requires. The same thing may be said of our historical style."

"You would soon have both an historical style and a language of eloquence," replied Thiers, "if Germany was in full possession of free institutions. Good speaking can only be found where there exists the right of speaking freely. History can only be written where men can make history. The mere scholar can do very well as a collector of historical materials; but to scrutinise, sift, and embody those materials belongs only to the scholar, who is at the same time a statesman. Machiavelli and Du Thou were statesmen; therefore they had an historical style."

There is a very great difference, as our author remarks, between the manner of proceeding of a French and a German historian. The latter, when he meditates the production of some *magnum opus*, first spends ten years in piling up a mountain of materials: another ten years are employed in reading these; and, in the course of a third ten, he puts them into shape, and gives them to the press. They manage the thing much more conveniently in France, and, to a certain extent, in England also, where the drudgery is done by young *littérateurs* and steady old factotums; whilst the author reserves to himself only the intellectual part of the labour. But, besides this difference as to outward method, there is another inward and radical difference, which we have never seen more happily symbolised than in the words of Baron Arnim:—"A German, an Englishman, and a Frenchman were severally required to portray a camel. The Frenchman went straightway to the Jardin des Plantes, and on the following day produced a clever, though not perfectly accurate sketch of the camel. The Englishman set out with the first steamer for the African desert, carefully observed the camels he saw there, made drawings of them, and, after some months, completed a picture of the animal, true to the very life. Meanwhile, the German had shut himself up in his study, in order to construe the camel out of the

depths of his own moral consciousness.* According to the most recent authentic intelligence he is still at it."

Guizot's opinion of Thiers is thus reported from his own lips:—

"M. Thiers, my indefatigable rival, has the misfortune with all his talent to be only an imitator. At one time he imitates Louis XIV., at another the Jacobins; to-day the Directory, and to-morrow Napoleon. It seems as though, notwithstanding his knowledge of the modern history of France, he has no other way of helping himself out of a difficult case than by asking himself, 'How would the monarchy, how would the republic, how would the empire have acted under these circumstances?' There is much truth in this remark.

"Louis Philippe, Molé, and Guizot, each lost his father by the guillotine. Louis Philippe fears the French, Molé flatters them, Guizot despises them. Not one of the three manifests towards them oblivion of the past—forgiveness—love.

"Guizot has seen great, but assuredly no virtuous times. Why then hate ours? That fine soul that could read, with steadfast voice, out of Bossuet to his dying wife,—that manly spirit that could restrain his tears as he cast the first handful of earth on the coffin of his son,—why thus filled only with distrust towards the age, towards a whole people? Does faith in mankind vanish with youth? Are they alone wise, they alone worthy of esteem, whose heads are whitened with the snows of age? Were it possible to blend Guizot and Lamartine together, there would not perhaps be a majority in the Chamber, but a majority there would be in the hearts of all who see in politics the suit which man has been carrying on with nature for thousands of years past, with no prospect as yet of winning."

Our author reports an amusing lecture given him indirectly by Cormenin (Timon), the celebrated pamphleteer, on the terrible prolixity of the German writers. Taking up a big book by Lamennais, and a very little one by himself, Timon began thus:—

"Such a book as this, look you, is far too big. It is a capital book by all means, but who reads it? Who buys it? Who has time and money enough? The great thing is to operate effectively on the people. Look at this slender little book. It is cheap, and can be read quickly. Many thousand copies are dispersed over France. To-day, the little thing appears in Paris; to-morrow, it is in the provinces. One must write pamphlets that can be understood by the academician and by the vinedresser, books that will lie on the boudoir-table and on the poor man's chimney-piece, that can be carried in the pocket, and read during a walk in the forest, books that do not give us too much to retain in mind, and therefore not much to forget. Pray recommend all German writers to work in this way for the people. *C'est la propagande la plus sûre, la plus sincère.*"

"I hereby do it solemnly.

"But there is one thing friend Cormenin forgot. In France, it is necessary to make books as small as possible, inasmuch as the reading of them is a matter of such difficulty among the populace. To read the little book on

* "*Um das Kameel aus der Tiefe seines sittlichen Bewusstseins zu construi- ren.* There are multitudes of German metaphysical words and phrases, for which it is impossible to find equivalents in English, and this '*sittliches Bewusstsein*' is one of them. In the phrase which we have substituted for it, the word 'moral,' must be taken in its most abstract sense, and not as implying 'morality' in its ordinary and limited acceptance."

'Centralisation,' costs the vinedresser of Burgundy a month's time. Perhaps three individuals in a village can read, that is to say, can spell through a book. What an effort for them to decypher such a gigantic work as a pamphlet of six sheets! How many winter evenings must be spent, how many lamps burned out, before its contents can be hammered in the hard head of a Bretagne peasant! A Monsieur Blondin, a communist tailor, who refused to make me a pair of trousers because he deemed me capable of turning up my nose at philosophers and great social reformers, who can neither read nor write, keeps a needlewoman in his workshop to read the newspapers every morning to himself, and his equally erudite journeymen. In Germany, where every peasant has read through the family Bible at least three times, and his old sermon-book four times, it is allowable to give a little more bulk to one's pamphlets. Besides, it is notorious, that it is only in right of twenty printed sheets per volume, that we enjoy a sort of freedom of the press, through which we may at least indulge the fond illusion, that we have written without a censorship—until the book is confiscated."

Is there anything in this world so bad, that nothing good can come of it? Even the censorship, it seems, has its literary advantages. In reply to Villemain's question, "How did the able writers of Germany contrive to accommodate themselves to the horrible yoke of the censorship?" Gutzkow answered:—

" 'We strive so much the more to write in an original style.'"

" 'That is true,' said Villemain; 'we have seen the same thing in Benjamin Constant. So long as he wrote under censorship, he was a great stylist. As he was compelled to go round about the truth, his pen swept, in its serpentine evolutions, through the most masterly and graceful curves. Afterwards, when he was free to write whatever he pleased, he became slovenly, and nobody would read him. Be assured, however, that for the sake of a free press, we would rather read bad books, than have good stylists, with a censorship.'"

3. *J. J. v. Littrow's Vermischte Schriften*, [J. J. v. Littrow's Miscellaneous writings]. Edited by his Son. 3 vols. Stuttgart. 1846.

ELABORATE analytical reviews of important scientific works, English, French, German, and Italian, form the principal contents of these volumes. Von Littrow was, for the last twenty years of his life, director of the imperial observatory in Vienna. He was a man of extensive and solid acquirements, indefatigable industry, and great simplicity of character. His merit as an astronomer may be inferred from a passage in a letter addressed to him by Sir John Herschel, in 1820. "I have taken the liberty of availing myself of that part of your work on theoretical and practical astronomy which relates to the theory of comets, and which is particularly luminous and well arranged," &c. In early life, Von Littrow was, for seven years, Professor of Astronomy in the University of Kasan; and to this circumstance we are indebted for a very interesting portion of the present volumes, the 'Russian Sketches,' from which we shall proceed to make some extracts. The just abhorrence entertained in England for the brutal despotism of Russia, and for the corruption and wick-

ness that pervade all classes of her public functionaries, is apt to warp our judgment of the Russian people, and make us think more harshly of them than they perhaps deserve. Von Littrow's evidence is greatly in their favour:—

“ Every one who knows how harshly the lower classes of Russians are treated by their superiors, may well wonder at the extraordinary stock of good nature still extant among the common people: it must really have been of amazing fulness to have withstood the destructive force of so many centuries of injustice and outrage. This good nature is often carried to a child-like degree of simplicity; and in the interior of the empire it is so universal and so much a matter of course, that when a stranger expresses his surprise at what is to him so unusual, the only answer he is likely to receive from the Russians themselves is a smile of kindly compassion. The simplest and kindest of all, according to my experience, are the Tschermishes, Mordvines and Tchuvashes, who reside in the governments of Kasan, Viatka, Simbirsk, Pensa, and Ufa, and who were nomades a century ago. Their tongue differs entirely from all the Russian dialects, which leads me to suspect that they are the remains of a people that formerly extended widely over Central Asia. Their numbers may be about half a million, and though they are baptised, most of them still adhere to their heathenish customs; but they are all distinguished for their *bonhomie* and obliging disposition, the like of which I never met with in any other part of the world.

“ Good nature, however, though not in the same degree, is an almost universal characteristic of the Russian nation. In the unknown streets of the towns, on the high roads, or the steppes of Siberia, the foreign traveller is sure to be kindly directed by every one of whom he asks his way, and generally they will accompany him a good bit on his route. Whoever meets with a mischance need not fear that his fate will be coldly regarded by uninterested spectators, for every one hastens to aid him to the utmost of their power even at their own personal risk. If a man falls into the water, he is rescued by unknown peasants, who often peril their own lives to save him, and then kindly bidding him good bye, go about their business without thinking they have done anything extraordinary, or making any claim for praise or reward. How often have I seen poor people, nay, actual beggars, sharing the few kopecks they had begged with some one needier than themselves, to help him to a glass of braudy, or, if they could do no more, at least filling his snuff-box, so that he might not go away without some sort of comfort. To the same kindly feeling may, perhaps, be traced another no less general trait of the Russian character, their extraordinary fondness for children, which is not confined to their own offspring; even people of the better class stop in the streets to look at children playing, mingle with them, take up the prettiest or best behaved amongst them in their arms, kiss them, and send them away with a little present. The well-known religious tolerance of the Russians, and their true oriental hospitality towards strangers, spring apparently from the same noble root,—kindliness towards their fellow-men.

“ Let me be allowed to state, with reference to this aspect of the Russian national character, some facts of which I can warrant the authenticity.

“ A Russian merchant in Turinsk, resolved to devote a large portion of the fortune he had amassed in trade to the establishment of an hospital in his native town. Alexander, hearing of this munificent conduct, sent the man the order of St. Vladimir of the second class. Gratiified as the merchant must have been by an honour so seldom bestowed on one of his guild, he nevertheless petitioned for leave to transfer the emperor's gift to his old father, to whom, he said, he was indebted for all he possessed, and also for the advice to

found the hospital. The emperor fulfilled the petitioner's pious wish, by bestowing the same favour on the father, without withdrawing it from the son. They were both living when I passed through Turinsk in the year 1816. A wealthy lady lost her finest village in the interior of Russia, by fire, in 1808. I saw the letter which she wrote from St. Petersburg, consoling her peasants, and promising them, that in the following spring she would have their houses rebuilt at her own cost, that she would give them seed-corn, and acquit them of all dues and tasks for the next five years. Goodness, in high or low station, always spreads its beneficent influence in either direction, and the noble feelings of this lady seem to have instilled themselves into the inhabitants of her village. One of the peasants had shortly before the burning of the village borrowed 1000 rubles of a merchant for the purpose of extending his trade in fish and leather. The sum remained untouched in his house at the time the flames broke out, and he was fortunate enough to save it. He faithfully repaid the money, and exulted in having been able to save his good name, instead of availing himself, as he might so easily have done, of the catastrophe, and making it a pretext for defrauding his creditor.

"We cannot withhold our esteem from a nation among whom traits of this kind belong to the most common-place order of things, and we cannot but heartily wish that the worth of such a people should be duly recognised by others, especially by those in authority over it. I am aware that a very different opinion of this people prevails among foreigners, and that not without reason, since it is founded on the direct experience of travellers. But where have these travellers collected their observations? For the most part on the highways connecting the most populous towns, or in those towns themselves, or in the higher circles; but the latter are notoriously the worst places for becoming acquainted with the nation, and those who reside near the great highways are corrupted, and completely changed from their primitive character, by frequent intercourse with strangers and the temptations of lucre. The inhabitants of the great towns, lastly, are, for well known reasons, the worst of all. * * * The tendency of large towns to poison their vicinity will strike every observant traveller in Russia, when he visits the neighbourhood of Moscow or St. Petersburg. A man may travel day and night over the whole vast empire without weapons of any sort, and find even a knife a superfluity; but when he comes within some miles of the Mother of the Land, the holy city of Moscow, he must cease to travel by night, and have his fire-arms in readiness. In spite of this precaution, a week seldom passes in which one does not hear of robberies and murders committed on the roads about the city, though it must be confessed that the highwaymen of Moscow are far inferior in their art to their brethren of other lands. Travelling in the winter of 1807 to Moscow, which I wished to reach before night, I noticed, when I was about an hour's journey from the city, a humming sound at the back of the sledge, and calling to the driver to stop I soon discovered the cause: the thieves had cut the ropes that fastened a little trunk to the sledge, not quite through, but in such a manner that the mere shaking of the vehicle would inevitably finish the business, and throw the trunk into the road. This I afterwards learned is a very common manoeuvre of the thieves, by which they avoid all the danger of an open attack, and also save their good name, for they are anxious to pass for honest people. They go out the next morning before dawn to see what the travellers may have dropped on the road, and whatever they find in this way they take with a safe conscience, for it cannot be said they have stolen it. My driver, a common Russian boor, did not seem quite to accord with these views, and, with a terrible volley of curses, he unyoked one of the horses to ride back in quest of the lost trunk. I tried to prevent this, not liking to be left alone at nightfall in the open country, and

in so unsafe a spot, but he went off in spite of me. After a long anxious hour he came back hurraing, with the trunk before him on the horse. We drove on in great glee, and when we came to the station, and I offered him a small present for his good service, he refused to take the whole of it, thinking it too much; and when I forced it on him I thought he would never leave off thanking me and kissing my hand. I told the story to the next postilion I had, and he informed me that Ivan was an *otchin dobroï tcheloveck*, an uncommonly worthy man, who had ten children, and did not even—the best was to come last—did not even drink brandy."

The following fact was related to von Littrow by a friend of his, who resided in St. Petersburg, and who noticed it in one of the most frequented streets of that city :

"An old blind beggar used to be led every morning to a certain spot, where he remained all day, appealing to the charity of the passers by. An old hat suspended on his breast was the receptacle for their offerings, and many of the lowest class cast their little donations into it, often dropping a *piatak* (a five kopeck piece) into the hat, and taking three or four kopecks out of it, telling the beggar at the same time how much they had added to the store. As my friend's business obliged him to pass frequently every day through that street, he had many opportunities for remarking the hourly increase in the contents of the hat; but he never saw that the old man thought it necessary to convince himself with his fingers that he was fairly dealt with by those who took change from him, or that it ever occurred to him to secure a part of his gains in his pocket. To me it seems that such an instance of integrity and benevolence on the one hand, and of unbounded confidence on the other, speaks more strongly than words can do for the character of a nation, and that in many another capital of civilized Europe a beggar who should thus place himself at the mercy of unknown thousands, would be very apt to go home at night with an empty hat.

"I was much struck by two phenomena, which prevail, almost without exception, all over Russia. The first of these is the pity, I might almost say the respect, evinced by every individual of the populace towards all drunken persons. Good-natured, as the Russian generally is, he requires some prompting, at least in the great towns, to lend a helping hand in casualties occurring in the streets. If a carriage breaks down, he will perhaps stop a moment to gratify his curiosity, and then walk off without offering any assistance; but if a drunken man tumbles down in the street, every one who sees him will hasten to afford him the most assiduous care, regarding him almost as a sacred being, from whom it would be a most heinous crime to withhold sympathy and protection. It is a common thing to see even weakly persons take up such a drunken insensible lout on their shoulders, and totter along with him to the nearest house, where he is sure of being kindly received, and allowed to sleep off his debauch, after which he is permitted to depart, with a full stomach and something in his pocket."

Every one has seen or heard of the French caricature, in which a drunkard is represented sprawling in a ditch, whilst a sober spectator gazes pensively upon him and exclaims, "*Voilà pourtant comme je serai dimanche.*" A fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind; and this, perhaps, sufficiently accounts for the affectionate behaviour of the Russian towards a brother overtaken by drink. Von Littrow, however, in addition to this consideration, suggests a more recondite motive for such conduct. His own countrymen, he says, apply the epithet,

"selig"—blest, to the condition of one whom drink has steeped in sweet oblivion; so too do the Russians, and they probably feel a holy reverence for the mysterious power of intoxication, and for its temporary victims.

"The other point, which is certainly more difficult to explain, is the extraordinary good temper and amiability which the Russian displays in his cups. That which maddens people of other nations, and often hurries them into fatal brawls, has quite the contrary effect on the Russians. Even the captious and testy become mildness itself in their drink; and, common as intoxication is in the country, the fact of its leading to brawls and quarrels is almost unheard of. Even enemies, who are full of mutual abuse when sober, treat each other like the most affectionate friends when they are well soaked with brandy. The progress of intoxication in their drinking bouts, runs generally through the following scale:—First, they are silent and reserved; then, as their heads warm, their tongues are loosened, and their language becomes more and more affectionate, and abounding in diminutives, which the Russian always uses to express endearment. From the common forms of appellation, such as *mashennik*—(rogue), *sukinsin*—(son of a b—), and so forth, which no one takes amiss, and which may all be very exactly translated 'good fellow,' they slide gradually into the more engaging terms *bartushka*—(daddy), *matushka*—(mammy), *galorushka*—(little dove), *dushinka*—(little soul), &c. When their hearts have been sufficiently mollified by these verbal endearments, their fondness begins to manifest itself in more palpable tokens; they throw their arms round each others necks, and hug and kiss; and when their bliss has at last reached its culminating point, they hold each other fast, beseeching and imploring mutual forgiveness of any faults they may ever have committed; then they swear eternal friendship, and vow there is nothing they will not do for each other. After this grand consummation, their overwrought feelings find relief in tears. They weep like children, hug and kiss each other over again, beg pardon in accents broken by sobs, make all sorts of promises to their dear daddies and little brothers, and then depart their several ways all happy to their hearts' content—except, of course, such of them as are left lying under the table.

"From the constant habit of begging pardon, to which the common Russian is addicted in his natural state, that is, when he is drunk, he has come to use the same phrase in a singular manner in his abnormal condition of sobriety. The only vernacular Russian expression equivalent to our 'farewell' is *prostchai*—(pardon me). * * *

"In consequence of the facility and cheapness of travelling in Russia, people of the lowest class are often to be found there who have seen more of foreign lands and foreign customs than many who pass in our part of the world for distinguished travellers. I had a *dvornik* (house servant) in Kasan, who had been in my service more than a year, before I was aware that the good quiet-mannered old man, whom I took for a native of Kasan, that had never been beyond the bounds of his own district, had seen almost as much of God's fair earth as a Niebuhr or a Humboldt. I came across him one day as he was engaged with the under servants in laying up the straw for the use of the stables in winter. 'Who would imagine,' he said, turning to me, 'that in Kitai (so the Russians call China) they make paper, and very handsome paper too, of such straw as this?' 'How do you happen to know that?' said I. 'Why' he replied, 'I was there a pretty long while. I went with my cousin, the captain, to Achotzk, where I staid three years, and was then appointed to a clerk's place in the service of the American Company.' In that capacity he visited the Aleute and Kurile islands, went to the fair in Irbit, was thence,

transferred to Irkutsk, whence he frequently visited Kischta, the frontier town of China, and had intercourse with the Chinese. 'But how did you manage to get back here to your native town?' I asked him. 'Well, sir, a man grows old at last, and then people don't think him good for much. I am not from Kasan, but from Kisliar (on the Caspian sea), and it was there I went after I had had enough of Siberia. I might have done well enough if I could have stopped there, but somehow or another it was not to be. A Siberian regiment marched through Kisliar to fight against the Persians, and my old acquaintances of the regiment talked me over, so that I took the offer made me of a corporal's rank, and marched with them. But it was a bad move for me. Matters went very well indeed in Persia, and we led a jolly life there; but the war was hardly over before the new one began with Sweden, so we had to march to Finland, where we had a very miserable time of it. After I got my discharge, I came through Archangel and Petersburg to Kasan; and here I am, sir, your *dvornik*, and so, if it be the will of God, I will remain for the rest of my days.'

Every one is familiar, in imagination, at least, with the horrors of a Russian winter; but it is not so generally known that they are even more endurable than the enormous heat of the short fierce summer. Malignant fevers abound at that season, in consequence, as we may suppose, on the late Dr. Fergusson's theory, of the rapid drying up of the inundations previously covering the almost level surface of the whole country. The Russians entertain some curious superstitions respecting fevers, especially those of the remittent and intermittent kinds, which they believe to be the work of a female sprite called *Lichoratka*, who goes about at night to select her victims; nor are these notions confined only to the populace. The following story was related to von Littrow by the Bishop of Kasan, a man universally esteemed for his probity and intelligence:—

"I was twenty years of age, and secretary of the monastery of Simbirsk, the abbot of which had a great regard for me, and destined me for the priesthood. One evening, in the hutter week (Easter), I heard the merry sound of music and dancing in the next house; and, though we were strictly forbidden to leave the convent after night-fall, I contrived to slip out unobserved, and get before the windows of the ball room. It was on the ground floor; but the windows were too high for me to see through them from the street. With some difficulty, therefore, and trembling lest I should be discovered, I climbed up high enough, and was able, to my great delight, to peep at the joyous party among whom I would so willingly have been. But my enjoyment did not last long, for I had hardly run my eye over the company, when suddenly there stepped out from among them a tall thin female, with a very beautiful face, who, fixing her eyes steadily upon me, walked straight up to the window at which I was perched. Something instantly told me that this was the *Lichoratka*, of whom I had so often heard descriptions; and, horrified at the thought, I dropped from the window and stole home. I went to bed in an anxious state of mind, and woke, after midnight,—in a fever. It lasted five weeks, during which the good old abbot visited me daily, and treated me with the greatest tenderness. At the end of that time, feeling a need of more warmth, I made my servant fetch my old wolf-skin, which I used to wear in my winter journeys, and lay it on the bed. The following night I saw the *Lichoratka* in a dream, if indeed it was a dream and not a reality. Her dress and appearance were just the same as when I had seen her five weeks pre-

vously. She walked slowly up to my bed side, and, standing over me, held out her hand in a threatening manner; but, immediately afterwards, drew it over her face and smiled: she then said 'Phaugh, how the skin stinks! I can't stop here any longer; I will go to Yessipof.' This was the clerk of the convent, a strong hale young man, who had filled my place during my illness. When the abbot came to see me next morning I told him the story, and he said it was a token of my recovery. Seeing me smile somewhat incredulously, he was almost angry, and earnestly assured me that the fever would not return, corroborating the prognostic by a great number of similar instances. Being convinced, at last, and feeling at ease about myself, I thought of poor Yessipof, who, perhaps, had come to trouble about me and my wolf-skin; but the old gentleman comforted me, by declaring that in no instance had he ever known the Lichoratka to be so spiteful; and at once, to ease my doubts, he sent for the clerk. But we were both greatly shocked when the servant returned with an apology from Yessipof who was confined to his bed by a violent Lichoratka. The poor fellow was ill all the autumn, and we hurried him in the beginning of the winter.'

"Hundreds of such stories are to be heard in every family in Russia; and I would strongly advise every stranger who hears them not to betray his incredulity, even by a smile, if he would not be taken for an infidel or a fool."

The consumption of tea in Russia is enormous, and von Littrow says that the article is so cheap as to be within the means of the poorest classes, and that it is of a much better quality than that imported by England or Holland, which has its fine flavour impaired by the sea voyage. The Russians, he says, procure all their tea from Kiachta, whence it is carried overland; but we know that, of late years, at least, the English have regularly imported large quantities into Odessa, where they can considerably undersell the native merchants, partly in consequence of the obstructive commercial policy of the government, and partly of its neglect to improve the means of internal communication. Sugar being very expensive, the humbler classes use honey instead of it. The Russian honey is cheap, and of a delicious flavour, incomparably superior to the produce of our hives. It is of a green colour, and is made by the wild bees that inhabit the linden woods. Raisins are a very favourite appendage to the tea-table among the common people. The beverage is prepared in a tin or copper vessel called *samovar*, which is generally of an urn shape.

"The moment a visitor enters a room, he is immediately followed by the *samovar*, which the servant brings in as a matter of course, without waiting for special orders. The mistress of the house always takes her cup with her visitor, and as she receives many calls, particularly on Sundays and holidays, it is not at all unusual for her to drink upwards of twenty cups in the course of the day, without feeling any inconvenience from it. The practice is carried to still greater excess by the men, especially by the petty traders. Often have I seen parties of these *kupzi*, just arrived from a journey, sitting down in their bear-skin cloaks, covered with ice and snow, before a huge *samovar* and a great dish of raisins, and not quitting the table until both were empty. Each might have swallowed some two dozen cups during the sitting; and the perspiration caused by such a quantity of scalding hot liquid was so great, that the water ran in streams down their sluggy faces, which they were obliged to wipe and mop without ceasing. But they must have felt quite comfortable, for not one of them took off his heavy cloak to lighten, what seemed to me,

his laborious work. The samovar is the Russian's constant accompaniment, and is to be found in the poorest hut. How often when on entering one of these, in which everything betokened great penury, I saluted the inmates with the usual question *kak zhiviosh?*—(How do you live?), I was answered with a phrase expressive of cheerful contentedness, which has become in a manner proverbial, *Slava Boga, khleb yest, samovar yest, nitchero ne nadamna*, 'Thank God, there is bread, there is the samovar, we want nothing more.'

Instead of being prejudicial to health, this free use of a warm beverage is perhaps necessary to the preservation of life in such a climate.

"It is not unusual for sitting rooms to be heated to 30° Reaumur (99° Fahrenheit), whilst the temperature out of doors is as many degrees below Zero. Now, as the inmates of such rooms must leave them more or less every day, and expose themselves to the open air, they thus undergo a sudden change of temperature of fully 60° (135° Fahrenheit), which not even a Russian constitution could endure, unless peculiar precautions were taken. The middle-aged foreigner who settles in these regions, and chooses to adhere to the customs of his own warmer country, generally succumbs quickly to the severity of the climate. In Perm, for instance, a town that is south of the latitude of St. Petersburg, I was told by a young German, who had been settled there for six years, that not one of his countrymen, whom he had found there on his arrival, still survived. 'Within these six years, he said, I have followed more than twenty German fathers of families to the grave, and I should probably myself have had a like fate, if I had not arrived here in my twenty-third year, at an age when the constitution is sufficiently plastic to accommodate itself to new outward circumstances. The Russians,' he added, 'know this very well, and they look on every foreigner who comes amongst them in his fortieth year, as certainly destined to die soon. Thus, the parents all die off prematurely, but their children in general thrive very well.' The frequent and sudden exchange of a hot room for the cold outer air produces a malady peculiar to those northern regions, and which is the more appalling since it must be remedied on the instant, otherwise it will be rapidly fatal, or will end in a very distressing chronic malady. The strongest and healthiest man, if he puts one foot out of the room, or if the door or window is opened for a moment, is often seized with an uneasy sensation, which is immediately followed by an extreme disturbance of his whole system, the consequence of the sudden suppression of perspiration. A great weariness in the limbs, a feeling in the extremities as if they would drop off, piercing headache, and a burning in the eyes, are the first symptoms of the disorder, and if they are not immediately remedied, the case is soon beyond curing. The grand requisite is to restore the suppressed perspiration. To this end the invalid is put into bed without delay, with his clothes on, heaps of blankets and furs are laid over him, and he is made to drink as much very hot tea as he can swallow. The patient has no sooner gulped this down, and drawn in his head under the clothes, than a copious perspiration breaks out over his whole body, and all the alarming symptoms vanish as rapidly as they first appeared. The rest of the company, who have meanwhile seated themselves again round the table, are not at all surprised to find the sick man sticking his head out from under his mountain of furs in the next quarter of an hour, and chattering with them as gaily as if nothing had happened; whereas to any one not familiar with such cases, he would have seemed a few minutes before but a lost man. The coverings are gradually taken off, and the patient is often quite well again the same evening, and as hearty as ever.

"But the case is very different with those who are not thus relieved on the

instant. If they are not dead by the next day, which most commonly happens, they remain crippled in every joint, and die a painful, lingering death. These people may at once be recognised, not only by their crippled limbs, but by a peculiar cachectic expression of countenance. Their answer, when asked what is the matter with them, is—*Prostudilsa*, 'I have had a chill,' a word that smites with as awful a sound on the Russian ear as ever *Σαραός* did on that of a Greek of old.

"Whoever is not capable of being instantly thrown into a copious perspiration by a few cups of hot drink, will, if he takes my advice, keep away from those regions. But how is it that there are no such unfortunate persons among the Russians? I never met with any. Just as many persons can fall asleep whenever they like, so all Russians can perspire at will. Give them a cup of tea, a warm cloak, and a thick cap, and the thing is done. They may thank themselves for this precious peculiarity, for such it really is. Their frequent use of hot baths keeps the pores of their skin open, and their copious draughts of warm tea increase the excreting power of the skin, and adapt it to resist the influences of their climate,—influences which, but for these counteracting causes, would perhaps be more pernicious to the population of Russia than even the plague is to the people of the East."

4. *Eisenbahn-Jahrbuch für Bahn-Beamte und Staats-Behörden.*
[Railway Annual Register for Railway Officials and Government Boards.] By Baron Fred. W. de Reden. Berlin, 1846.

THIS work, the first of an intended series, is the latest production of an author, to whose industry and statistical research we have on more than one occasion borne testimony. As it emanates from one who has himself, prior to holding his present official station in the Prussian Government, personally superintended the construction and administration of the important line of railway from Berlin to Stettin, we are not exorbitant in demanding that it should be of more than average value as a contribution to general railway literature. The opportunities for obtaining a thorough insight into the practical details of locomotive transit and traffic, which the author enjoys, are rare, and that he has not altogether neglected to avail himself of them in the formation of his estimate of the rights and duties of all concerned in the conduct of railway enterprise, is abundantly apparent from his numerous works on the subject, and might perhaps even partially appear from a merely superficial inspection of the contents of the volume before us. To one merit the author may justly lay claim, that "of not allowing the river Lethe," as is too frequently the case, "to flow between" his present official and his former responsible position. Throughout all his writings, on the contrary, we mark with peculiar pleasure that steady and vigorous effort to render the prerogatives of high birth and station subservient to the advancement of the lowliest ends of every-day life: he never seems to forget that the real office of a government is not limited to a fastidious criticism of the labours of private individuals, but may be very legitimately extended to a furtherance, by counsel and suggestion, of the success of individual enterprise.

Much of the contents of the present volume, as indicated by the title, is, of course, especially addressed to those more immediately connected with railway transit in Germany; but there is also much well deserving the attention of all whose purses or personal safety are concerned in the gradual perfectibility of the railway system generally; and this is already a very numerous community, and by no means likely to decrease in numbers, if we may place any reliance on the assurance of one, whose highly transitive temperament indicates a kindred spirit,—but whose giant ambition seems desirous of not only eclipsing all individual locomotion, but of even superseding, in his own person, all necessity of international intercourse; more especially in the point, in which this latter may be presumed to culminate—Diplomatic and Royal Negotiation. The noble and learned senator, to whom we allude, has pronounced it to be the inevitable doom of the individual members of the great human race—to be ere long, condemned “to live alongside of a railway.” But inasmuch as the subject of railway legislation and administration has been so recently and so largely discussed, we hardly feel warranted in re-opening many of the questions raised; and shall, therefore, limit our observations and extracts to the illustration of a few topics, for the discussion of which we are here presented with a fitting occasion and materials, and which topics have not been treated with that degree of prominent consideration their growing importance would seem to demand. We have at the same time taken some slight pains to arrange our illustrations in such a manner as to be able to present, within a very brief space, a combination of all the results of the German system most likely to interest lay readers; whilst we must be content to refer those more deeply concerned to the original work, where they will find the most ample and curious details, arranged with a degree of lucidity and method that is beyond praise. Our very brief synopsis of the tabulated matter of the text, is mainly intended to throw some light on railway perils—those incurred by the shareholder and passenger; the effects of the former being at present, in Germany, such as to convulse the whole framework of society,—whilst those of the latter, seem in England to call loudly for a remedy, unless the interests of the coroner, and the medical profession are to be held paramount to those of the public at large.

In order to give some idea of the present frightful state of the internal monetary arrangements of Germany, we need only observe, that if the accounts that daily reach us be correct, the most untoward consequences are likely to arise from the fatal railway epidemic of 1844. We speak from personal knowledge, when we say, that the most disastrous of these results have been superinduced by causes not immediately, or even proximately connected with the railway system, and are mainly attributable to the alternate timidity and rashness of some of the governments, and the consequent activity of the usurer; and, perhaps, in no inconsiderable degree, to the existence of

usury laws in that country. We shall hereafter see that without the pernicious action of some extrinsic causes, the present dismal confusion, which has already entailed destruction on thousands, could never have arisen. As regards the weight of responsibility which must, we regret to say, attach to the Prussian government, for its measures connected with this subject, and their share in the production of the present catastrophe, we can only profess our belief that the legislation of no country (scarcely excepting our own, which has been had enough), ever presented so ostentatious a display of bungling and random tutelage. The measures that daily emanated from the Prussian cabinet, seemed to have for their object the desire of testing empirically the greatest possible amount of fluctuation and instability of which railway securities were within a given space of time susceptible. This oscillation was effected by means of cabinet-orders, which one day lent railway scrip most of the advantages of government stock, and a few days subsequently robbed it of all value. Certain lines would in like manner receive more or less direct promises of ministerial countenance and support, and when the shares had risen to the proper altitude, the schemes were scouted as inadmissible. It is, no doubt, very easy to blame the acts of an executive, but very difficult to suggest the proper remedy at the moment; but, after making all due allowance for the novelty and peculiarities of the emergencies, we fear both rulers and ruled must claim the same immunity from the criticism of reason during the railway period, as they have long since decided on mutually recognizing in reference to their respective acts during the cholera season. "*Das geschah zur cholera-zite*,"—"That occurred at the time of the cholera," is a plea universally held good in justification of any act of folly of that period. Perhaps the most remarkable phenomenon connected with railway speculation in Germany, was the absence of that strong, almost devotional credulity, which ruined and comforted the shareholder amongst ourselves and in France, and has been so worthily embalmed in the pregnant expression of our neighbours, "*Je ne suis pas assez actionnaire pour cela*," as a formula for expressing a deficiency of faith. The less sanguine temperament of the Teutonic race robbed their calculations of the delightful inspirations of commercial fervour, without, however, in any degree modifying the consequences of speculating; and the dreamy population having, under the influence of some fatuity, been really climbing—whilst devoutly believing themselves but creeping—the movements being in both cases identical, they, at length discovered with dismay the dizzy height they had so unaspiringly ascended, and the tempting depth to which their unwonted elevation prompted them to re-descend. The great body of the people live in such constant fear, that they scarcely know how to hope. When the rural beggars of Austria represented to the paternal government the wrong they obviously sustained through the opening of the Nordbahn, and demanded, as a compen-

sation for a sacrifice of vested rights, that a portion of the platform in the metropolitan terminus might be railed off, and assigned them as a place for the exercise of their vocation, their application was negatived, if we may trust our memory, on the ground of this privilege having been already reserved, by royal charter, to the *shareholders*. Humanity compels us, however, to state, that the company seem to have paid some attention to the claims of the mendicants, as the rate of speed on the line is such as to inconvenience, as little as possible, those whose age and infirmities forbid any very active exertion whilst appealing to the sympathies of their fellow-men on the road. The Kaiser Ferdinand Nordbahn has, probably for this reason, adopted a mean velocity of between 15 and 16 English miles an hour, which cannot seriously interfere with the rights of the class to whom we allude.

Let us now proceed briefly to state the exact position in which railway matters in Germany at present stand, and the nature of the crisis which has arisen; we shall then, we think, see that great caution and some ability will be requisite, and sufficient, to extricate the financial world from its present embarrassment.

If we inquire the amount of capital already invested in this class of industrial undertakings, we shall find, that during the last eight years, a sum of £36,000,000 has been employed, in opening 3,880 miles of railway communication. Of this sum, somewhat more than that has been furnished by the several governments, for the construction of state lines. The sum still needed, within a period of five years, to meet the liabilities of lines 2,200 miles in extent, now in course of formation, is, in round numbers, £37,500,000. We thus arrive at a total of something less than £75,000,000 sterling, which within a period of thirteen years has been, or will be, converted into that species of public security which we call railway stock. We must further bear in mind, that, of the sum £37,500,000, one half is to be provided out of government funds; and, being spread over a period of five years, would leave an annual sum of about £5,000,000 sterling, to be covered from the respective budgets of the different states, and a like sum to be furnished by private capitalists. Let us now glance at the collective population, budgets, and national debts of the German States (inclusive, of course, of Austria), and we shall find that the number of inhabitants is about 60,000,000; the annual state expenditure, about £56,000,000 sterling, and the general funded debt of Germany may be set down approximately as about 1,000,000,000 of thalers, or £150,000,000 sterling. The bare consideration of these respective items, is sufficient to impress as with a sense of the magnitude of a crisis like the present, in a country where the monetary relations want that elasticity that results from our banking system. But we are very far from despondency, when we consider that the average rate of interest in Germany, on good landed security, is but 4 per cent., and that the returns of railway profit on all the German

lines, 19 in number, up to the close of 1844, gave an average dividend of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the capital invested, with the gains steadily increasing.

If we now compare the results of railway enterprise in Germany with those observable in France and England, we shall find that the amount of capital needed to complete the undertakings which have obtained the sanction of the French Government, is within a fraction the same as that requisite in Germany; whilst the capital needed in the fatherland of Hudson, to complete the schemes projected prior to the commencement of the present year, displays an almost marvellous identity in amount. But as regards England we shall have to recollect, that the sums already expended in the construction of complete lines, exceeds by about one-half the whole estimated cost of the collective railway projects of Germany; and that further, the expenditure requisite to realise the additional schemes, on which the legal deposits had been made up to the 6th of February of the present year, would much more than double that amount.

We must now turn to the second branch of our subject,—the accidents to life and limb occasioned by this mode of transit. Our author very properly divides all casualties into four classes: those arising from premeditation, and therefore, as being but a form of suicide, not properly referrible to any peculiar mode of transit; secondly, those arising purely from the culpable incaution of the passengers themselves; thirdly, those in which the companies' servants have been the victims of their own imprudence; and lastly, those arising either from defects in the structure of the line, the faulty nature of the administration, the recklessness of servants, or the malice of third persons. A further subdivision of the casualties is then made, viz., those attended with loss of life—and those attended with secondary consequences. A comparison is then instituted between the results of the several years since the opening of each line, and also between the various countries of France, England, Belgium, and Germany.

The statistics of our author on these subjects present some very interesting analyses;—thus, whilst in England, during the interval from the 1st of August, 1840, to the month of July, 1845, no less than 1,500 persons met casualties, attended, in 300 cases, with loss of life, we find the number of casualties during the corresponding period on the German lines, to amount to but 22, and attended in only 11 cases with fatal consequences. The casualties on French lines, during the corresponding period, amount to about 220, proving fatal in 71 instances. In this number the victims of the frightful catastrophe on the Versailles line, in which a disproportionate number of persons (55) lost their lives, is included. If we exclude the disastrous year 1842 from our calculations, the annual loss of life on the French lines, up to 1845, would not exceed 6 in number. The casualties on the Belgian lines, for a period nearly corresponding to

the above, amount to about 100, with loss of life in about 35 instances. We find it stated by our author, in reference to the accidents on the Belgian lines, during the years 1843 and 1844, that the overwhelming majority arose from the breakage of axletrees, and trains getting off the rails.

In estimating the degree of culpability attaching to the managers of railways, arising out of casualties, we should not, as the author very properly remarks, be much influenced by the proportion of accidents fatal to life, since this must be purely the result of chance. Properly speaking, every irregularity and interruption of the systematic traffic along a line should be noted; and it is only from a comparison of such details that we can form a correct opinion of the relative efficiency or neglect of the managing body. As, however, there is no means of ascertaining these facts, we are constrained to adopt the more unfortunate casualties as the basis of our calculations, and we are the more warranted in so doing, as these melancholy catastrophes are most probably proportional to the general sum of irregularities occurring on the line. We shall venture then to present a tabular statement of the annual casualties, arranged under the three last of the four classes above alluded to, in the proportion they bear to the number of passengers conveyed.

	Annual Mean Proportion of persons killed to Total of Passengers conveyed, from own neglect, as	Annual Mean Proportion of Officials killed and wounded from own misconduct.	Annual Mean Proportion of persons killed to Total of Passengers, from defective management.
France	1 : 2,157,000	1 : 5,000,000	1 : 3,465,996
England	1 : 869,000	1 : 300,000	1 : 852,416
Belgium	1 : 670,000	1 : 280,000	1 : 1,690,764
Germany	1 : 25,000,000	1 : 9,000,000	1 : 12,252,858

An inspection of this table will show that England and Belgium present a very marked inferiority as regards the safety of passengers, when contrasted with Germany, or even France. The singular immunity which the German lines have hitherto enjoyed, many lines and many years presenting a total absence of casualties, is not altogether easy of explanation. We cannot bring ourselves to think the solution suggested recently in the French Academy by the learned Baron E. Dupin, altogether solves the enigma. The learned Peer of France suggests that the phenomenon is chiefly attributable to the stolidity, *des esprits épais*, of the Germans. This interpretation of the brilliant Frenchman is too consoling to the families of sufferers for us to attempt to weaken its force as a sample of general reasoning; our own difficulty consists in the conviction, founded on

long personal intercourse with those engaged in the conduct of railway traffic in Germany, that their stupidity and dullness, though necessarily considerable when compared with the brilliancy of their Gallic neighbours, is still far from being so great as to deserve to be attended with such valuable results. The subject of our present notice takes very naturally a different view of the matter, and in open violation of the rights of stolidity, would have schools founded for the training and education of railway officials. We have no space to pursue the subject further, and shall conclude by stating, that our author proves that even in England, where the proportion of casualties is highest, the danger is still infinitely less than by any other mode of conveyance; and that the deaths ensuing bear an infinitesimally small proportion to the general bills of mortality.

5. *Ninfa. Eine Novelle.* Leipsig. 1846. London: Williams and Norgate.

HERE is a German novel, which, if only considered as a *tour de force*, must be pronounced very remarkable, but which also has its merits as a novel. It is understood to be the work of an accomplished young Englishwoman; but, from internal evidence, it would be impossible for us to imagine it written by a foreigner. Indeed, our countrywoman has caught so perfectly the spirit of the nation whose language she has somewhat capriciously chosen, that the most serious defect in her work is, it is *too* German. It has all the "*longueurs*," all the "*weitschweifigkeit*," which German novelists unscrupulously bestow upon their patient readers. Conversations that lead to nothing, and that mean little, are allowed to proceed with the same uninterrupted flow as if they were vitally important to the story, or irresistibly attractive in themselves. German writers are, above all writers, deficient in what Hazlitt called the first requisite of a dramatist—fortitude of mind. They never know what to omit; they can never prevail upon themselves to cancel what they have written. The pen hurries along, one phrase suggesting another, and the very mediocrity of what has gone before urging the writer not to leave off till he has said something good enough to make us pardon his tediousness; like bad public speakers, who bore the audience for an hour, because they hate to sit down after a few minutes of mediocrity; the flash *may* come, they think, provided they talk long enough. To the German fault of want of selection, *Ninfa* mainly owes its not being as interesting as it is curious. The authoress has a quick eye for seeing many things; touches delicately some points of character; and has a command of language which, in her own tongue, would doubtless be very remarkable. If she would reduce the two volumes of *Ninfa* into one, that one would be very agreeable. There is a feminine vivacity and quickness about many parts of it which would be relished by all readers, were they not surrounded by too much superfluous matter.

The work is a curious evidence of the "rage" there is now in

England for German literature, and is, we believe, the first novel by an English writer in German. Several Englishmen have written works in French. Mr. John Kemble has written a philological work in German, but no one has written fiction in German, except the authoress of *Ninfa*.

6. *Acht Reisebriefe aus Deutschlands erstem Gee Hafen. Geschrieben in Juni, 1846.* (Eight Letters from the first Seaport of Germany, written in June, 1846.) Hamburg.

IN our last number we took occasion to contrast the indifference of our government to the subject of metropolitan improvement with the conduct of the Hamburg authorities. These letters, from the pen, we believe, of Baron F. W. von Reden, contain interesting details of the means which have been taken for the embellishment, convenience, and salubrity of the new city that has arisen within four years out of the ashes of old Hamburg. They also give an account of the measures proposed or in progress for the improvement of two other harbours on the Elbe; namely, Glückstadt, in the Holstein territory, and Harburg, in that of Hanover, and from either of which Hamburg may possibly encounter the same rivalry which Birkenhead is beginning to offer to Liverpool.

7. *H. Conscience. Geschichte von Belgien. Aus dem Flämischen.* [History of Belgium, from the Flemish of H. Conscience.] By O. L. B. Wolff. Leipzig. 1847.

"A RICH, luxuriant land is this Belgium!" exclaims our friend Gutzkow; "its plains fruitful, its waters furrowed by laden keels, its towns prosperous through commerce, and here and there the proudest reminiscences of the middle ages. The comfort-loving spirit of its thriving citizens, that like to spend their wealth in adorning their native towns, is everywhere manifested in its churches, and in those proud asylums of burgher freedom, its town-halls. Belgium still enjoys its old renown for trade and manufactures. It stands on a height which France will never reach, and Germany not for a long time to come. It possesses abstract freedom, and the municipal freedom of mediæval Germany. It is free, both generally and in detail." He might have added, that in the wise economy of its railway system, it has set a worthy example to states of much greater wealth and pretensions. Now, if we are to believe the complaisant assurances of the French, this opulent, vigorous, and self-subsistent kingdom is morally and physically but a fragment of "*la Patrie*," unnaturally rent from the main body, and waiting but an opportunity to return gladly beneath the sway of the tricolored flag. Moreover, there is a great deal in external appearances to confirm a superficial observer in this view of the case: the nation is greatly Frenchified, on the outside at least. Society in Brussels is a pale copy of that in Paris; the language is French, the fashions, ways and manners are French; the paltry

journals are made up of a hash of French materials, and the literary renown of the Belgian capital is built on the piracy of French books. But the thin exotic disguise is merely adventitious ; in spite of tailoring, the real body of Belgium remains what it always was, strongly marked in its individuality, and favouring much more of its Teuton kindred, than of its jealous, and seldom friendly neighbour in the south. The French occupation of the country, under the republic and the empire, gave a casual and undue prominence to the mongrel French element in the Walloon provinces, and this was still further increased by the intimate relations which grew up between the popular parties in either nation during the fifteen years between the battle of Waterloo and the revolutions of 1830. But the moral union between the two countries became dissolved when its purpose was fulfilled. A strong and steady reaction has set in against the influence of the stranger. More than two thirds of the Belgic population are Flemings, and speak Flemish habitually, if not exclusively ; and authors have arisen to address them in their mother tongue, and create for them a national literature, animated with fervent love for their native land, and strong dislike to France.

Of all these writers, Herr Conscience is the one whose fame has spread most widely beyond his native frontiers. He is chiefly known through his interesting sketches of humble Flemish life, which have been translated into German, and we believe into English. A popular history of Belgium comes with peculiar propriety from the hands of a man so intensely national as Conscience, and there is little doubt that it will be received with gladness by all classes of his countrymen, and imbue deeply the minds of the rising generation with love and reverence for the land of their fathers. The whole kingdom is now possessed with the most praiseworthy enthusiasm to explore and illustrate the national and local annals, to restore and preserve its public monuments, and to revive and do honour to the memory of its great men. As an instance of this spirit, we may mention the recent offer of a large sum of money, by the corporation of Ypres, to the person who shall write the best history of that renowned old city—an example which is likely to be extensively followed. The government is liberal in its encouragement of all these patriotic designs, in which we feel assured there is nothing hollow or factitious. We might look on them with suspicion if the Belgians were a fallen people, bent like the Spaniards on covering their present nakedness with the faded rags of ancestral glory ; but it is not so, they may read their country's glory without blushing, for they have not degenerated from their forefathers. It is true they no longer obscure their French rivals with the shadow of their greatness, as in the days of Philip the Good, nor is Ghent now a larger and grander city than Paris, as it was when Charles V. used to say punningly, "*Je mettrai Paris dans mon gant*;" but, proportionately speaking, Belgium and her king have even now no reason to shrink from a comparison with Louis Philippe and his realm.

• Up to the time of going to press we have not been able to procure

a copy of *Conscience's* volume in the original Flemish, and in all probability there is not one in London. This is not well. We are sorry to observe such an indication of indifference on the part of English scholars to the hopeful new-born literature of a language and a people that have so many affinities with our own. Judging of the work from the translation, it appears to us admirably to fulfil the purposes of a popular history. The composition is lucid, lively, and flowing, the matter well arranged, the facts compactly and pointedly set forth. The general spirit of the book will be best illustrated by an extract from the last brief chapter on the events of modern times, from 1797 to 1831.

"Belgium now remained incorporated with the French Republic, ruled by its laws, and linked with the destinies of the victorious power, without, however, suffering any other evils than those which were the inevitable consequences of the bloody and consuming wars of the Empire. The Belgians bad, indeed, lost much, even their mother tongue and their independence; but the French sway, however pernicious to the morals of the land, did yet confer on it some unquestionable benefits. Napoleon caused some useful and stupendous works to be constructed in Belgium, particularly in Antwerp and Ostend. The Belgians came into lengthened contact with a restless people, that had derived extraordinary activity from its revolution, and awoke them out of the lethargy in which they had long lain. They became familiarised with the present forms of government, and learned to understand them, partially at least, in their relation to social and political life." * * *

"Under King William I., Belgium, as a part of the kingdom of the Netherlands, enjoyed fifteen years of peace. Trade and commerce revived, and attained uncommon prosperity. With the restoration of their mother tongue the Belgians recovered in part their genuine national morals and manners; instruction was improved and extended to all classes of society; the citizens completed their political education, and acquired an accurate knowledge of all the fundamental concerns of the national economy. But, on the other hand, a constant mutual jealousy prevailed between the two countries which had been bound together without any previous preparation to fit them for such a union. The Belgians very soon began to complain of sundry oppressions, and the discontent increased continually until the year 1830, when a revolution broke out in Brussels, and spread rapidly over the whole country. * * *

"Hailed by the exulting shouts of a countless multitude, Leopold made his solemn entry into Brussels on the 21st July, 1831, swore under the open air, according to ancient usage, to maintain the constitution of the land, and received homage as the first King of the Belgians.

"From that memorable moment begins a new and brilliant career for Belgium. Had not the innate powers of her people, manifested in every way—the development of trade, the established renown for art, and the works accomplished—had not these already proved that Belgium is marching onwards in the fulness of vital energy to a lofty pitch of physical prosperity and intellectual development, yet history would infallibly confirm this cheering prognostication. Belgium was always great and thriving when it was not swayed by foreign sovereigns. It has now a domestic monarch, whose illustrious name is a pledge for its subsistence among European nations, and whose beloved sons will hereafter reign over their own native land and the children of their countrymen, and whose vocation it is to perpetuate the royal blood of Belgium and the Belgian kingdom.

"After so many sufferings, after an oppression that would surely have for

ever enervated any other nation, the Belgians have uprisen with wonderful vigour out of their debasement and intellectual torpor. The hard blows of fortune, and the secular dominion of strangers, have not been able to weaken the ancestral blood in the veins of the Belgians; the hour of their awakening found them still brave, laborious, and chaste, still full of love for their native land. Like their fathers they can still lift up their heads and walk erect among the nations of the earth; the name of Belgian is again become significant of peaceful love of freedom, cordial attachment to the arts, innate virtue, and strenuous industry!

"God protect dear Belgium from the imperious foe, that for centuries has been bending so greedily an eye upon it from the south! May his blessing be on the guardian angels of its independence—concord among all Belgians, the mother-tongue, and pure morals—and if He grants this prayer, then onwards, with hope and glad courage! A radiant sun gleams on the horizon of the coming years."

8. *Chefs d'Œuvre de la Littérature Française.* Publié Par Firmin, Didot and Co. Amen Corner: 1843—46.

NOTHING can be more natural than the desire for novelty in books; but, as a general rule, no new book can equal a new edition of an established favorite. It has all the advantages of being a novelty, and of having a recognized value; you are sure not to be disappointed with the contents, while you are gratified at the newness of its form. Before drawing out your purse, you have no need of awaiting a critic's censure, or his praise—you have no misgivings as to whether its contents will be worth the purchase, or its opinions "dangerous in families." That it deserves a place upon your shelves is proved by its reputation; and the tempting novelty insinuates itself irresistibly into your affections.

In this calculation, Messrs. Didot, finding few new books worth publishing, have issued a series of such books as always will be worth purchasing; and these *Chefs d'œuvre de la Littérature Française* contain volumes which every one desires to possess, but which, because so easily obtained, few persons think of buying, until they are tempted by cheapness, or beauty, or novelty; and this new edition unites these three attractions.

Suppose a reader, who has not a Racine, a Boileau, Corneille, a Molière, a Lafontaine, a Bossuet, a Fenelon, a Massillon, a Sévigné, a Le Sage, a Rousseau, a Montesquieu, a Buffon, a St. Pierre, a De Stael, a Pascal, a Chateaubriand, or a Paul Louis,—or who possesses some of their works, but in an ancient, bookstall-condition, old paper, bad print, and inconvenient form,—well, he enters a bookseller's shop, and sees lying on the counter a volume, such as now lies before us from Messrs. Didot's series; it is a Montesquieu, contains that incomparable piece of historical appreciation the '*Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*,' followed by the charming '*Lettres Persanes*,' and the *Opuscula* of that great writer. The form is convenient, small enough for a large pocket, large enough to stand upon one's shelves; it is beautifully printed, contains a fine portrait on steel, is in all respects a new and handsome volume, and costs three-and-sixpence. If he

has not already a good copy of the work he cannot resist this novelty. Or he turns to Pascal, whose *Provinciales* form an exquisite companion, to which M. Bordas Demoulin's *Eloge* (which gained the prize in 1842) is prefixed, by way of literary novelty.

Of all the cheap editions, this of Messrs. Didot is, indisputably, by far the most excellent; firstly, because the most carefully edited, and always affording whatever literary novelty is within reach, in the shape of biographies, *éloges*, or notes; secondly, because more beautifully printed, and worthy to be considered as library books. Charpentier's editions, at the same price, are greatly inferior in these qualities.

9. *Collection de Chroniques: Mémoires, et autres Documents pour servir à L'Histoire de France, depuis le commencement du 13ème siècle jusqu'à la mort de Louis XIV.* Par J. Yanosky. Didot and Co. Amen Corner.

THIS is the first volume of the *Chroniellers*, and contains the best portions of Froissart, with the orthography somewhat modernized, and with introductory notices, which serve to connect the extracts together, and to resume in a few words the substance of the portions omitted; so that M. Yanosky has, by his labours, placed Froissart within reach even of the idlest and hastiest reader, by getting rid of certain narratives, repetitions, and digressions, which, however interesting to the historian and antiquarian, have no interest for the general reader. The present volume is the first of a series of twelve, which will give a connected view of the History of France, from the thirteenth century down to Louis XIV.

This is a railroad age; and men in all things wish to take the shortest and quickest route; accordingly, Messrs. Didot, justly thinking that the vast majority of readers have other and more serious things to do than to give their time to the voluminous memoirs, of which France has so much reason to be proud, the present collection is published, in order that a short cut may be given to the knowledge of French history. A more agreeable course of study it is not easy to conceive; especially when united with the other collection of *Memoirs* relating to the 18th century, of which we gave an account some numbers back, and which now extends to five admirable volumes.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed on M. Yanosky, for the manner in which he has executed his task. The narratives he selects, the notices which accompany them, and the historical notes, all display judgment, care, and learning. The volume is elegantly printed—in the style of the '*Chefs d'œuvre de la Littérature Française*,' which Messrs. Didot have been issuing for the last two or three years, at three shillings-and-sixpence a volume.

To historical students, and to lovers of light literature, these two series of the '*Bibliothèque des Mémoires*' cannot fail to be highly gratifying.

10. *Free-trade Movements.*

BELGIUM.

BRUSSELS. The second general meeting of the Belgian free trade association was held on the 11th October, in presence of a numerous audience. The provisional committee consisted of MM. Ch. de Brouckère, *president*; Frédéric Basse, *vice-president*; Count Arrivabene, *vice-president*; Ch. Van Lede, Lehardy de Beaulieu, Delhasse, Léon Cans, Fortamps, Corr Vandermaeren, d'Hauregard, Jallicau, and Victor Faider, *secretary*. Among the persons present were, Councillor Tielemans, of Bonne, representative; MM. Ducpétiaux and Devadder, communal councillors; Campan, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Bordeaux; Joban, director of the Musée de l'Industrie; Mettenius, banker, Parthon de Von, Van Meenen, General Chapelié, &c., &c. After M. Brouckère and Count Arrivabene had addressed the meeting on the general principles of free trade, M. Lehardy de Beaulieu ably explained how the interests of Flanders were identified with those principles. He showed that the protective system made the working man lose a part of the value of his labour, by obliging him to pay an enhanced price for the foreign commodities he purchased with it. He exposed the folly of the notion that any country was in danger of being deluged with an excess of foreign corn. The population of Belgium had increased by a million within thirty years; the produce of our soil, he said, was not always sufficient for our fathers, and it may prove still less sufficient for ourselves.

"He next proceeded to demonstrate that if the frontiers were suddenly thrown open, the country would have no reason to fear an inundation of English woven goods. Belgian industry, he alleged, could maintain the contest with advantage; the cost of labour is one-tenth what it is in England; for the English to put down that industry, it would be necessary for them to spend ten or twelve millions a year, which is not probable, nor even possible. As soon as Flanders shall be forced to make a better use of its resources, it will be able to compete successfully with England. Hitherto it has unwisely refused to adopt those improvements which have been introduced into the linen manufactures of Great Britain. The fears entertained by the cotton manufacturers appear to him to be exaggerated; after the suppression of the protective duties, those cottons only will be imported which the Belgians either do not manufacture at all, or manufacture badly.

"History demonstrates that never was a country more flourishing than Flanders, when its exports were free; it was under that system the trade corporations attained their highest splendour, and Flanders its greatest prosperity. In modern times it was under the liberal laws of 1822 that Flanders enjoyed the greatest wealth and the fullest commercial and manufacturing activity. The free admission of corn alone almost doubled the business of the port of Antwerp; assuredly this is a potent argument in favour of the principle of the free trade association. It was from the time the restrictive system was introduced into Belgium that the ruin of Flanders began; and to that system the present painful crisis is attributable."

FRANCE.

Our valuable contemporary, the *Journal des Economistes*, gives a very interesting and copious summary of all the recent public proceedings for and against the Free Trade movement in France and Belgium. The central French institution for promoting the great measure of commercial reform—the *Association of Paris*—has passed the provisional stage of its existence, and has become formally constituted. A meeting, attended by nearly 400 members, was held in the *Salle Montesquieu*, on the 31st of October, to elect the administrative council. In the absence of the Duc d'Harcourt, caused by a domestic calamity, the chair was taken by M. Anisson Dupéron. The provisional council was unanimously confirmed. It consists of the following members :—

M. le Duc d'Harcourt, peer of France, *President*.

M. Anisson Dupéron, peer of France.

M. A. C. Renouard, peer of France, counsellor of the Court of Cassation.

M. Blanqui, member of the Institute, deputy.

M. Léon Faucher, deputy.

M. Ch. Dunoyer, member of the Institute, counsellor of State.

M. Horace Say, member of the Council General of the Seine and of the Chamber of Commerce.

M. Frédéric Bastiat, corresponding member of the Institute and of the Council General of the Landes, *General Secretary of the Association*.

M. Michel Chevalier, professor of Political Economy in the College of France, counsellor of State.

M. Denière, manufacturer of bronzes, president of the Council of *Prud'hommes*.

M. Paillotet, jeweller, vice-president of the Council of *Prud'hommes*.

M. Peupin, working clockmaker, *Juge Prud'hommes*.

M. Potonié, commission-agent.

M. Riglet, manufacturer of bronzes, ex-judge of the Tribunal of Commerce.

M. Nicolas Kœchlin, late manufacturer, ex-deputy.

M. Bosson, manufacturer, flax-spinner, Boulogne-sur-Mer.

M. Ad. d'Eichthal, banker, deputy, member of the Chamber of Commerce of Paris, *Treasurer of the Association*.

M. Casimir Cheuvreux, wholesale and retail dealer in woven goods, *Censor*.

M. Luvyt, banker, censor.

M. Louis Leclerc, director of the *École Népédique*.

The committee has also nominated, as members and under secretaries,

MM. Joseph Garnier; A. Fonteyraud; De Molinari; Ch. Coquelin, and Guillemin, merchant.

The council has not yet elected its vice-presidents. In allusion to the five names immediately preceding the last of the above, the chairman observed :

" All these persons, who occupy so honourable a rank in trade and in the country, share our views, and desire to aid us in propagating them. No one, for instance, can fail to perceive what weight is due to the opinion of M. Nicolas Kœchlin, who demands that cotton goods should no longer be protected by prohibitive or exorbitant duties. Again, of how great weight is the opinion of M. Bosson, one of our first flax-spinners, who recently wrote to

our honourable president that he was with us, not *although* a mill-owner, but *because* he was a mill-owner. (Cheers.)"

MARSEILLES.—The members of the Free Trade Association held their second public meeting on the 17th October, M. Lagure Luce, the president, in the chair. MM. Clapier and Louis Reybaud, the recently elected deputies for the city, were present. M. Roux de Frcissinet was appointed treasurer. The secretary, M. Estrangin, read the plan intended to be pursued. The affairs of the association are to be directed by a general council; and sub-committees are to be formed for the investigation of various matters connected with the question of Free Trade: viz., sub-committees of agriculture, *industrie*, navigation, Mediterranean commerce, oceanic commerce, and commerce in the interior of France, with Europe and Algeria. Besides these, there is to be a finance committee, and one for concerting the means of enlightening public opinion on the true principles of trade.

LYONS. At a meeting held here on the 13th of October, the following gentlemen were constituted a Committee of the Association founded in Paris: MM. Delahante, receiver-general of the Rhone; Brosset, senr., president of the Chamber of Commerce; Arlès-Dufour, member of the Council-General of Commerce; A. Riboud, merchant, deputy-mayor of Lyons; Ollat, merchant; A. Teissier, director of the Bank of Lyons; Barillon, merchant, member of the Municipal Council; Arquillière, merchant, member of the Chamber of Commerce; A. Brisson, merchant, president of the *Conseil des Prud'hommes*; A. Goujon, merchant; P. Eymard, merchant; J. Durand, merchant; C. Michel, merchant; Jouve, principal editor of the *Courrier de Lyon*; R. Buy, advocate; A. Potton, doctor of medicine; Kaufmann, one of the editors of the *Censeur*; G. Bouvard, merchant, deputy-mayor of Lyons; C. Riboud, merchant; J. Riboud, merchant.

The meeting was addressed by M. Brosset, senr., in a short speech, in which he pointedly set forth the fallacy of the protective system, and proposed the formation of a society, for the purpose of advancing the principles of free trade.

"Some alarm, he said, may, perhaps, be conceived, at the immediate application of a principle so opposed to that by which trade and commerce are now regulated, and people ask themselves whether it is advisable to run the risk of those disturbances to existing interests, which would be the consequence of too rapid a course. Those prudent persons who are staggered by such an apprehension may dismiss their fears; they may spare themselves the trouble of moderating the force of our efforts, and leave that to be done by the active opposition of the patrons of prohibitions or high duties. There has long existed among them a potent confederacy, which has baffled every attempt made in favour of free trade. In the immediate presence of danger they will rally more closely together; and their action, directed by their interests, will grow more compact and strenuous. They have exercised over public opinion an influence which it is your business to destroy, and it is by the union and persistency of your efforts that you will succeed. But let us not deceive ourselves; our progress will be slow, though certain, and the government measures that will ratify them, will be timid, and bit by bit; it will be

quite possible to foresee their consequences ; so that there will be nothing abrupt or startling in the transition."

M. Brosset, senr., was declared president ; M. E. Gautier, treasurer ; MM. Camille Ribout and Buy, secretaries.

HAVRE. In consequence of a requisition signed by MM. Delessert, J. B. Delaunay, Robin, Just, Vien, Hermé, Ch. Morlot, Méquilled-Wild, Ch. Tardieu, J. J. Dupasseur, T. de Coninck, Ed. Quesney, J. Ancel, Frédéric Perquer, Dubois, Alfred Quenel, and Th. Lamotte, a meeting of about 150, connected with the trade of Havre, took place on the 19th October. The principal speaker was M. Morlot, who said that,—

"Seeing the associations which had been formed successively in Bordeaux, Paris, and Marseilles, under the banner of free trade, and the contrary manifestations called forth in some important towns, such as Lille and Rouen, it was not possible that Havre should remain a passive spectator of the struggle ; that there were great reforms to be accomplished, but that it was very difficult to gain for them universal acceptance, considering the interests that apprehended injury or destruction from them ; that the terms *free trade* were too vague, and ill-understood ; that it was expedient to adopt a clear form of expression, significant of their purpose, one intelligible by every body, and which would have the immediate effect of enlisting on behalf of the Havre Society, the interests of consumers, and especially of the working classes, whom the protective system was striving to gain over to itself ; that the reform most urgently and imperiously requisite, was to diminish the customs-duties, and the taxes on consumption, and that on that ground all persons would naturally be agreed ;"—

M. Morlot concluded with a motion, which was carried with only two dissentient voices, that a society should be formed under the title of *Société de la réforme commerciale pour la reduction des droits de douane et des taxes de consommation*. The *Economist* justly condemns the timid substitution of this periphrastic phrase for the clear and simple words *free trade*, and tells the men of Havre that the only right course is to take the bull by the horns. But after all, it remarks, the grand point is achieved ; Havre has slipped its moorings, and though the thing has not been done very handsomely, the ship will, nevertheless, make good way.

"Nantes still holds aloof. The only sign of life is given by M. Chérot, who waves in the *Courrier de Nantes*, a flag that is not ours. The shipping question makes some ports hang back. The privileges of the English shipping stop them entirely. Let us lay before them the petition of that same Manchester Chamber of Commerce, out of which arose the immortal Anti-Corn Law League." [Here follows a translation of the petition for the reform or abolition of the Navigation Laws, dated October 1846.]

11. Protectionist Movements.

The Protectionists of Paris have taken the field in due form, under the title of *Comité Central pour la Défense du Travail National* ; a body which is intended to be the focus of the Protectionist agitation for all France. The council, or, *commission permanente*, is thus composed :—

President—M. A. Odier, Peer of France, manufacturer in Wesserling.

Vice-President—M. A. Mimerel, President of the Council General of Manufactures, flax and cotton-spinner, Roubaix.

M—[a blank to be filled up by the name of an agriculturist.]

Treasurer—M. Joseph Perier, deputy, director of the mines of Anzin.

Secretary—M. Louis Lebeuf, governor of the Bank of France, member of the Council General of Manufactures, manufacturer of pottery in Creil and Montereau.

Members.

M. Henri Barbet, Peer of France, member of the Council General of Commerce, printer of woven goods, Rouen.

M. Leon Talabot, deputy, member of the Council General of Manufactures, steel manufacturer, Toulouse.

M. Schneider, deputy, member of the Council General of Commerce, iron-master and machine-maker, Creuzot.

M. Victor Grandin, deputy, member of the Council General of Manufactures, cloth manufacturer, Elbeuf.

M. Vayson, deputy, member of the Council General of Manufactures, carpet manufacturer in Abbeville.

M. Drorullard, deputy, member of the Council General of Manufactures, director of the iron-foundries of Alais, and of the lead mines of Poullaouen.

M. Hericart de Thury, president of the Royal and Central Agricultural Society of Paris.

M. Jules Hoebet, iron master at Fourchambault.

M. Palyart, iron-master at Breteuil (Eure).

M. Chapelle, machine-maker, Paris.

M. Calla, member of the Council General of Manufactures, founder, Paris.

M. Delatouche, paper-maker, Marais (Seine et Marne).

M. Godard Desmarests, member of the Council General of Manufactures, ex-director of the cut-glass manufactory of Baccarat.

M. Jules Joly, president of the Consultative Chamber of St. Quentin.

M. Janson Davilliers, member of the Council General of the Seine, manufacturer in Gison.

M. Jourdain Riboulleau, member of the Council General of Manufactures, cloth manufacturer, Louviers.

M. Th. Croutelle, nephew, wool-spinner, Reims.

M. Bietry, cachmere thread spinner, Villepreux (Seine et Oise).

M. Fortier, shawl manufacturer, Paris.

M. Paire Nezieux, member of the Council General of Manufactures, ribbon weaver, St. Etienne.

M. Desportes, director of the Maberly Linen-thread Mills. Amiens.

M. E. Feray, member of the Council General of Manufactures, woollen and cotton spinners, Essonne.

M. Kuhlmann, ex-president of the Chamber of Commerce of Lille, manufacturing chemist, Loos (near Lille.)

M. Frédelie Bernoville, wool-comber, St. Quentin.

The Committee has adopted for its special organ, the *Moniteur Industriel*, which takes as its second title, *Journal de la défense du Travail National*.

MULHOUSE. In a meeting of the *Comité des Industriels de l'Est*, a society of many years' standing, the question of free trade was brought under discussion, (Oct. 21), and it was resolved to combat "the inconsiderate and subversive doctrines preached for some time past by certain economists." But though quite agreed as to resisting the free traders, the members became at once divided among them-

selves upon the question, whether the word to be inscribed on the society's banner should be *prohibition* or *protection*. The partisans of the latter were of opinion that there is something to be done, but that first it is requisite to abolish the salt-tax, and reduce the funds, and the charges on the postage of letters. In any case they will call for the free entrance of raw cotton. There seems every likelihood that the adversaries of free trade in Mulhouse will find it no easy matter to agree among themselves.

ELBEUF had a meeting on the 28th Oct. ; three hundred persons present ; committee, MM. Houiller, *père*, A. Poussin, Henri Quesné, *fils*, Hippolyte Delarue, Auguste Malteau, Chennevière, and Lafont Henri.

LILLE. The protectionists mustered here to the number of 400 on the 13th October, and appointed the following permanent committee, with power to increase their number to fifty: MM. Delasalle Desmedt, president of the tribunal of the Chamber of Commerce, *president*; Kuhlman, member and ex-president of the Chamber of Commerce, member of the Council-General of Commerce; Kolb Bernard, member of the Chamber of Commerce; Le Gavrian, member of the Council of *Prud'hommes*; Julien Lefebvre, member of the Council-General of Agriculture. M. Kolb Bernard, the reporter of the Committee, read a long manifesto, drawn up with some skill. It began by denouncing the doctrine of free trade as a *theory*; then followed a tirade against theories, backed by Napoleon's famous opinion touching ideologists. Worse than all, the theory is an English one, supported by England, because it is for her interest. She has reduced her tariff only with a view to the spoliation of other nations. Protective tariffs have been the source of every improvement in the trade of France; free trade would be fatal to all the industry of the country, and deprive the wine growers of Bordeaux, the silk-manufacturers of Lyons, and the Parisian *industriels* of the home market,—the best they have. If it did not dry up all the sources of employment, it would increase the present competition to an intolerable extent, &c.

ROUBAIX. Under the auspices of the Consultative Chamber of Arts and Manufactures, a protectionist committee has been formed for the purpose, as they declare "of not surrendering to England the bread and the means of the French working classes." The members are MM. A. Mimerel, Paul Dufrenne, Vernier-Deloutre, L. Screpel, J. Mourmant, Henri Delattre, Boissière, Parrayon, Théodore Descat, Wattine-Bossut, Wattine-Wattel, Jules Crombe, Réquillart Desaint. They aver that—

"The maxim of free trade, as publicly preached by a society legally authorised, and afterwards cried up by the journals, which as all men can see are employed to prepare the public mind for the projects meditated by the ministry, is of all conceptions the one which leads directly to the subversion of order, and to the destruction of the public fortune, strength and prosperity."

The following pregnant extract has already appeared in the *Times*,

it is taken from a letter from Mr. Cobden to Mr. Henderson, the gentleman who represents the Spanish bondholders at Madrid:—

“You are strong in the justice of your claims, and you must try every appeal to the honesty and honor of Spaniards; and, if necessary, endeavour to *shame* them into the payment of their debts. I agree with your circular as to the ability of the government to meet its engagements, provided ordinary talent and integrity preside over its finances. Never was there a country whose resources were so neglected and wasted as those of Spain are. Its tariff is a ruinous farce; fulfilling no national object, but failing ridiculously as a measure of protection, as a means of revenue, and as a national policy. Instead of affording the proposed protection to the Catalans, everybody (manufacturers included) in Spain is an avowed contrabandist, when opportunity offers; and I am convinced that a duty of 20 per cent. on foreign goods, honestly levied, with the accompanying facilities to the Catalans for the freer admission of their raw materials, would be more favorable to the manufacturers than the present system. I do not think you overrate the direct loss to the revenue from the prohibitive tariff. While in Madrid, I had the opportunity of speaking to M. Mon upon this point. I told him, if he would farm his customs’ duties for 20 years, I would undertake to guarantee him four times the amount of *net* revenue at present derived from that source, upon one condition, viz., that I should be allowed to *reduce* the duties at discretion, but not to have the power of *increasing* the taxes upon any article in the tariff.

“The direct gain to the revenue would, however, be only a part of the benefit of a modification of the tariff.

“With freedom of exchange, and ten years’ internal tranquillity, Spain would increase in wealth and population faster, probably, than any other nation in the world; and her *present debt* would become, in proportion to her *resources*, the *lightest* in Europe.

“I wish you success in your application to the Madrid Treasury.”

12. Foreign Correspondence.

ITALY.

Florence, December 4, 1846.

THIS season, it seems, is an “*anno cattivo*,”—a bad year in the estimation of the Florentines, which means that the shoals of migratory English are comparatively small this winter. The year is deemed bad or good by them upon precisely the same considerations which regulate the judgment of herring-fishers. To half Florence, “no English” is equivalent to “no bread.” From the impoverished noble, who lives on the rent paid by an English family for the best floor of his ancestral palace, down to the ragamuffin, whose aspiration is to hold a “milor’s” horse, or show him the way to the Uffizi, John Bull is the staff of life to all. It is the annual tide of English that fattens the land. So, during the months more especially of October and November, the influx of the John Bull-strom is watched most anxiously. And when, as this year, the waters rise less high than usual, one long face may be seen in the streets, telling another that “*sara un cattivo anno! vanno tutti a Roma*.” And they understand the habits of their prey quite as accurately as the Yarmouth fishers do the ways of theirs. We equally swim in shoals. And it is really curious to mark the uniformity of instinct that seems to lead our nomade tribes,—now to one spot, and now to another. Meanwhile, with corn, wine, oil, and English, all scarce, it is really likely to be a hard season for a considerable portion of Florence.

Rome, you see, has this year the attraction of the new Pope, and the ceremony of the installation, which has just taken place; but then we have

Fanny Elsler! or rather have had, for she is just gone. To kiss the Pope's toes, or to look at those of the Elsler?—this has been the question. We, at least, will turn our chatter first to the more attractive metal. Never had artist a more enthusiastic reception, or more brilliant triumph. Night after night the "Pergola" was crowded from floor to roof,—from the grand-ducal box to the last inch of standing-room in the pit. Her Esmeralda charmed the Florentines so much, that they would not permit it to be changed for any other ballet; and, in truth, her acting in it, as well as of course her dancing, is exquisite. And then the shouting, the roaring, and the throwing of flowers, when she comes before the curtain at the close, in the long white robe, with her magnificent hair streaming over it, as she goes to her execution in the last scene! Florence may be called the city of flowers, *par excellence*. More money is probably spent on them there, in proportion to the entire expenditure of the population, than in any other part of the world. And the fashion of testifying admiration for a favourite actress, by throwing bouquets to her on the stage, is carried to an excess there not seen elsewhere. A great cart would have been necessary to carry off all the bouquets thrown on the stage of the Pergola, on the night of Fanny Elsler's benefit. I saw one "*mazza*," as the Italians appropriately call it, entirely composed of violets, and at least three feet in circumference, handed to her from a stage box by a countryman of ours, while one of similar dimensions, consisting wholly of white camellias, was contributed to the beneficiata's triumph by his lady wife. "*In somma la Fanny faceva furore.*"

Nor has the new Pope's *début* been less successful. But of all this, despite the nullity of Italian newspapers, you will have already heard. The enthusiastic love and admiration of his subjects, who are nearly besides themselves with delight at the unexpected and almost incredible apparition of a Pope, who really seems to care for their welfare,—all the good he has already done, and the yet greater good that he is attempting to bring to pass,—his remission of their sentences to all the political offenders of the late reign—and the opposition he meets with on all sides from all the members of the old government,—all this has been sufficiently told in London, and is no doubt more generally and accurately known there than in Rome. He is of course securing golden opinions from *all* sorts of men, *except* those who know full well that the continuance of old abuses, and the maintenance of corruption and tyranny is in one way or another essential to their enjoyment of a tranquil, easy, and luxurious life at the expense of others' labour. And those who know Rome best,—its priesthood, its officials of every class and denomination, and above all, its Jesuits, shake their heads and predict a very short pontificate to Pius the Ninth. It is said that he is himself perfectly aware of the dangers of his position, poor man! and that his food is literally cooked in his presence, and his attendants unflinchingly compelled to partake of it. Poor Pope! An uneasy seat has that same Peter's chair become in the kicking nineteenth century, even for one whose sole care in occupying it should be to hold fast on; but for him, who instead of clinging to crupper and pommel, will handle the rein and use the spur,—it is to be feared, untenable.

Be his fortune, and the upshot of his struggle, what it may, Pius the Ninth deserves the admiration and gratitude of Europe, for he is ensuring himself trouble and unrest, and risking his life, to advance the true interests of his countrymen, according to the best of his power and judgment. What though he does canonize some old *fourbe* with one hand, while he signs an authorisation for a railroad with the other! The two acts are contrasted—mutually inimical enough! True, one of them will undo and root out the other! How shall a poor Pope serve two masters? How patronize barbarism, and lend civilization a helping hand? How to be Pope and an honest man?—an

awkward problem, impossible of solution to you or me; embarrassing enough, though we will hope not impossible, to a poor bishop of ~~Tuscan~~ ^{Rome}.

Meanwhile Tuscany is very angry with him respecting this very matter of railroads. He has authorised one from Rome to Civita Vecchia, and another from Rome to Foligno, promising to allow a continuation of it to Ancona, when the first portion shall be completed. But all the directors must be Roman subjects. And this condition is not only a great offence to his Tuscan neighbours, but is also a great mistake in an industrial point of view. This, however, is not the worst. The Pope will not authorize any railroad from his capital, northwards, towards Tuscany, to join a Tuscan line running southwards from Florence. Now certainly of all the proposed or proposable lines in Italy, one from Florence to Rome is the most obviously desirable, not only as a communication between those two cities, but as a link in the chain of communication from the Alps to the south of the Peninsula. And the favoured line to Ancona, together with projects sure to be carried out at no distant day, of a line to run from Ancona, by Bologna, to join the Austrian lines in the north of Italy—all this together seems as if there were an intention at Rome to cut Tuscany out altogether. There can be no doubt that the construction of a line from Milan, by Verona, by Bologna, and Ancona to Rome, would prove most seriously prejudicial to Tuscany; and the very small class of Tuscan capitalists and economists are up in arms accordingly. But the probability is that the Pope's refusal is grounded on no such extended views. His notion is, probably, that the *first* thing to be done in the railway line is to endeavour to attract commerce to his own states, by creating a communication with his own ports. Another industrial mistake! but what should a Pope, or any of a Pope's men know of industrial matters? They will find their error ere long. They will still sooner find the need of foreign assistance in carrying out any railroad; and the great lines of communication, which the general prosperity of the country requires, will no doubt ere long be determined on.

Discoveries have been rife at Florence of late. Within the last three years I have had to communicate the tilings of the discovery of the lost *Ephemerides* of Galileo;—of a magnificent fresco, either by Raphael, or by some hand which might have been his;—of a fragment of a poem by Ariosto;—and now I have to tell you of a really splendid picture by Michael Angelo, just brought to light!

Italy's "last new poem," by Ariosto!—and "picture of the season," by Michael Angelo!

Galileo! Raphael! Ariosto! Michael Angelo! "Tis something in the dearth of fame," to produce to the startled eyes of busy, bustling, modern Europe, such fresh spoils from the apparently inexhaustible ruins of her mighty past!

Of the long lost *Ephemerides* of Galileo, I may as well let your scientific readers know that Signor Alberi, the discoverer of them, is proceeding rapidly with his complete edition of the works of the philosopher, and that the volume containing these *Ephemerides*,—the work of ten laborious years, which proved fatal to the great astronomer's eyesight,—has just been published.

And now for the new picture. But have you, and your readers, a due notion of the sensation produced by such a discovery here in Florence? Suppose that at London an unheard of tragedy, indubitably from the pen of Shakspeare, were announced as discovered, and "now published for the first time in one vol., foolscap 8vo, price five shillings!" Pooh! Dombey and Son would care nothing about it,—would never hear of it even!—That won't do. Suppose St. Paul's were to fall down some night! Bah! Lady Fiddlefaddle, on reading the news in the *Morning Post*, would ask where it was? Suppose

—suppose that the Income Tax were suddenly taken off some morning! Ay! that's it!—Suppose the Income Tax taken off, and you will figure to yourself the sort of movement and interest created at Florence by the news of a new and undoubted Michael Angelo!

It is an easel picture, composed of one single figure, half-life size. The subject is Fortune, seated on her wheel. Among the lumber of an old picture, dealer's shop, Signor Botti, an intelligent artist, and admirably conscientious restorer of pictures, found, in two halves, an utterly obscured and blackened picture, which some indication, visible only to such practised eyes, induced him to purchase, for the sum of five lire,—about three shillings! His first operations upon it disclosed that which made his heart beat, and warmed him to proceed with the utmost care, and most minute diligence. It soon appeared that the injuries of time were not the worst from which the eclipsed painting had suffered. Some ignorant and barbarous botcher had dared to point a heavy white cloth over the lower half of the figure; and this had to be skilfully and gradually removed. We can sympathize with the feelings of the fortunate possessor, as layer after layer of paint and dirt were removed,—the true tints and genuine lines were restored to view—and an unmistakeable work of Michael Angelo's stood forth revealed upon the canvass. The restoration has been accomplished most successfully; and the picture is seen as perfect, in its most delicate half-tints, and as pure from "doctoring," as when it left the artist's studio.

The position of the goddess is a strangely chosen one. She is seated, naked to the hip, astride on a wheel, of which the tire faces the spectator. The lower part of her person is covered with a red drapery, which, however, does not conceal the feet and lower leg. Thick clouds heavily rolling beneath her conceal her from mortal ken, and prevent her seeing the results of her own reckless and changeable dispensations. She stretches with a careless air either hand over the unscen world beneath her, and from one of them are dropping crowns, sceptres, laurels,—from the other, thorns. The beautiful head is turned towards the left shoulder, with an expression of dreamy reverie, indicating a total inattention to the particular appropriation of her showered weal and woe, yet, at the same time, a sort of gentle pity, moved by the consciousness of the faithful functions she is so blindly discharging.

Michael Angelo is, perhaps, of all the great masters, the most entirely unmistakable, as well from the peculiar character of his faults, as from that of his beauties. And I believe that no dissenting voice has raised a doubt as to Signor Botti's picture being the work of that master,—the work of his hand, as well as the conception of his brain.

The price which the fortunate discoverer and restorer demands for his treasure is, I believe, about a thousand pounds sterling.

And now for a few words about "the new poem," *Signor Ludovico Ariosto's last*. It is a fragment of a poem entitled 'Rinaldo Arditto'—Rinaldo the Bold,—and consists of five cantos, containing two hundred and forty-two stanzas of Messer Ludovico's usual metre. Siggì, Giampiera and Aiazzi are the editors, and they properly style the work, in their preface "*non solo inedito, ma quasi sconosciuta*." For the first who published the fact, that Ariosto had left behind him another poem so entitled, was Signor Girolamo Baruffaldi, who wrote a life of the poet towards the end of the last century. The MS. now published then made part of the collection of the Marchese Bevilacqua, who became the possessor of it at the death of a learned physician of Ferrara, named Giuseppe Lanzoni. There is reason, however, for supposing that he was not aware of its existence among his collections. And there remains not the slightest means of tracing the fortunes of the papers from the death of the poet, till they came into the keeping of Signor Lanzoni.

Baruffaldi, however, did little more than declare their existence. The MS.

was found by accident, he says, "but turned out very difficult to understand, on account of the ill writing, the bad condition in which the papers were, and the numerous crasures and alterations;" so that he was able only to decipher a few stanzas.

Siggi. Giampieri and Aiazzi have been more persevering, or more skilful, and the five cantos, with some *lacunæ* and imperfections, are now before the world, equipped with preface and notes, *secundum artem*. I must not make this already too long letter altogether interminable, by following the learned editors in their examinations of the curious fact of no biographer or literary historian, from the poet's son to Tiraboschi having spoken of such a poem of Ariosto's, with the exception of Anton Francesco Doni, who was, it seems, such a noted liar that nobody ever believed his statement! Poor man! may his manes rest the easier for the tardy reparation now done to his credit. I must refer the curious in such matters, to Signor Aiazzi's preface. But, for the sake of the interest attaching to so general a favorite as Messer Ludovico. I must give our readers a specimen of these disinterred stanzas; more especially, as I am able to add a version of them by Mr. Garrow, the successful translator of Dante's 'Vita Nuova.' It is possible that he may be induced to give the public a translation of the entire fragment. But truth compels me to confess, that friend Ludovico's pen did not become more elate as he grew older. And many passages of these cantos are such as to make Mr. Garrow fear that no amount of softening down or glossing over, would enable him to present them to ears polite.

The three following stanzas are, at all events, free from any such blemish, and will remind your Italian readers of Ariosto's prettiest manner. They are the 15th, 16th, and 17th of the third canto.

"Tutta fiorisce di erbe la pianura
Di colorite rose e zigli piena,
Avea di mirtili intorno una verdura
Che vie più che altro quelle facea amena;
Cinto era intorno di merlate mura,
E da ogni merlo pende una catena,
Ardenti fuochi vi erano in più bande,
Qual piccol, qual mezzano, e qual più grande.

"O'er the plain surface flowering shrubs
abound,
Roses of various hues, and lilies fair;
But still its greatest charm was that
around,
The myrtle green and peared everywhere.
Embattled walls encompass all the ground,
A pendant chain each battlement doth
wear;
And jets of flame there were, fierce burn-
ing all,
Some large, with others less so, and some
small.

"Volava in quella un pargoletto arciero
Quale avea dardi di piombo e di ovo;
Quel fuga, questo fa l'amor sincero,
Come diversi di natura foro;
Volò il fanciullo per quel piano altiero,
E sagitta col stral spesso uno alloro;
Par che ferir quell' arbor gli sia grato,
Faretrato, fanciul, nudo, orbo e alato.

"Within, a little baby archer flies;
And arrows hath he both of gold and lead,
Which, differing in their native qualities,
These banish love, while love by those is
fed.
Above the noble plain on wing he hies,
And at a laurel oft his dart is sped;
Seem'd it, to strike this tree was his de-
light;
Lone, winged, naked, quiver-bearing wight.

"Eravi in mezzo un vago carro anrato,
Fatto non di opra umana, anzi divina,
Sol di rubini e di diamanti ornato,
E sopra vi sedeva una regina
Di dolei aspetto e da ciascuno amato,
Adorna tutta di porpora fina;
Un pomo di or nella man destra avea;
Da un Troian l'ebbe; e questa Vener dea."

"There, in the centre stands a golden car,
A work not human, but of heavenly art,
Glittering with rubies and with diamonds
rare,
A queen was seated on its highest part;
Gentle her eye, in robes of purple were
Her limbs y'clad; her reign was o'er each
heart;
In her right hand a golden apple see,
A Trojan's gift; the goddess Venus she."

So much for the 'Rinaldo Ardito,' which, for the dignity of poetry, I am obliged to translate 'Rinald the Bold,' but Ariosto's real meaning cannot be so well expressed by any other phrase as that of "up to any thing!" that is the true sense of the phrase; and such is the character of the worthy Paladin.

INDIA.

"Surat, August 13th, 1846.

"Your welcome and long looked-for letter reached me about a month ago, with the musical works sent out by the same packet. 'Part Singing' has furnished me with almost nightly amusement ever since: for, though *glees* are so very English, I have but an exceedingly limited acquaintance with them; but we have, I fear, long to wait before the 'Singing Master' can be used in India as a school-book. At present, an offer to form here a musical class of junior pupils would be about as well received by their parents and friends as would the proposal in England to teach tumbling and rope-dancing to the young ladies of a boarding-school. Here singers and musicians belong to a caste of the lowest moral reputation; and although the prejudice which this unfortunate circumstance occasions might be easily dealt with, as far as children are concerned, with their parents the attempt to remove it would be the most hopeless of all hopeless efforts; and I much question if I should even make as many converts as my friends the missionaries here, who have, I believe, in the course of thirty years' labour, succeeded in turning out some eight or ten rather questionable Christians.

"Nor is the discredit which the character of the musical *caste* of India reflects upon the art generally, the only, or even perhaps the most intractable of the difficulties to be met. The fine arts appear to be among the last Europeanisms likely to make their way in India; and this is more especially true of our *music*, inasmuch as to that there already exists a most formidable rival, firmly established with all sorts of 'vantage ground. No native that I have ever seen or heard of believes that what the Europeans term music is anything but a most absurd and barbarous jumble of unintelligible noises. The unlucky wretches, even, who are reduced to endeavour for hire to hlow these horrible sounds out of cornopeans, trombones, &c., in the regimental bands, hasten to indemnify themselves after the infliction, by joining in the passionate songs which all their early associations, and all the advantages of well understood words and sentiments, combine to establish in their feelings as the genuine *music of nature*. The Hindoo, indeed, who has received an English education, and who is profoundly convinced, as all such Hindoos are, of the immeasurable superiority of Europe in the sciences and the mechanical arts, can easily be led to reason analogically from this to a similar superiority in music, painting, or any other art you may choose; and when he hears of our method of *writing music*—of the honours which we pay to our great composers,—of the monuments erected to them, and of the gigantic musical festivals held in their commemoration, his imagination takes fire, and he has but little doubt for the moment that his countrymen have yet quite as much to learn from us in this art as in any of the others concerning which he is better informed. But, having brought him to this, be very careful how you endeavour to illustrate your arguments practically. As you wish to preserve your reputation for soundness of judgment and veracity, cautiously guard his ears from bringing your florid descriptions to the test of a comparison with the, to him, utterly unintelligible and wearisome reality. I showed some native friends a few nights ago, a copy of the 'Messiah,' and endeavoured to give them some idea of what kind of a work it was. When we came to the 'For unto us a child is born,' I made them

understand that the composer was about to announce the great names of Christ in the most powerful and impressive manner,—that it was necessary, therefore, to reserve all the force of this chorus for that portion of it in which the annunciation should really be made,—and that this was done without any appearance of artificially restraining the voices, by merely giving them passages of imitation to sing, so that, while they were all really employed, it was in a manner which neither demanded nor admitted a full display of their strength; but that, these passages all working up together just in time for the announcement itself, the whole chorus, in massive chords—strengthened by all the most powerful of the instruments in the orchestra—gave out the ‘Wonderful! Counsellor! The Mighty God!’ and all the other titles, in a style to chill one’s blood with awe; as Leigh Hunt says, the first word ‘comes upon us as if the heavens had opened,’ I was greatly excited with the recollection of this splendid chorus, and so far carried my auditors with me in imagination, that they were to the last degree desirous of hearing such unheard-of musical effects. In spite, however, of all the prepossessions thus induced in them, was their hearing the ‘Messiah’ a thing at all practicable, and did it depend on me to bring it about, I should very carefully abstain from putting their new-born musical faith to so dangerous a trial.

“You ask me to write down and send you some of the native melodies, and this, two years ago, when I first came into the country, I was very anxious to do. But after several trials, I found that, without long familiarity with the manner of singing them, the mere notes written down would be quite unintelligible. You remember, I dare say, how enthusiastically Lane speaks of some of the Egyptian singing which he had heard, and yet how uncouth and barbarous are the specimens of it which he gives. Showing, I think, that the great charm must be in the manner of singing them, without a very lively recollection of which the mere notation on paper would be but of very little use.”

CRITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

I.—WIT AND HUMOUR, selected from the English Poets; with an Illustrative Essay, and Critical Comments. By Leigh Hunt. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 65, Cornhill. 1846.

A DELIGHTFUL book, in continuation of the same author's 'Imagination and Fancy,' and to be followed by a third selection, under the title of 'Action and Passion.'

Many of our best poets, from Chaucer to Peter Pindar, have been laid under contribution for this admirable series of truly elegant extracts. The selections from each author are ushered in by a short critical comment upon his genius and writings; and the introductory 'Illustrative Essay on Wit and Humour,' is written in Leigh Hunt's best style.

Quoting Dr. King's lines :—

"Nature a thousand ways complains,
A thousand words express her pains;
But for her laughter has but three,
And very small ones, Ha, ba, he!"

(which, by the way, are only *two*), Mr. Hunt truly says, that had the Doctor

"Opposed *pleasures* to pains, instead of 'laughter,' as the correct wording of his proposition required, he would have discovered, that laughable fancies have at least as many ways of expressing themselves as those which are lachrymose; gravity tending to the fixed and monotonous, like the cat on the hearth, while levity has as many tricks as the kitten."—p. 1.

This he further expresses in a humorous relation of his own perplexities in sitting down to his present "labour of love," the illustration of 'Wit and Humour.'

"I confess," says he, in continuation of the above quotation, "I felt this so strongly, when I began to reflect on the present subject, and found myself so perplexed with the demand, that I was forced to reject plan after plan, and feared I should never be able to give any tolerable account of the matter. I experienced no such difficulty with the concentrating seriousness and sweet attraction of the subject of 'Imagination and Fancy;' but this laughing jade of a topic, with her endless whims and fancies, and the legions of indefinable shapes that she brought about me, seemed to do nothing but scatter my faculties, or bear them off deridingly into pasture. I felt as if I was undergoing a Saint Anthony's temptation reversed—a laughable, instead of a frightful one. Thousands of merry devils poured in upon me from all sides,—doubles of similes, buffooneries of burlesques, stalkings of mock-heroics, stings in the tails of epigrams, glances of innuendoes, dry looks of ironies, corpulencies of exaggerations, ticklings of mad fancies, elaps on the back of horse-plays, complacencies of *unawarenesses*, floundering of absurdities, irresistibilities of iterations, significancies of jargons, wailings of pretended woes, roarings of laughs, and hubbubs of animal spirits;—all so general, yet particular, so demanding distinct recognition, and yet so baffling the attempt with their numbers and their

confusion, that a thousand masquerades in one would have seemed to threaten less torment to the pen of a reporter."—p. 2.

The author then examines the various definitions of wit given by Barrow, Locke, and Addison; upon whose hint of "the necessity of fetching congruity out of incongruity," subsequent eritics have written. He next controverts the opinion of Hobbes, who "refers *all* laughter to a sense of triumph and glory," and afterwards gives us his own definition of Wit, saying—

"The nature of Wit, therefore, has been well ascertained. It takes many forms; and the word indeed means many things, some of them very grave and important; but, in the popular and prevailing sense of the term (an ascendancy which it has usurped, by the help of fashion, over that of the intellectual faculty, or *perception* itself), Wit may be defined to be *the arbitrary juxta-position of dissimilar ideas, for some lively purpose of assimilation or contrast, generally of both*. It is fancy in its most wilful, and strictly speaking, its least poetical state; that is to say, wit does not contemplate its ideas for their own sakes in any light apart from their ordinary prosaic one, but solely for the purpose of producing an effect by their combination. Poetry may take up the combination and improve it, but it then divests it of its arbitrary character, and converts it into something better. Wit is the clash and reconciliation of incongruities; the meeting of extremes round a corner; the flashing of an artificial light from one object to another, disclosing some unexpected resemblance or connexion. It is the detection of likeness in unlikeness, of sympathy in antipathy, or of the extreme points of antipathies themselves, made friends by the very merriment of their introduction. The mode, or form, is comparatively of no consequence, provided it give no trouble to the apprehension: and you may bring as many ideas together as can pleasantly assemble. But a single one is nothing. Two ideas are as necessary to wit as couples are to marriages; and the union is happy in proportion to the agreeableness of the offspring. So Butler, speaking of marriage itself:—

—— 'What security's too strong
To guard that gentle heart from wrong,
That to its friend is glad to pass
Itself away, and all it has,
And like an anchorite gives over
This world for the heav'n of a lover.'

—Hudibras, Part iii. Canto I.

"This is Wit, and something more. It becomes poetry by the feeling; but the ideas or images are as different as can be, and their juxta-position as arbitrary. For what can be more unlike, than a lover, who is the least solitary of mortals, or who desires to be so, and a hermit, to whom solitude is everything? and yet at the same time what can be more identical than their sacrifice of every worldly advantage for one blissful object?

"This is the clue to the recognition of Wit, through whatever form it is arrived at. The two-fold impression is not in every case equally distinct. You may have to substantiate it, critically; it may be discerned only on reflection; but discernible it is, always."—p. 9.

And again, of Humour:—

"The case, I think, is the same with Humour. *Humour*, considered as the object treated of by the humorous writer, and not as the power of treating it, derives its name from the prevailing quality of *moisture* in the bodily temperament; and is a *tendency of the mind to run in particular directions*

of thought, or feeling, more amusing than accountable; at least in the opinion of society. It is, therefore, either in reality, or appearance, a thing inconsistent. It deals in incongruities of character and circumstance, as Wit does in those of arbitrary ideas. The more the incongruities the better, provided they are all in nature; but two, at any rate, are as necessary to Humour, as the two ideas are to Wit; and the more strikingly they differ, yet harmonize, the more amusing the result. Such is the melting together of the propensities to love and war in the person of exquisite Uncle Toby; of the gullible and the manly in Parson Adams; of the professional and the individual, or the accidental and the permanent, in the Canterbury Pilgrims; of the objectionable and the agreeable, the fat and the sharp-witted, in Falstaff; of honesty and knavery, in Gil Blas; of pretension and non-performance, in the Bullies of the Dramatic Poets; of folly and wisdom, in Don Quixote; of shrewdness and doltishness, in Sancho Panza; and, it may be added, in the discordant, yet harmonious, co-operation of Don Quixote and his attendant, considered as a pair."—p. 11.

Thus pleasantly does Mr. Hunt play with his subjects, considered apart; and a few sentences further on, he continues:—

"I have preceded my details on the subject of Wit, by defining both Wit and Humour, not only on account of their tendency to coalesce, but because, though the one is to be found in perfection apart from the other, their richest effect is produced by the combination. Wit, apart from Humour, generally speaking, is but an element for professors to sport with. In combination with Humour, it runs into the richest utility, and helps to humanize the world."—p. 13.

The principal forms of Wit are thus enumerated:—1. The direct *Similie*. 2. The *Metaphor*. 3. What may be called the *Poetical Process*, the *Leap to a Conclusion*, or the Omission of Intermediate Particulars, in order to bring the Two Ends of a Thought, or Circumstance, together. 4. *Irony*. 5. *Burlesque*. 6. *Exaggeration*, *Ultra-Continuity*, and *Extravagance in General*. 7. Any kind of *Juxta-position of Ideas*, having a Pleasant Effect, down to those depending on Sound; such as Puns, Maccaronic Poetry, Half-Jargon Burdens of Songs, and even Nonsense Verses. 8. *Cross-Purposes*; or Contradictory Intentions, mistaken by their Entertainers for Identical Ones. 9. *Unconscious Absurdity* in a man's character, apart from mere circumstances. 10. *Conscious Humours Indulged*. 11. *Humours of Nations and Classes*. 12. *Humours of mere Temperament*. 13. *Moral or Intellectual Incongruities*. 14. *Genial Contradictions of the Conventional*. Under each of these forms of Wit, the author has given a number of choice illustrations, selected from the works of standard authors, both in prose and poetry, and so incorporated and bound together by his own exquisite writing, as to render a perusal of the whole of this 'Illustrative Essay,' an intellectual treat of the richest description.

We cannot venture to quote so largely from the body of the work, in which the editor, with happy tact, keeps more in the back ground, and gives place to his authors; but even here his peculiar fitness for the task he has undertaken, is fully displayed. The short notices of the poets quoted from are written with great taste, and display a

just appreciation of their various beauties. We must give a corner to the following bits on Shakspeare.

"Shakspeare had wit and humour in perfection; and like every possessor of powers so happy, he rioted in their enjoyment. Molière was not fonder of running down a joke: Rabelais could not give loose to a more 'admirable fooling.' His mirth is commensurate with his melancholy; it is founded on the same knowledge and feeling, and it furnished him with a set-off to their oppression. When he had been too thoughtful with Hamlet, he 'took it out' with Falstaff and Sir Toby. Not that he was habitually melancholy. He had too healthy a brain for that, and too great animal spirits; but in running the whole circle of thought, he must of necessity have gone through its darkest as well as brightest phases; and the sunshine was welcome in proportion. Shakspeare is the inventor of the phrase 'setting the table in a roar;' of the memory of Yorick; of the stomach of Falstaff, stuffed as full of wit as of sack. He 'wakes the night-owl with a catch;' draws 'three souls out of one weaver;' passes the 'equinoctial of Queubus' (some glorious torrid zone lying beyond three o'clock in the morning); and reminds the 'unco-righteous' for ever, that virtue, false or true, is not incompatible with the recreations of 'cakes and ale.'

"It is a remarkable proof of the geniality of Shakspeare's jesting, that even its abundance of ideas does not spoil it; for, in comedy, as well as tragedy, he is the most reflective of writers. I know hut of one that comes near him in this respect; and very near him (I dare to affirm) he does come, though he has none of his poetry, properly so called. It is Sterne; in whose 'Tristram Shandy' there is not a word without meaning,—often of the profoundest as well as kindest sort. The professed fools of Shakspeare are among the wisest of men. They talk *Æsop* and Solomon in every jest. Yet they amuse as much as they instruct us. The braggart Parolles, whose name signifies *words*, as though he spoke nothing else, scarcely utters a sentence that is not rich with ideas; yet his weakness and self-committals hang over them all like a sneaking infection, and hinder our laughter from becoming respectful. The scene in which he is taken blindfold among his old acquaintances, and so led to vilify their characters, under the impression that he is gratifying their enemies, is almost as good as the screen scene in the 'School for Scandal.' —p. 123.

In the compilation of the present volume, the editor was fettered by two conditions :—1. The self-imposed restriction of his quotations, except in the Illustrative Essay, to the *poetical* works of the authors quoted: and, 2. The necessity of rejecting "a great deal of what is otherwise excellent, on account of the freedom of speech in which almost all the wits have indulged." Notwithstanding this, however, the superabundance of materials was so great, that he was obliged to retrench two-thirds of them, "and plenty of matter remains for an additional volume, should the public care to have it." We will answer for it, the public will gladly accept the offer.

When we read such admirable prose passages, as the few which are given in the Illustrative Essay, we can scarcely help regretting that the editor was precluded, by the plan laid down, from quoting prose as well as verse in the body of the work; but it were sheer ingratitude to complain of such omissions, when so rich and so varied a banquet has been provided. We may express a hope, that

the second volume will not be long delayed; and in that volume we trust we shall encounter some of the good things to be found in the poetical works of Prior, Cowper, Gay, Gray, Burns, and several others, whose names do not appear in the present.

2. GEOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON SOUTH AMERICA. Being the third part of the Geology of the Voyage of the *Beagle*, under the command of Captain Fitzroy, R.N., during the years 1832 to 1836. By Charles Darwin, M.A., F.R.S., Naturalist to the Expedition. Published with the approval of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 65, Cornhill. 1846.

ALTHOUGH rather dry for the general reader, the contents of this volume are of the highest value and interest for the geologist and the palæontologist. The subjects treated of are the elevation of the eastern and western coasts of South America; the plains and valleys of Chile; the formations of the Pampas; the older tertiary formations of Patagonia and Chile; plutonic and metamorphic rocks; central and northern Chile; with the structure of the Cordillera. From the concluding chapter, we make a few extracts on the recent elevatory movements and volcanic action in South America; where, in the words of the author, "everything has taken place on a grand scale, and all geological phenomena are still in active operation."

"The nature and grouping of the shells embedded in the old tertiary formations of Patagonia and Chile show us, that the continent, at that period, must have stood only a few fathoms below its present level, and that afterwards it subsided over a wide area, 700 or 800 feet. The manner in which it has since been re-brought up to its actual level, was described, in detail, in the first and second chapters. It was there shown that recent shells are found on the shores of the Atlantic, from Tierra del Fuego, northward, for a space of at least 1,180 nautical miles, and, at the height of about 100 feet in La Plata, and of 400 feet in Patagonia. The elevatory movements on this side of the continent have been slow; and the coast of Patagonia, up to the height, in one part, of 950 feet, and in another, of 1,200 feet, is modelled into eight great, step-like, gravel-capped plains, extending for hundreds of miles with the same heights. This fact shows that the periods of denudation (which, judging from the amount of matter removed, must have been long continued), and of elevation, were synchronous over surprisingly great lengths of coasts. On the shores of the Pacific, upraised shells of recent species, generally, though not always, in the same proportional numbers as in the adjoining sea, have actually been found over a north and south space of 2,075 miles, and there is reason to believe that they occur over a space of 2,480 miles. The elevation on this western side of the continent has not been equable; at Valparaiso, within the period during which upraised shells have remained undecayed on the surface, it has been 1,300 feet, whilst at Coquimbo, 200 miles northward, it has been within the same period only 252 feet. At Lima, the land has been uplifted at least eighty feet since Indian man inhabited that district; but the level within historical times apparently has subsided. At Coquimbo, in a height of 364 feet, the elevation has been interrupted by five periods of comparative rest. At several places the land has been lately, or still is, rising, both insensibly, and by sudden starts of a few feet during earthquake shocks; this shows that these two kinds of upward movement are intimately connected

together. For a space of 775 miles, upraised recent shells are found on the two opposite sides of the continent; and in the southern half of this space, it may be safely inferred, from the slope of the land up to the Cordillera, and from the shells found in the central part of Tierra del Fuego, and high up the river Santa Cruz, that the entire breadth of the continent has been uplifted. From the general occurrence, on both coasts, of successive lines of escarpments, of sand-dunes and marks of erosion, we must conclude that the elevatory movement has been normally interrupted by periods, when the land either was stationary, or when it rose at so slow a rate as not to resist the average denuding power of the waves, or when it subsided. In the case of the present high sea-cliffs of Patagonia, and in other analogous instances, we have seen that the difficulty in understanding how strata can be removed at those depths under the sea, at which the currents and oscillations of the water are depositing a smooth surface of mud, sand, and sifted pebbles, leads to the suspicion that the formation or denudation of such cliffs has been accompanied by a sinking movement.

"In South America, everything has taken place on a grand scale, and all geological phenomena are still in active operation. We know how violent, at the present day, the earthquakes are; we have seen how great an area is now rising, and the plains of tertiary origin are of vast dimensions; an almost straight line can be drawn from Tierra del Fuego for 1,600 miles northward, and probably for a much greater distance, which shall intersect no formation older than the Patagonian deposits; so equable has been the upheaval of the beds, that, throughout this long line, not a fault in the stratification or abrupt dislocation was anywhere observable. Looking to the basal, metamorphic, and plutonic rocks of the continent, the areas formed of them are likewise vast; and their plains of cleavage and foliation strike over surprisingly great spaces, in uniform directions. The Cordillera, with its pinnacles here and there rising upwards of 20,000 feet above the level of the sea, ranges in an unbroken line from Tierra del Fuego, apparently to the Arctic circle. This grand range has suffered both the most violent dislocations, and slow, though grand, upward and downward movements in mass. I know not whether the spectacle of its immense valleys, with mountain masses of once liquefied and intrusive rocks, now bared and intersected, or whether the view of those plains, composed of shingle and sediment hence derived, which stretch to the borders of the Atlantic Ocean, is best adapted to excite our astonishment at the amount of wear and tear which these mountains have undergone.

"The Cordillera, from Tierra del Fuego to Mexico, is penetrated by volcanic orifices, and those now in action are connected in great trains. The intimate relation between their recent eruptions and the slow elevation of the continent in mass, appears to me highly important, for no explanation of the one phenomena can be considered as satisfactory which is not applicable to the other. The permanence of the volcanic action on this chain of mountains is, also, a striking fact. First we have the deluges of submarine lavas alternating with the porphyritic conglomerate strata, then occasionally feldspathic streams, and abundant mineral exhalations, during the gypseous or eretaceo-olitic period; then the eruptions of the Uspallata range, and, at an ancient but unknown period, when the sea came up to the eastern foot of the Cordillera, streams of basaltic lava at the foot of the Portillo range; then the old tertiary eruptions; and lastly, there are, here and there amongst the mountains, much worn and apparently very ancient volcanic formations, without any craters; there are, also, craters quite extinct, and others in the condition of solfataras, and others occasionally or habitually in fierce action. Hence it would appear, that the Cordillera has been, probably with some quiescent

periods, a source of volcanic matter from an epoch anterior to our cretaceous formation to the present day; and now the earthquakes, daily recurrent on some part of the western coast, give little hopes that the subterranean energy is expended.

Referring to the evidence by which it was shown that some at least of the parallel ridges, which together compose the Cordillera, were successively and slowly upthrown at widely different periods; and that the whole range certainly once, and almost certainly twice, subsided some thousand feet, and being then brought up by a slow movement in mass, again, during the old tertiary formations, subsided several hundred feet, and again was brought up to its present level by a slow and often interrupted movement; we see how opposed is this complicated history of changes slowly effected, to the views of those geologists who believe that this great mountain-chain was formed in late times by a single blow. I have endeavoured elsewhere to show, that the excessively disturbed condition of the strata in the Cordillera, so far from indicating single periods of extreme violence, presents insuperable difficulties, except on the admission that the masses of once liquefied rocks of the axes were repeatedly injected, with intervals sufficiently long for their successive cooling and consolidation. Finally, if we look to the analogies drawn from the changes now in progress in the earth's crust, whether to the manner in which volcanic matter is erupted, or to the manner in which the land is historically known to have risen and sunk; or again, if we look to the vast amount of denudation which every part of the Cordillera has obviously suffered, the changes through which it has been brought into its present condition, will appear neither to have been too slowly effected, nor to have been too complicated."—p. 245.

The appendix to this volume contains the characters and descriptions of sixty-one species of tertiary, and of eleven secondary fossil shells, from South America; the former by Mr. G. B. Sowerby, the latter by Professor Edward Forbes. The numerous figures of these fossils are very beautifully engraved by Mr. G. B. Sowerby, jun., and do great credit to his abilities as an artist.

3. THE EMIGRANT. By Sir Francis B. Head, Bart. John Murray.

THE appointment of Sir Francis Head, as Governor of Upper Canada, is considered by leading statesmen, of opposite parties, to have been a mistake. It was not, however, a mistake for which any government could fairly be held responsible, for the appointment was one honestly made, with no view to patronage, and in the belief that Sir Francis Head was not only equal to the duties of the office, but that he would prove himself greatly superior to the average of colonial governors. A clever man was wanted for a difficult position, and it was supposed had been found—an opinion which the public shared with the Cabinet. The author of the 'Bubbles of the Brunens' was a popular writer, and his administration of the Poor Laws, as an assistant Poor-Law Commissioner, had been generally successful. His report upon the Kentish Unions is the first in the list of reports to the Central Board, in their first annual volume, and we notice it as affording a remarkable instance of the wrong conclusions which the public may draw of public men, apparently from the soundest

premises. Sir Francis Head takes some pains to inform the reader, that Lord Durham's private opinions were so entirely opposite to the principles promulgated in his name, that "his mind must have been temporarily affected," and that "he was for a moment out of his senses" (page 386), when he signed the recommendation of a Legislative Union of the two provinces. Judging from similar evidence, we should say that the mind of Sir Francis Head must have been "temporarily affected," when he made his report to the Poor-Law Commissioners, upon the legislative incorporation of parishes in East Kent, and showed the facility with which parochial authorities, formerly at loggerheads, could be made to act cordially together in the new Unions. We had entertained a conviction, and many persons have, no doubt, sometimes believed with us, that a man able to reconcile the differences of rival churchwardens may be trusted to grapple with the minor difficulties of diplomacy. But, behold Sir Francis Head in Canada, a changed man! The mediator of parish discord has become the head of a party. We hear now only of the "British Interest," *versus* that of the "French Canadians;" "Church and State;" the "Union Jack;" "Patriots;" "Republicans;" "Sympathisers;" and "Rebels." Representation, and responsibility, we now find were very well for the interest of English rate-payers, but not for colonists; the "District Councils," since established in Canada, for local business, although little more than Boards of Guardians on a larger scale, he describes as meriting the appellation of "sucking republics" (page 332), and the very term "Union," as applied to the Upper and Lower Provinces, rouses within him the fierce spirit of invective of an Irish Repealer.

Strange enough it seems, only that all men are blind to their own weaknesses, that this book should be brought out by Sir Francis Head as a defence;—it is his condemnation. In the immediate neighbourhood of a powerful republic, in the presence of a reform party, irritated into republicanism by the rejection of all their demands, we find Sir Francis Head confessedly attempting to govern upon ultra-tory principles; characterizing reform as sedition,—proclaiming 'no compromise,'—breathing 'defiance,'—and yet wondering at his own failure. No better evidence is required than his own pages furnish, to show, that had he been retained at his post a few months longer, a war between England and the United States would have been inevitable. We think lightly of the case of the *Caroline*; the seizure of that vessel was a justifiable, and even a necessary act: but the *Caroline* should have been seized only, not destroyed; seized from the insurgents in aid of the American executive, not in contempt of it; and the vessel should have been detained, only till an explanation of the facts could have reached the President.

But imagine the representative of the British crown, compromising its dignity and the peace of two hemispheres, by taunting the American government with its imbecility, and by drawing, on public occasions, and scattering about in printed addresses and proclamations, invidious

comparisons between the result of monarchical and republican institutions! With the most profound unconsciousness, Sir Francis Head was lighting a flame in the United States, which a ten years' war might hardly have sufficed to extinguish.

Sir Francis Head endeavours, in his chapter entitled 'The Flare-up,' to exculpate himself, but very inadequately, from the charge of having been taken by surprise, when the insurrection broke out in the neighbourhood of Toronto. He says:—

"The whole force which Mr. McKenzie and his assistant, Dr. Rolph, a practising midwife, were enabled to collect, amounted only to 500 men. Now at this moment, the population of Upper Canada was 450,000, Toronto contained 10,000, and the home district, 60,000."

The comparison here is between 500 *men* assembled in arms, and the whole population of *men, women* and *children*. It betrays the hollowness of a bad ease, and shows how completely Sir Francis Head, by surrounding himself exclusively by men of one party, had deceived himself, not only as to the grounds of the disaffection which existed, but upon its extent. Five hundred men, bold enough to take arms against a government, and strike the first blow, are not an insignificant demonstration. Common sense indicates, that had the first blow succeeded, the five hundred would speedily have grown into five thousand. It was not, however, among the officials of Government House, or in the circle of their immediate friends, that the danger which menaced could fairly be apprehended.

All this is much to be regretted, and we remark it with some pain, for Sir Francis Head was evidently a governor possessing many estimable personal qualities, endearing the man to those by whom he was surrounded, and to all with whom he could agree in opinion. We lament that he wanted political tact and judgment, and that he did not understand his position.

As a writer, we are glad to welcome him back to the walks of literature. His book in its narrative parts exhibits the highest order of descriptive talent. His emigrant stories are admirable Christmas tales, and some of them, such as his anecdotes of the intensity of a Canadian frost, are especially adapted for the fire-side, during the present season. Putting aside the political chapters, which will interest only a few, the most readable book in Mr. Murray's latest list of new publications is the 'Emigrant,' by Sir Francis Bond Head.

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4. A MANUAL OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE. By F. A. Paley, M.A. Author of 'A Manual of Gothic Mouldings,' &c. With nearly Seventy Illustrations. London: John Van Voorst, Paternoster Row. 1846.

A BEAUTIFUL little book, got up with all the taste which distinguishes the whole of Mr. Van Voorst's publications; and, as a popular introduction to the subject of which it treats, no less instructive than beautiful. The introductory chapter contains a brief sketch

of the progress of Ecclesiastical Architecture; this is succeeded by chapters on the Nomenclature and Characteristics of the Styles; Windows; Doorways; The Uniformity and Progressive Character of the Gothic Styles; The Principles of Gothic Composition, Construction, and Effect; The Parts of Churches; Monumental Brasses; &c., the whole being copiously illustrated by exquisitely executed woodcuts.

In place of the ordinary classification of the styles of Church Architecture, Mr. Paley proposes the following :

I.—ANGLO-ROMANESQUE.

1. Early British, or Anglo-Saxon.
2. Ante-Norman, from about 950 to the Conquest.
3. Norman, 1066 to 1170.
4. Transition, 1170 to 1200.

II.—GOTHIC.

5. First Pointed, 1200 to 1240.
6. Late, or Florid First Pointed, 1240 to 1270.
7. Geometric Middle Pointed, 1270 to 1330.
8. Complete Middle Pointed, 1330 to 1380.
9. Third Pointed, 1380 to 1485.
10. Florid Third Pointed, 1485 to 1546.
11. Debased, or Semi-Classic, 1546 to 1650.
12. Revived Pagan, 1650 to 1840.

"In this table, First Pointed is what is generally called Early English; Geometric Middle Pointed, is Geometric, or Early Decorated; Complete Middle Pointed, is Pure, or Flowing Decorated; Third Pointed, is Perpendicular; Florid Third Pointed, is Tudor."

From the chapter on "The Principles of Gothic Composition, Construction, and Effect," we give the following extract :

"To climb daringly hundreds of feet into the air; to taper away to nothingness in almost evanescent fineness, as the top of a pinnacle and spire; to pile stage upon stage, arch above arch, window above window; to excite surprise, awe, amazement, by achievements of matchless skill, as in spanning a broad space by a heavy vault of stone, far above the reach, almost out of the ken, of the spectator below; to delight the eye with distant unattainable sculptures of exquisite and tantalizing delicacy; to exhibit something ever new, yet nothing inharmonious; to expatiate in the vista and the retiring perspective of roof and columned row; to terminate nothing abruptly, allow of no grovelling horizontality, or allow it only to set off the predominance of the contrary lines; such are among the conceptions which matured Gothic architecture. Cradled as it was in the very opposite school of art—in the half-pagan Romanesque—it burst through the trammels of its education, and essayed to attain its own heaven-born tendencies, almost before it had cast off the details of its prototype. For no sooner was the pointed arch introduced, than the change was at work, and the struggle began. Whilst yet Norman features and ornaments hung heavily upon it, as loth to leave it, it showed symptoms of impatient advance; till, suddenly shaking off the last vestige of classic proportion, and classic detail, it burst forth at once into all the luxuriance and gracefulness of the First Pointed, or Early English style; a style so transcendently beautiful, so perfect in itself, that it may well be

questioned if ever a parallel to it has existed in any age or country; or if the hands that reared, and the minds that conceived, the choirs of Ely and Lincoln Cathedrals, the Abbeys of Whitby and Westminster, and Rievaulx, have not achieved that, which, as unsurpassed by former ages, so future generations shall never see equalled again.

"From the Romanesque to the latest Pointed, the principle of the arch was undergoing a regular and progressive change, by gradually losing its prominence as a constructive feature. For whereas the great characteristic of the former, including the First Pointed style, which (in some respects rightly) has been called, "only Romanesque improved," was to have numerous arcades, supported by actual bearing-shafts; in the second, or Complete Gothic, only parts, or members of complex recessed arches, were borne by shafts; and as the one was attached to the wall, and not visibly separable from it, so the shaft also became engaged, and then degenerated into a mere bow-tell, with a little decorated capital, just to mark the impost line. The Third Pointed style was brought about by a complete surrender of the principle of the arch, and by substituting entirely new kinds of surface ornament. The arcade totally vanished, and even where the arch was of necessity retained, it was corrupted into the four-centered form, which is incapable of suggesting either the aspiring majesty, or the secure proportions, of the equilateral and lancet shapes."—p. 229.

The illustrations are from existing specimens, and the value of the work is further increased by the copious references to authorities and examples.

5. THE NEWLEAF DISCOURSES ON THE FINE ART ARCHITECTURE ; AN ATTEMPT TO TALK RATIONALLY ON THE SUBJECT. By Robert Kerr, Architect. London : J. Weale. Edinburgh: Grant and Son. Aberdeen: Brown and Co. Dublin: Grant and Bolton. 1846.

A REMARKABLE book this ! remarkable both as to matter and manner, its doctrine and its tone. But the reader will ask, is it remarkable for merit, or the contrary ?—for the soundness or mischievousness of its doctrine ? To which may be confidently answered that by some it will be welcomed as the former, by others deprecated as the latter—deprecated and depreciated, too, nor least of all by those who belong to the architectural profession. From this last remark of ours it will perhaps be conjectured that these 'Newleaf Discourses' are fraught with unworthy as well as new views of the art; so far from which, however, they exalt architecture very highly indeed, placing it on an eminence, where it stands far beyond the reach of the many—and there is the rub ! The fact is, by vindicating for architecture the rank, privileges, and powers of a Fine Art, the Newleaf theory demands from those who call themselves architects much more than has hitherto been expected of them,—nothing less than æsthetic feeling, and talent, and the evidence of them. It deposes from the ranks of architecture those whose works do not make good their claim to the title of artist. And it farther ejects from the sphere of art a very great deal that has hitherto been received, without questioning, as belonging to it, merely because it counterfeits the genuine with more or less success; itself being all the while, if not exactly mockery,

mimicry,—clever mimicry, perhaps,—of what was originally pure art, but has since been reduced to mechanical process and manipulation. Such is the necessary consequence of the doctrine here propounded, wherefore it may easily be guessed how it is likely to be relished by that numerous professional body who now identify themselves with architecture, although their practice is confined to mere building-material construction. After having so long called themselves, and been called by others, architects, it must be not a little annoying and mortifying to them to be very plainly told by Mr. Kerr, that they merely usurp that title, unless they can sustain it worthily by their ability, not in mere building alone, but in the æsthetics of building, *alias* “Fine Art Architecture.”

Their mortification may be concealed by affecting to treat Mr. K. as a visionary and enthusiast—a dealer in subtleties and over nice distinctions,—a rash disturber of hitherto received, and highly convenient opinions; in which latter quality he is not to be altogether despised; because, although professional men, that is, the great majority of them, may instinctively recoil from doctrine that tends to lower them, the public may espouse it, and show themselves not at all indisposed to have their eyes opened to the real state of the case. In fact, very similar doctrines and views have been broached of late in more quarters than one; and, in the previous number of this very Review the popular misconceptions prevailing in regard to architecture, and the manner in which that *art* is confounded with the technical *science* of construction or building, were briefly glanced at. Nor do we, perhaps, greatly err, if we fancy that what has been said, from time to time, by Candidus and other writers, has caused the author of the ‘Newleaf Discourses’ to believe the public to be sufficiently ripe for his agitating and probing a question of vital importance to architecture, as regards not only the *status* in art which it can claim, but also the manifestation of art-power that can be justly claimed from it; for without that, it deserves to be treated as an intruder and an impostor. We, on our part, are willing to believe, that Mr. Kerr has calculated the opportunity for his experiment exceedingly well, and that by immediately following up and enlarging upon what others had comparatively only hinted at. Of course, there are a great many prejudices in array against him, but he would never have produced his volume at all, had he waited till they should have disappeared; besides which, it is to those very prejudices, and other prevalent misconceptions on the subject of architecture, that we owe the ‘Newleaf Discourses,’ it being against them that the book is mainly directed. One prejudice it can hardly fail to remove, by convincing every reader that it is possible to treat an apparently very dry, didactic subject, not only familiarly, but even amusingly. Giving free scope to his pen, the author passes alternately from serious argument to humour, whether it be humour tinged with what some will call moody bitterness, or venting itself in caustic drollery,—which some again will describe as idleness. In short, the book fully exemplifies that

disregard of "precedent" and "old-ladyism," which Mr. Kerr himself advocates in regard to his own art; for many parts of the book are in a strain of liveliness, for which not the very slightest precedent is to be found in the writings of professional men on the subject, the latter being far more addicted to the heavy "bigwig" style.

As pleasantry forms so copious an ingredient in these 'Discourses,' the question will be, is it perfectly good-humoured and harmless? To which we reply, "let the galled jade wince." It flies about in various directions, and hits a good many people, who are, therefore, not likely to be put into particular good-humour, were the pleasantry itself ever so good-natured. Still, that cannot be helped: battles, as Napoleon said, are not won by rose-water; neither are inveterate errors and prejudices to be shaken by ridicule, if it be of such exceedingly innocuous kind that no one feels it all. Some, no doubt, will allege, that his sportiveness degenerates, in more than one instance, into burlesque; yet, even granting that such sallies are, in themselves, mere froth, they show the effervescent spirit of what lies beneath. Ridicule is an exceedingly formidable weapon indeed, when directed against humbug: it then becomes an Ithuriel's spear, whose touch reveals the absurdity that has been lurking beneath the mask of gravity. The whimsical *punchings*, which the author of the 'Discourses' indulges in, may, perhaps, be objected to, as being, although *striking* enough, in not the very best taste; but it cannot possibly be said, that there is any want of seriousness and earnestness in the philippic which Mr. Newleaf bestows on the 'Royal Institute of British Architects.' He has administered to that body a dose which, it is to be hoped, will work a cure, by effecting a complete reform, now that it perceives public attention beginning to be directed towards it, and its manifold errors, of both commission and omission, not only noted, but exposed. To render the 'Institute' what Mr. Newleaf demands that it should be, would require it to be completely reconstructed afresh. One preliminary operation towards such work has been performed; for the 'Institute' is already sufficiently well cut up, and needs only to be seethed in the kettle of Medea, to come out again in a better shape, provided it can also be informed with a better spirit.

6. LUCRETIA; OR THE CHILDREN OF NIGHT. By the author of 'Rienzi.' Saunders & Otley.

WE had purposed reviewing, in the present number, the later novels of Sir Bulwer Lytton, including 'Lucretia, or the Children of Night;' but some delay in the transmission of the latter work frustrated the design, and that it has been unavoidably postponed for the present we do not now regret. We would return to the subject with a fair opportunity for honest eulogy; but after supping full of horrors with Lucretia, we fear our criticism would be as morbid as the book. Sir Bulwer Lytton's new novel, and we congratulate ourselves that it cannot (for it must not) be his last, has enabled us to arrive at

a somewhat decided conclusion upon two questions, on which we had before felt doubtful. It has left, in the first place, an impression upon our mind altogether unfavorable to Hydropathy; for we cannot believe that Preissnitz at Gräfenberg, or Dr. Wilson at Great Malvern, can have done the author the least good with their cold baths and wet sheets, when the result has been to give him nightly dreams of murder, and to delude him into the notion that the impatient money-getters of the present generation are equally unscrupulous in their choice of means with the poisoners of the 15th and 16th centuries.

It has given us, in the second place, a conviction that Shakspeare may, after all, have written 'Titus Andronicus.' It seems difficult to believe, that the author of *Romeo and Juliet* could, in his youthful days, have filled his mind with the most revolting images of cruel lust and slaughter, to string them together in the form of a drama, without one redeeming feature of human sympathy; but here is the author of 'Zanoni,' that beautiful tale of metaphysical abstractions, and high aspirations, stooping to the charnel-house to gather inspiration, and deducing his theories of human nature from the chronicles of Newgate.

The preface tells us that there have been poisoners among us within the last seventeen years, which nobody can doubt; but is such a fact characteristic of the age?—and whether characteristic or not, what useful end can be answered by first feeding the fancy with such ideas, and then counteracting their tendency, or attempting to do so, by the profound moral, that if the reader should seek to poison his nearest relatives to get at their property, he may possibly end his days in a madhouse, or find himself chained to a grave stealer in Norfolk Island?

To be brief, for we would not continue in this vein a moment longer than would suffice to express a disappointment, the work is altogether an unsatisfactory performance. A failure throughout it is not, for everything that Sir Bulwer Lytton writes bears the impress of talent; and we might quote fine thoughts and eloquent passages from many pages; but the work is unsatisfactory in its aim, in the construction of the plot, and in its delineation of character. In John Ardworth, we have an instance of the strong mind, not uncommon in the middle ranks of life, but, for the rest, all the intellect is with the villainy of the tale. Its virtuous heroes and heroines are simple innocents.

We expect better things of Sir Bulwer Lytton, now that he has returned to the world of fiction;—tales worthy of old times, and, let us hope, not mere reproductions of Pelhamite gentility, and Childe-Harold sentimentality, but incentives to honest exertion. Tales in harmony with that spirit of progress which is the real characteristic of the age.

7. SAVAGE LIFE AND SCENES IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND: being an Artist's impressions of Countries and People at the Antipodes. With numerous Illustrations. By George French Angas. In Two Volumes. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., Cornhill. 1847.

Mr. ANGAS, already favourably known as the author of 'The New Zealanders Illustrated,' 'South Australia Illustrated,' and other works of a similar character, has in these two volumes embodied the most striking of the facts and impressions which occurred to him while wandering in search of subjects for his pencil, "on the outskirts of civilization, and among savage tribes who had never beheld a white man." He founds his claims to public attention principally on the ground of being "a faithful describer of what struck the mind of an artist, seeking to delineate the characteristic features of the countries and people" visited by him; but we think few of his readers will willingly withhold the meed of praise for the very agreeable manner in which he has woven his observations into the narrative before us.

"One evening in the month of July," says the author, "whilst sitting in my verandah at Adelaide, I took it into my head to visit New Zealand;" and as there is much more of novelty to be gleaned in that country than in Australia, we will accompany him there, and make a few extracts from that portion of his narrative.

Mr. Angas gives a minute account of the Wairau massacre; from which it appears "that Rangihæta, with his own hand, massacred all those who were taken prisoners, in order to revenge the death of his favorite wife, who was one of the daughters of Rauparaha, and was shot, whilst sitting at the fire."

The following striking scene was met with in Tory Channel.

"About six miles up the channel we arrived at a small island, resembling a sugar-loaf; the summit of which was crowned with the ruins of a pah, once a stronghold of the Nga to Kahunis, who were driven out of the straits by Rauparaha and his tribe. On landing at some works at the foot of this steep island, it was curious, on looking down into the calm crystalline water, to observe the various shell-fish, feeding in families as it were, amongst the weeds at the bottom, at a depth of many feet below the surface. It was a lovely day, and the view from the summit of the island was magnificent; the eye ranging over an extensive and varied prospect of endless mountains, clothed with gloomy forests, rested on their remote snow-clad peaks, catching a faint glimpse of the ocean beyond; while at our feet flowed the winding channel, 'deeply, darkly, beautifully blue,' with every object mirrored on its windless surface. But there was no sign of life there; around us lay scattered the wreck of a former population, and the deserted and decaying ruins of their once fortified strongholds, were undisturbed by the tread of the living; our voices seemed to intrude upon the accustomed silence. The skulls and tombs of those who had fallen in the fight, peered out amongst the rank overgrowth of vegetation, that, year after year, wore a denser covering over the mouldering traces of the slain; the thatchwork of the houses still remaining, had been scattered by the winds of heaven, and the fungus grew thick upon the rotten wood. In former days the inhabitants of villages

were accustomed to retreat to a stronghold of this kind, when hard pressed by their enemies; and large stores were dug underground, for holding a supply of potatoes and *kumeras*, sufficient to provide the besieged with food for several months. Similar stores existed at this isolated fortification, and the entrances to them appeared like wells, half hidden by the shrubs and fern that had grown up around. The whole island was thickly overrun with wild cabbage, now in full blossom, which, at a distance, when the sun was shining upon it, resembled a hill of gold, crowned at the summit with the straggling posts and images of its ancient fortifications."—p. 277.

A droll description of a lady *sitting* for her portrait:—

"I sat beneath the shelter of a native verandah or porch, whilst my patient sitters were exposed to the rain. I resolved on sketching Haimonah's wife, in the posture she had involuntarily assumed whilst gazing intently at me, as I transferred the lineaments of her spouse to paper. She lay at length upon the ground, exactly in the attitude of a sea-lion when basking in the sun. The lady insisted, greatly to my dismay, in robing herself for the occasion in a clean white *chemise*, of European fashion; and, putting aside her native habiliments, down she lay upon the wet ground, thus attired. Although her vanity was thus singularly gratified, I really pitied the poor woman, notwithstanding it was impossible to refrain from indulging in a hearty laugh at the idea of an European lady, thus scantily attired, lying for her portrait in the pouring rain, in such a posture."—Vol. ii. p. 12.

Here we have the friendly greetings of two old ladies, after a long absence:—

"The wife of Wirihona met the wife of an inferior chief, who was an old acquaintance, which led to a warm *tungi* between the two parties; but, after sitting opposite to each other for a quarter of an hour or more, crying bitterly, with a most piteous moaning and lamentation, the *tungi* was transformed into a *hongi*, and the two old ladies commenced pressing noses, giving occasional satisfactory grunts."—p. 32.

Our next extract, which must also be the last, gives an illustration of what the Author, with truth, calls the *tapu* annoyance, as well as of a mode of administering punishment, which is said to have been sometimes practised nearer home.

"During my stay at Taupo, I frequently experienced considerable trouble, when sketching, from the prevalence of the *tapu*, so many objects being regarded as sacred; anything relating to food, if represented with the same pencil that depicted the head of the sacred chief, or put into the same portfolio with it, is considered a sad and fearful sacrilege. The whole of my sketches narrowly escaped being committed to the flames, through the indignation of Ko Tarin, and they were only rescued by the influence of my friend, the chief, Te Heuhen. I was obliged in future to make drawings of the *patukas*, *tapu* buildings, &c., by stealth. Even the Tongariro itself I was forbidden to represent, under pain of 'utu,' or payment; but I afterwards accomplished it with the assistance of one of my guides, who was a christianized native. Notwithstanding the strict adherence of Te Heuhen to those absurd and heathen customs, I received every hospitality and protection from his hands; and the scrupulous integrity of this powerful chief showed itself, in an amusing instance, when I was at Te Rapa. On returning one evening with Newman to the *kainga*, there was an unusual commotion amongst the natives; and, on inquiry, we found that an old woman had informed the chief, that some of the young folks had been eating the sugar belonging to the *pakeha*;

I having left a small canister at Newman's hut, containing about half a pound. In order to settle this important question, Te Heuhen summoned every boy and girl of Te Rapa, within the court-yard of his dwelling; and not being able to discover the supposed thief, he bent them all round in succession."—p. 112.

The illustrations to these volumes, from Mr. Angas's own sketches, are very beautiful; and we greatly regret that our limits will not allow us to offer a larger selection from the descriptive portion of these volumes, which are in every way worthy of public patronage.

8. FLORENTINE HISTORY, FROM THE EARLIEST AUTHENTIC RECORDS TO THE ACCESSION OF FERDINAND THE THIRD, GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY. By Henry Edward Napier, Captain in the Royal Navy, F.R.S. In 6 vols. London: Edward Moxon, Dover-street. 1846.

JUDGING from the two volumes already published, the gallant Captain has most fully acted up to the spirit of Bacon's aphorism, relative to the banishment of "Epitomes and moths of history;" for his present work is penned with all the minuteness of a chronicle. He has adopted this course because—

"Past ages are as foreign countries to the present; wherefore the frequent exhibition of those trifling incidents, whether of manners or character, of the individual or community, which combine to effect important results, and weave the web of history; all tend to produce that intimate acquaintance with the nation which must necessarily be omitted in shorter narratives."—Preface, viii.

In answer to the apprehended inquiry, "But why write so long a history about so small a country?" the author says, "because the lessons of history, which are the records of experience, and the beacons of human error, may, as in the Grecian republics, be taught with equal benefit from the acts of a small as a great community." And Florence he especially considers worthy of such honor, from the conspicuous part she has played in history, "as one of the head nurses of modern art and science; of literature, liberty, and song; of all that improves and adorns society; and because she probably influenced the free political destiny of many existing nations."

The first volume brings down the history to the year 1336; the second from that date to 1402. To each volume is appended a "Miscellaneous Chapter," in which the manners of the people, the progress of the arts, and other particulars, are treated at greater length than was advisable in the history. As a specimen of style we select the following passages on the progress of trade, from the miscellanea in the first volume.

"The progress of trade will always have a certain relation to the condition of surrounding nations, near or distant; it therefore became impossible that, encircled as she was by such cities as Siena, Lucca, Pisa, Genoa, and others, Florence could remain for a moment stationary, after her freedom and independence were confirmed. We accordingly perceive in her early history occasional indications of that attention to foreign trade which gathered so much strength in after times. Thus, in 1135, she humbled the Buondelmonti,

then powerful lords of Monteluono, for their treatment of Florentine merchants; in 1171, she signed a commercial treaty with the rich and flourishing city of Pisa; in 1191, she became a powerful member of the Tuscan league; in 1201, she concluded a treaty with the Ubaldini, lords of the Mugello, for the safe conduct of merchandise into Lombardy; and in 1281, a similar convention with Genoa. In the following year, treaties with Siena, Lucca, Prato and Pistonia succeeded, by which all tolls and duties on goods and persons were reciprocally removed.

"These acts indicate a considerable expansion of mind and domestic industry,—an industry not springing from the land, which was neither rich in quality nor great in surface, but because the natural faculties and activity of the people had been left unfettered by the establishment of free institutions; because they were not as yet contaminated by luxury, and were to a certain degree dependent on strangers for their necessaries, which a small territory denied to an increasing population.

"The mercantile character of the Florentines in the thirteenth century appears to have resembled that of the Dutch in their most prosperous days, and was the cause of similar effects; they produced much and consumed little; administered to the luxury of strangers and repressed their own; and the result was public riches and prosperity, perhaps virtue, according to the spirit of the age. Their form of government was particularly favourable to commerce, and the early belief in a supernatural destination to mercantile affairs, because the city was founded under the influence of Aries, may have somewhat assisted in producing it.

"We have seen, that, in very early times, the citizens were divided into a certain number of '*Arts*' or trades, from which all public functionaries were eventually drawn, even to the supreme governors of the country; it was an apiary without drones, for the nobles were ultimately compelled to enrol themselves amongst tradesmen as their only way to public honours. Trade thus presenting the single medium for attaining political power, all minds were naturally directed towards it, perhaps even without any previous inclination or peculiar desire of gain; and in this manner political ambition became subservient to natural industry and commercial enterprise. The great energy of Florentines soon carried them far away from their home to seek a livelihood in foreign countries, and finally return with independence; in this way there was scarcely a region in the world left unexplored by their activity, and everywhere and in every station, they made themselves useful, if not necessary, besides improving their native country by the introduction of all that was likely to be serviceable in the customs of strangers. This love of enterprise soon became general, and an acute, mercantile spirit pervaded all ranks of society to such a degree, that he who was not a trader, or who had not made a fortune in foreign parts, had little consideration at Florence. Commerce thus become a second nature, few speculations were neglected, and as thus the merchants personally conducted their own adventures, a race of quick, intelligent citizens grew up, who were perfectly acquainted with the necessities, power, and resources of foreign nations, and generally with the leading men of each, both Christian and infidel; and, as the rank of a Florentine citizen was considered noble, and sufficient for admission to any order of knighthood, so, whether merchant or not, was he a fit companion for the highest personages of other states. But those identical merchants being also the chief rulers and ambassadors of the republic, they carried such a mass of useful knowledge into the state, government, and public assemblies as gave them considerable advantages in their foreign political relations; and there being no permanent embassies, the frequent change of diplomatic missions increased this knowledge; more especially as it was the custom of ambassadors, particularly the Venetian, to send home

detailed relations of the power, resources, objects, and peculiar policy, of the several courts. Thus, from youth upward, were this people formed to intellectual activity and liberality of sentiment, by a constant intercourse with all nations, ranks, and professions, while some of their neighbours, with a richer soil and less necessary labour, followed a slower and less brilliant course; and therefore, when war came, with all its cost, misery, and exhaustion, the value of Florentine industry also became apparent, and with it her national ascendancy."—p. 587.

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9. CHARACTERISTICS OF MEN OF GENIUS; a Series of Biographical, Historical, and Critical Essays, selected, by permission, chiefly from the 'North American Review.' In Two Volumes. London: Chapman, Brothers, 121, Newgate Street. 1846.

Two volumes of Essays, of a very high order, which, from their novelty and their intrinsic value, we are sure will receive from the British public a reception commensurate with their merits.

The Essays are classed in four groups,—ecclesiastics, poets, artists, and statesmen. In reference to this classification, we may quote the following passage from the Preface:—

"Any classification of men of genius that might be adopted, could only be an approximation to an assumed ideal of correctness. Genius, in its highest form, is many-sided, and eludes the most careful analysis; it wanders into every region of nature, is cognisant of the several departments of human knowledge, and is alike at home in every sphere of life. Hence, being the complement of mankind in life and knowledge at the time of his appearance,—the highest mark which the spring-tide of the soul has yet reached,—the man of genius comprehends in himself, as it were, and understands the manifold forms of humanity; and there exists, latent or active, within him the possibility of their realisation. Shakspeare, perhaps, is the only manifestation of genius the world has witnessed of this exalted and universal order. But men of partial genius, who approach this standard in various degrees, participate of course, more or less perfectly, in these attributes, and hence demand our admiration in different forms."—p. ii.

Hence arises a difficulty in applying arbitrary rules to the classification of such men as Michael Angelo, Petrarch, and Dante; the former possessing high claims to distinction as poet, philosopher, and artist; while the two latter, in addition to their poetical celebrity, played no inconspicuous part in the political arena of their times; wherefore, in these volumes, the subjects are placed in that group to which their more obvious or more permanent characteristic indicates their affinity.

One of the most valuable essays in this series is that on Machiavelli,—a statesman, whose policy, as hitherto understood, has passed into a proverb. The writer has laboured, and with considerable success, to rescue the memory of Machiavelli from much of the obloquy which has been heaped upon it, in consequence of a mistaken view of the import of his writings, arising from ignorance of the minor links necessary to connect the whole into a well-digested system. His larger works were printed shortly after the death of the author, in

1527, and early gained an extensive circulation; these soon excited "that violent controversy, which has continued, with very little increase of judgment, or diminution of violence, during the course of three centuries :—

"But at last the moment arrived which was to furnish a sure guide to his real views, and the defence was to proceed from the best interpreter of the feelings and motives of every man,—his own correspondence. The diligence and zeal which have always characterised the scholars of Italy, had never been directed to an examination of the manuscripts of Machiavelli, and, as if the ingratitude that embittered his life had not sufficed, the only pieces that could afford a full refutation of the calumnies of his enemies, were suffered to moulder in neglect, while dusty *codices*, and even whole libraries, were searched to discover a new reading, or establish a disputed passage in the '*Decameron*.' The first of his inedited essays that was brought to light, was a small dialogue upon the Italian language, which was published by Giovanni Bottari, in 1730. After an interval of thirty years, the Discourse addressed to Leo X., upon the government of Florence, with several letters of great interest and importance, were discovered in the Gaddian library, and published in the city of Lucca. Other discoveries soon followed, and shortly after the publications at Lucca, his official despatches to the Florentine government were recovered, and his important services, as a faithful and confidential ambassador of the republic, were, for the first time, established upon full and incontrovertible documents.

"Nothing could be more striking than the new aspect in which Machiavelli now appeared; the dark colouring with which calumny had surrounded him had passed away; he comes before us as the dignified and faithful ambassador of his country; the innocent and unbending victim of arbitrary power, the versatile genius, who, by the energies of his own mind, re-opened the path, which an unrelenting destiny had closed before him. We seem to have met with some familiar friend, who brings us into the privacy of his domestic life, and while he amuses our curiosity with characteristic anecdotes, discovers at every step the excellence of his heart, and the fervour of his affections."

—Vol. ii, p. 207.

We are glad to see expressed the intention to continue the series as material may offer; the design is truly *catholic*, since it includes essays on men of genius, whatever their birth-place or their mode of faith; and to the publishers are due our thanks for transferring from their distant birth-place a series of essays which would do honour to the literature of any country.

10. ROME, PAGAN AND PAPAL. By an English Resident in that City. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1846.

THE following extract will explain the subject of this very agreeable book; namely, the close correspondence between the religious rites and ceremonies, as at present practised in "the Eternal City," and those which, in ancient times, characterised the religion of Pagan Rome. Speaking of the road-side crosses and Madonnas, the author says :—

"The cross and a Madonna are new features in the aspect of a country. One never sees them in England—rarely, comparatively speaking, in France. They must be types of a new state of religious thought, in which imagination

is called in to the aid of devotion ; another people, other associations, are about me ; and thus the simple Cross led me on, from step to step, to the contemplation of that great system which, at one time, overshadowed so vast a portion of the civilised world, and which, directly or indirectly, still exercises so great an influence on mankind. As I went farther south, I had opportunities of examining its aspect more minutely, and to greater advantage. At Turin, I was struck with the severe and gloomy air it assumed—at Genoa, with its rich and elegant decorations—at Rome, with its gorgeous pomp and pageantry ; but wherever, and under whatever circumstances, I have examined the Roman Catholic religion, it has appeared evident to me, that between her rites and ceremonies, and those of the religion formerly professed and practised in these lands, the resemblance is most striking. Now, it is just this resemblance which I wish very briefly to trace, in the letters that I shall send you, every now and then.”—p. 3.

This idea is by no means new ; for, with the occupation of the Pagan temples of ancient Rome, in the early ages of the Church, it is well known that many of the Pagan rites and ceremonies were engrafted on the purer doctrines of Christianity. In some cases, also, the images of the Pagan gods were themselves rebaptized, and afterwards figured as Christian saints, as in the obvious example of the conversion of Jupiter Tonans into Saint Peter. Having once, through motives of policy, adopted the religious usages of Pagan times, it was natural that these should be retained through after ages by a Church which lays claim to absolute infallibility, and consequent immutability. Nor is it surprising that, in the lapse of time, the spirituality which originally gave life to such outward demonstrations of religious feeling should have been lost sight of, whilst the observance of the ceremonies alone remains to bear witness of the former prevalence of a faith which has been superseded by that whereinto they were adopted. In our author’s words :—

“That Christianity would have been more pure and spiritual, divested of these relics of Paganism, there can be no doubt ; and had she been able so to do, doubtless would she have repudiated them ; but it is a remarkable fact, that the religion of the Cross, which has triumphed over thrones, and principalities, and powers, was compelled to assume the drapery of Paganism, and consecrate the religious customs of the multitude. So strong, therefore, is the illusion which this metamorphosis produces, that he whose mind is filled with classic associations, moves in this country amidst the shadows of the past, and may almost take them for the embodied realities of a remote age.”—p. 106.

As an illustration, we may quote the author’s parallel between the worship of Cybele in Pagan Rome, and the all but divine honours paid to the Madonna in modern Catholic countries. After naming various public acts of adoration connected with her worship, such as her litany, the prayer at the hour of Ave Maria, her fête days, with their processions and hymns, as well as the sculptured and pictorial representations of her in the churches, the author instances the almost child-like trust and confidence reposed in the “Blessed Virgin.” In Italy, especially, the firm belief of the people in the efficacy of her intercession in all circumstances of difficulty and danger, and

the acknowledgment of her hand in every case of special favour bestowed, or danger escaped; in fact, as he says :—

“In all situations in life, she is the object of universal love and hope and veneration; and, in the closing scenes of life, it is she who, in the words of a beautiful chaunt, whose touching melody I have often listened to with delight, is solicited to pray for the pardon of their sins.”
—p. 9.

“Here, then,” says the author, “we have a striking fact; how is this fact to be explained?” And, after naming various features in the personal history of the Madonna, none of which would fully account for these striking peculiarities of the Catholic faith, the author again asks :—“Were there, then, any circumstances in the religious faith and ceremonies of the people amongst whom Christianity was cradled, calculated to create or to modify this peculiar article of faith in the Catholic religion?” And, rejecting Bayle’s hypothesis respecting the worship of Juno and the Virgin Mary, he proceeds :—

“I draw no parallel in stating the following circumstances to you, but leave it to your own judgment to determine how far, if at all, they have influenced the article of faith of which I have been speaking. Amongst the innumerable deities of ancient Rome, none was more honoured than Cybele, the ‘great Mother of the gods.’ An ancient model represents her seated with Jupiter on one side and Mercury on the other, to indicate that she is the mother of both generations of the gods. She had various titles ascribed to her, and temples and altars were erected to her honour, one of which was on Mount Palatine. Her priests were, many of them, vowed to celibacy, and wandered through the country begging alms for their goddess. * * * She had also her *fêtes*, when her image was carried about in grand procession, and each person walked before it, bearing whatever he had of greatest value. It is said that the Emperor Commodus having discovered a plot to assassinate him on the day of her *fête*, attributed his safety to her, and celebrated her *fête* with great pomp, himself carrying her relics before her image. Here, then, I think you will agree with me, are some religious peculiarities, existing in Rome before the introduction of Christianity, similar at least to many of which we now find connected with the worship of the Madonna. Can there be any connexion between them? During the infancy of Christianity, so to speak—that age when systems, as well as men, take their character and form in a greater measure from surrounding influences,—the great majority of the people bowed before the gods of Greece and Rome. Some, like Tiberius, might have been willing to adopt Jesus Christ amongst their deities; and others, who had become Christians, perhaps almost insensibly to themselves, might have still lingered with some degree of affectionate recollection about the *fêtes* and processions, and other adjuncts, of the faith of their fathers. Is there anything harsh or unnatural in supposing that they invested the new with some of the attributes of the old faith; and that Cybele appeared to them with greater purity and tenderness under the character of Mary, the mother of our Lord?”
—p. 10.

In another chapter he draws a parallel between the image-worship of modern Rome and that of Rome in ancient times; he also compares the modern with ancient lustrations; the perpetual fires of Vesta with those of the Romish church; the incense, the *hostia*, the sepulchral lights, and other tokens of correspondence between the

two modes of worship, without number. The author is well qualified for the task he has undertaken; his mind being thoroughly stored with classical literature, which he has brought to bear upon the religious usages of modern Rome, a familiarity with which he has acquired during his three residences in "the eternal city." The result is a book which may be read with pleasure and profit by every one, who, in these utilitarian times, can spare a thought for other things than such as merely relate to the every-day demands upon the thoughts and energies of his mind, and the more common-place wants of the body.

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11. **THE POTATO PLANT: its Uses and Properties; together with the Cause of the present Malady, the Extension of that Disease to other Plants, the Question of Famine arising therefrom, and the best Means of averting that Calamity.** By Alfred Smee, F.R.S., &c. Illustrated with ten Lithographs. London: Longman and Co. 1846. P. 174.

THE failure of the potatoe crop for two consecutive years, and the distress to which many thousands of our fellow-subjects have, in consequence, been reduced, are matters of such vital importance, that any researches which have been directed to the discovery of the true nature of the evil, and a remedy for it, must necessarily be hailed with welcome. The author of the volume now before us is a member of the medical profession, and his name is already well-known in the scientific world by an excellent work on electro-metallurgy, as well as by the invention of a voltaic combination, universally known as Smee's battery. Conceiving that the—

"Death of a plant is referrible to causes precisely similar to those which occasion the death of an animal; and that though the embarrassing circumstances are less numerous in the vegetable than in the animal, yet they are of the same nature, and are to be investigated on the same principles, and that the investigation into the nature of an universal disease among organic bodies belongs especially to the practical surgeon,"

Mr. Smee was induced to enter into an elaborate examination of this most important subject, with a view of ascertaining its real cause and nature, and thus of endeavouring to destroy or remedy it on scientific principles, and not by empirical means. From the introduction to the present work, we learn that his opportunities of investigation and observation have been very extensive; nor have his researches been confined to the plants cultivated in any one district, but he has obtained and examined potatoes grown in different localities. These investigations have led to the publication of the present volume, the contents of which we shall briefly enumerate.

The work opens with a description of the potato plant—the history of its introduction into our land, its varieties, chemical constitution, and uses, both as an article of food, and for the manufacture of starch, sugar, spirit, &c. This portion of the volume contains a great mass of information, collected from various sources, and judiciously

arranged. The fourth chapter is devoted to a description of the disease with which the potato has now been attacked (for it must be remembered that the plant is also liable to two other diseases), and to which the name of gangrene is applied—to an enumeration of its symptoms, their progress, and, if we may be allowed the expression—its *post mortem* appearances. Since the commencement of the present blight, these symptoms and appearances have been so fully and ably described by Professor Lindley and others, as to be familiar to all who take any interest in the subject. The author next proceeds to consider the relation of the disease to internal and external causes; the length of this portion of the inquiry, to which, as may be anticipated, the greater part of the volume is devoted, prevents our entering fully into its details. We must therefore content ourselves with a *résumé* of the opinions to which Mr. Smee's observations have led him, referring the reader who is interested in the inquiry to the volume itself. Gangrene, or that disease to which the plant is now subject, is not the result of any internal cause. It is influenced, though not caused, by heat, light, electricity, moisture, soils, and manures. Many naturalists have attributed the disease to the generation of parasitic fungi, in consequence of whose attacks the tubers remain unripe, and in a bad state for preservation. Mr. Smee allows that all diseased potatoes exhibit these parasitic fungi, more particularly that species to which the name of *Botrytis infestans* has been given; but asserts that this fungus is a consequence, and not a cause of the malady, which in all instances is to be traced to the ravages of a parasitic insect, the *Aphis vastator*, which punctures the leaf, sucks the sap, and destroys the relation between the leaf and the root, thus causing the leaf, or some other part of the plant, to become gangrenous, or, in other words, to die. Nor is the potato the only plant which falls a prey to this parasite; for in the same manner it destroys the Swede turnip, the beet-root, cabbage, brocoli, radish, horse-radish, and a variety of other plants, both wild and cultivated. The disease of the last two years is owing to the excessive appearance of the insect, which is no new fact, since naturalists have frequently noticed, that under certain circumstances, or in particular seasons, various species of insects increase to an alarming extent. This increase of certain species of destructive insects in certain seasons, of which, perhaps, the occasional swarming of locusts in oriental climates is an excellent example, is, however, generally but temporary, and we may, therefore, from analogy, be allowed to hope that the present disease is but transitory, and will pass over the globe, and disappear.

The remedies suggested by Mr. Smee for lessening the disease, may be summed up as follows:—First, the destruction of the *Aphis* to as great an extent as possible—by employing birds, which are their natural enemies—by burning infected haulms, and isolating from each other all plants liable to be affected by the insect. Secondly, by causing the plant for some time to revert as much as possible to the wild state, which is to be effected by growing it in dry places, from

a shoot or cutting of the stem, or small piece of sound potatoe, by applying to it but little manure, plenty of light, and selecting a sandy or peaty soil, and warm situation, the object being to obtain a sufficiency of leaves to develop fibre, and to repress over-abundant and rapid growth. And, thirdly, by taking care, as far as possible, that the fibre is deposited in the plant at a period of the year before the insect becomes very abundant.

In conclusion, we may observe that this volume is one of great interest. It is clearly written; the natural history, description and habits of the *Aphis* are fully detailed; and from the extent of Mr. Smee's investigations and observations, his opinion seems entitled to great weight. The work is illustrated by ten well-finished lithographs, representing the potato-plant, the fungi which are found in it, and the *Aphides* which infest it.

12. THE USE OF THE BODY IN RELATION TO THE MIND. By George Moore, M.D., Member of the Royal College of Physicians, &c. London: Longmans. 1846.

A PREVIOUS work by the same author, 'The Power of the Soul over the Body,' met with the most unqualified praise from the press generally. The present volume we deem not a whit inferior, in point of execution, or in the importance of its subject, to the former. It was written, says the author,

"With the hope of promoting the study of a subject, than which, as there is none more important, so there ought not to be any of greater interest, for the right use of the body involves the whole doctrine of human economy, in regard both to sociality and to self, not only in relation to time, but also to eternity."—Preface, p. vii.

This object he has sought to attain by the production of a series of connected essays, written in a familiar and lucid style, and well calculated to invite public attention to what, otherwise treated, might have a repulsive aspect. As in the former treatise, a tone of healthy religious feeling pervades the whole; this is by no means offensively obtruded on the reader's notice, but rather seems to spring out of, and to be in intimate connexion with, the topics under discussion. And almost necessarily so; for truly,—

"The physical and spiritual worlds are in perpetual connexion, and all our true interests are essentially religious, because they are everlasting; therefore, to separate true knowledge from devout feeling, is to divorce what God has joined together, and thus produce a profane severance, like that of faith from love, which, as it begins in distrust, must end in malevolence."

The following extract from the chapter 'On the Compensating Power of the Mind' will offer a good illustration of the author's style, while it affords a pleasing extension of the remarks on the importance of rightly educating the mental powers, given in another part of the present number of this Review.

"Take care, therefore, to obtain information that may guide you to the right use of your senses; for they may be as acute as those of a wild man of

the woods, all alive to the impressions of nature, and yet you may give no more attention to them than would suffice to satisfy the faculties of a baboon, instead of affording your reason any perception of the true meaning of things around you. "With all your gettings, get understanding," says Solomon; that is, *learn to observe*; for without this accomplishment, the five avenues of wisdom might as well have been closed, since they will only serve to enslave the soul, and bind it with fetters, to be loosed, if at all, only by death. When you gaze up into heaven, on a starlight night, what do you see? Stars, stars, stars. Yes; but is that all? He who has learned to employ his eyesight, sees order where you see confusion; his mind enters into his organs of vision, and enables them to detect differences which the uncultivated eye entirely overlooks; and, moreover, a man with this mental eyesight, where another observes only gleaming sparkles of light, beholds worlds moving together in mutual harmony, and visibly regulated by laws, which prove that the same mind which rules the elements of earth, distributes the rays of the sun in such a manner that each small sphere of water in the descending shower shall analyze its given portion of light, so that the rainbow shall embrace the hills, and bring to man's memory his Maker's covenant. Thus, by attentively applying our senses, we learn analogy, and understand that Omnipotence is ever present, reigning alike in the minute and the magnificent of his infinite universe, and as easily managing worlds as he does the dew-drops, each strung upon its shred of morning light."—p. 251.

13. THE STARS AND THE EARTH, OR THOUGHTS UPON SPACE, TIME, AND ETERNITY. London: H. Baillière, 219, Regent Street. 1846.

The argument of this little book is based upon the well-known theory of the progression of light, which teaches "that a luminous body arising at a certain distance from the observer, cannot be perceived in the very instant of time in which it becomes luminous," but, that a definite period must elapse while the light passes from that body to the eye. Light has been calculated to travel at the rate of about 213,000 miles in a second of time: consequently, that it is nearly a second and a quarter in reaching us from the Moon (distant 240,000 miles), eight minutes from the Sun, fifty-two minutes from Jupiter, two hours from Uranus; from a star of the first magnitude, 3 to 12 years, second, 20 years, and so on to the twelfth, from which a ray of light would travel to the Earth in 4,000 years. From these positions are deduced the following results:—

"We do not see the moon as it is, but as it was a second and a quarter before; i. e., the moon may already have been dispersed into atoms for more than a second, and we should still see it entire and perfect.

"We do not see the sun as it now is, but as it was 8 minutes before; Jupiter as it was 52 minutes; Uranus as it was more than 2 hours before; the star in Centaur as it was 3 years ago; Vega as it was 9½ years; and a star of the twelfth magnitude as it was 4,000 years ago."

These propositions have already been published in many astronomical works; but as the author observes,—

"It is really marvellous, that nobody has thought of reversing them, and of drawing the very remarkable and astonishing conclusions which pour upon us in a full stream from the converse."

The following extracts display the inferences which may fairly be drawn from the facts above cited.

"As we have before remarked, we see the disk of the moon, not in the form in which it now is, but as it was five quarters of a second before the time of observation.

"In exactly the same way an imaginary observer in the moon would not see the earth as it was at the moment of observation, but as it was five quarters of a second before. An observer from the sun sees the earth as it was eight minutes before. From Uranus, the time between the reality and the perception by the eye being two hours and a half apart; if, for example, the summit of the Alps on a certain morning was illumined by the first ray of the sun at six o'clock, an observer in this planet, who was provided either with the requisite power of vision, or a sufficiently good telescope, would see this indication of the rising of the sun at half-past eight of our time.

"An observer in Centaur can of course never see the northern hemisphere of the earth, because this constellation never rises above our horizon. But supposing it possible, and that an observer were standing in this star, with such powerful vision as to be able to distinguish all particulars upon our little earth, shining but feebly luminous in its borrowed light, he would see, in the year 1843, the public illuminations which, in the year 1840, made the cities of our native country shine with the brightness of day, during the darkness of night. An observer in Vega would see what happened with us twelve years ago, and so on, until an inhabitant of a star of the twelfth magnitude, if we imagine him with an unlimited power of vision contemplating the earth, sees it as it was 4,000 years ago, when Memphis was founded, and the patriarch Abraham wandered upon its surface."—p. 23.

It would be unfair to borrow more from such a little book; the above extracts will exhibit the principles; those who would see the author's ingenious application of them, we would recommend to purchase the '*Stars and the Earth.*'

14. THE THEATRES OF PARIS. By Charles Hervey. London: John Mitchell. 1846.

THIS is a handsome gossiping book, which appears very seasonably; for while the pleasant theatre of St. James's is delighting London with the performances of some of the Parisian "stars," this agreeable book caters for the natural curiosity always felt about actors and actresses, by giving just such details as one wishes to know. To take an example: what male heart was proof against the fascinations of *Rose Chéri*, the rightly-named, the very bud and blossom of charming actresses? How agreeable to know something about the history of the little charmer!—to know that, when four years old, she used to sing snatches of '*Comte Ory*,' and other operas; that she used to play for the amusement of her family, till she grew old enough to venture before the public; that she very nearly escaped being passed over at Paris, only by a lucky chance being called upon to supply the place of an indisposed actress, and from that time her career has been a slow but gradual succession of triumphs; above all, how pleasant to know that this naïve, simple, ingenuous actress is as virtuous and admirable in her conduct off the stage, as it is admirable on it!

'The Theatres of Paris' is essentially anecdotal; but it is so arranged as to have its utility. The author manages to throw in a reasonable share of facts, figures, and information, so as to give the work a character; but still the attractive feature of it must remain—the anecdotes. Of the lithographic portraits introduced, we cannot say much. Rachel is here shorn of all her spirituality; Rose Chéri, of all her beauty; and Dejazet of her sparkling vivacity. Madame Stoltz is the best, but that is very deceptive; and Nathalie, no one could recognize. The book is sprinkled with *bon mots*: here are two:—

"Léontine Fay, when a child, was accosted by a newspaper critic with,—'Good day, my little puss.' Upon which she retorted, 'I am not a journalist, Sir, and I scratch nobody.'"

"Rachel was once invited to meet Chateaubriand. He said to her, 'How sad it is to think, Mademoiselle, that such as you should be born when we are about to die.' 'Sir,' she replied, 'there are some men who never die.'"

15. THE WHITE STONE CANOE; OR, THE BETTER LAND. By Percy B. St. John, author of 'The Trapper's Bride,' 'Eagle's Nest,' &c. London: H. K. Lewis, 15, Gower-street North. 1846.

ONE of the best, if not *the* best, of Mr. St. John's Indian tales; and, we are glad to see, not the last: for the series is to be continued for three more volumes, should the present one find the same favour in the eyes of the public which has been accorded to those that have preceded it. The characters are well drawn and well sustained, and the interest of the narrative does not flag from beginning to end. The tale is founded upon a superstition of the Comanches, thus related by a young chief, Isaconie (silent stream), to his Mexican wife, Elca, whom he had rescued from death when a prisoner in the hands of his people.

"Many years ago, a young daughter of our tribe died on the day of her wedding. The heart of her young warrior was black as night, and he resolved to join her. The old people told of a path which led to the land of souls, and the warrior said that he would follow it. His journey was long and great. Over hill and valley, through frost and snow he went, until he came to eternal spring, and then he found himself on the banks of a broad lake. He found a canoe of shining white stone tied to the shore, with shining paddles. He was brave, and he entered. The warrior crossed the lake, and there he found her he had sought. She was white as milk, and fair as the swans on Lake Za-za-pil."

"Isaconie was this day in the wood; he hunted very hard, for he knew that his little boy was hungry; but he grew very tired, and sitting down in the forest, fell asleep. A sound near him made him start, and he saw standing near him a girl, tall like the pine, handsome as the wild deer, and white, like a young girl in the better land. It was the white spirit!"—p. 13.

The chief resolves to set out in search of the better land, to which he imagines he has received a call. He accordingly leaves his wife and child, and journeys through the forest, until he arrives on the borders of a lake, just in time to save from drowning an old negro, who, while he was fishing, was stunned by a blow from the butt of a rifle, and knocked into the lake. The blow had been inflicted by one

Richard Seaton, who, under the promise of marriage, had persuaded the negro's young mistress to quit her home, and accompany him to New Mexico. Amy Wilson, however, refused to acquiesce, unless old Job were allowed to attend her; and as this determination was likely to subvert all Seaton's plans, his first care was to get rid of Job—one attempt at which we have seen was frustrated by Isaonie. In Amy the Indian recognises the white spirit which he had seen in the forest, and he and the negro enter into a compact to watch over her, and to guard her from Seaton's wiles. Amy is eventually restored to her father; the Indian is cured of his propensity for hunting after the white stone canoe, and amply compensates, by subsequent care and attention, for all the misery and suffering his wife and child had endured in his absence; and everything concludes most happily for all parties, except for the wicked Seaton, who, by a miserable end, in some measure atones for the "woes unnumbered" which had sprung from his unhallowed love for Amy.

The tale is written in a very pleasing style, and the *dénouement* naturally brought about.

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16. ON THE CORRELATION OF PHYSICAL FORCES; being the Substance of a Course of Lectures delivered in the London Institution in the Year 1843. By W. R. Grove, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Barrister-at-Law. London: S. Highley, Fleet-street. 1846. P. 52.

In an article published in the last volume of the *Westminster Review*, relative to the recent discoveries in magnetic science, allusion was made to these lectures, and we are glad to perceive that the original views therein contained have been deemed of sufficient importance by the proprietors of the London Institution, in which establishment Mr. Grove, at the time they were delivered, occupied the chair of natural and experimental philosophy, as to have induced them to request their publication. The result of this request is the very valuable essay before us. In it the author endeavours to establish that those forces or affections of matter which are generally known under the name of *imponderables*, viz., heat, light, electricity, magnetism, chemical affinity, and motion, "are correlative, or have a reciprocal dependence; that neither, taken abstractedly, can be said to be the essential or proximate cause of the others, but that either may, as a force, produce or be convertible into the other; thus heat may, mediately or immediately, produce electricity, electricity may produce heat, and so of the rest." In proof of this opinion, these forces are separately taken into consideration, and experimentally are shown as capable of giving rise, mediately or immediately, to all the others. Another opinion to which the author leans is, that the five other affections of matter are but modes of motion,—that motion, in fact, is never destroyed or annihilated, but is only converted into a new force. Thus, if the hand be waved, its motion does not cease, but is taken up by the air,—from the air by the wall of the room, and so on; and thus, though it may be continually comminuted, it will never be destroyed. Again, if two

bodies moving in opposite directions come into contact, and thus their motion be arrested, a new force is evolved—heat. Every one knows, for example, that percussion and friction will give rise to heat, which heat the author of the essay before us regards “as a continuation of the force which was previously associated with the moving body, and which, when this impinges on another body, ceasing to exist as gross palpable motion, continues to exist as heat.” With these few remarks on the essay before us, we must for the present content ourselves, as it is probable that we shall take an early occasion to discuss it at greater length.

17. *FIRST PRINCIPLES OF SYMMETRICAL BEAUTY.* By D. R. Hay. London and Edinburgh, Blackwood and Sons. 1846.

In the introduction to this treatise the author cautions the reader against an error which his former works seem to have induced, namely, that of “the supposition that in attempting to define the laws of symmetry, upon which the primary beauty of form depends, and which is the governing principle in ornamental design,” he is laying down rules “for that kind of beauty which genius alone can produce in works of high art.” In repudiating any such attempt he says,—

“My object has been, and still is, of a less aspiring and more practical nature, and all that is attempted in this treatise, is simply to convey as much instruction regarding the nature of symmetrical beauty and its application to art, as the humblest work on English grammar conveys regarding the primary elements of written language, and their application to literature, consequently, it has no more to do with high art than the spelling-book has to do with poetry.”

The author shows, that although all beauty is to be found in the organic forms of nature, yet in natural objects the principles of symmetrical beauty are so blended with the picturesque, that mankind have hitherto been unable to systematize them; and, consequently, that “we cannot, from individual objects in nature, deduce an intelligible system of such practical rules as may form the basis of a general mode of instruction in the first principles of ornamental art.” He adduces the generally received account of the origin of the Corinthian capital, as pointing out the mode in which natural objects may be made available in some of the arts of ornamental design.

We regret that we cannot follow Mr. Hay through his introduction, which contains matter highly worthy of consideration. The principles of symmetry are elucidated by a series of diagrams; and the explanatory letter-press seems extremely well calculated to effect the object intended. Indeed, Mr. Hay, in this his latest work on the principles of beauty, seems steadily to have kept in view the same end which he proposed to himself in his previous publications; the more general extension of a feeling for the true and the beautiful in art.

18. *STRAY LEAVES FROM A FREEMASON'S NOTE-BOOK.* By a Suffolk Rector. London: Richard Spencer, 314, High Holborn. 1846.

A VOLUME of very agreeable, gossiping, light reading, which, as the author informs us in his Preface,—

“Originated in a wish to aid those charities which are at once the boast and ornament of our order; and, more particularly, to strengthen that which I conceive to be so full of promise,—the projected Asylum for the Aged and Decayed Freemason.”

The reverend author is evidently an enthusiast in all that relates to Masonry; not a little addicted to gossip, but, withal, we doubt not, a benevolent and humane man. His warm advocacy of the poor and the distressed, whether Masons or not, does honour to his heart; and we trust that his volume of ‘Stray Leaves’ will be so favorably received, as to add no inconsiderable sum to the funds of the Institution.

In the chapter, entitled “The late Rev. Robert Lynam, and the Prizes in the Church,” we are pleased to find a rector warmly setting forth the claims of the poor curates—the workers of the church; being especially moved thereto by the death of the gentleman just named, who “died at *fifty*, a curate!” after having served for twelve years in one of the “prizes of the church,” the *annual value* of which exceeds £2,000, the incumbent generously presenting the munificent sum of £5 to the subscription raised for the benefit of his curate’s widow and nine children! The author proposes, as a *correction* of this *mischievous misprint*, that for *five* pounds we should read *FIFTY*; and deems the printer’s devil worthy of many stripes, who could suppose it probable that a gentlemen, holding such a living, with a canonry of St. Paul’s to boot, “would dream of giving to the distressed family of an exemplary curate, after twelve years’ faithful service, a paltry sum of five pounds!” Alas! with all the prizes in the church, how many poor curates’ families are there who would, now and then, be glad to get hold of an occasional donation of £5!

19. *ON THE COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN EUROPE AND INDIA, THROUGH EGYPT.* London: Smith, Elder, and Co., Cornhill. 1846.

THE following extracts seem to contain the cream of this pamphlet:—

“The transit through Egypt is carried on in a very ill-organized manner, and travellers are compelled to pay enormous prices, in order to support an ill-managed business. It is, however, capable of immediate improvement. Last year the transit Company was an English Society, which possessed a monopoly, and charged Indian passengers £15 each for their conveyance from Alexandria to Cairo, exclusive of hotel expenses. Mohammed Ali, the most rapacious merchant in the habitable world, has now taken the business into his own hands. He has maintained the monopoly, but reduced the charges. So much for the liberality of English mercantile principles, beyond the direct control of a prospective rival establishment.

“It ought not to escape the attention of our government, that it is quite as much the duty of Ministers to protect individual Englishmen against the rapacity and extortion of powerful societies of their own countrymen, by

direct interference, as against monopolies of Mohammed Ali, or Sultan Abdul Meschid, by diplomatic notes or commercial treaties."

After detailing the discomforts and impositions experienced on the present route from Alexandria to Suez, in travelling at the mercy of the Transit Company, the author says,—

"One of the objects of the author's visit to Egypt, was to examine the various lines of communication between the Nile, the Mediterranean, and the Red Sea. He was anxious to examine not only the line of the ancient canal, but also that of the proposed ship canal between Tinch and Suez, and the proposed railway between Cairo and Suez. He discovered that by avoiding the direct road to Suez, he could effect his purpose without falling into the rapacious claws of the English Transit Company. He completed his journey by the line of the ancient canal to Suez, and from Suez to Cairo, along the proposed line of the railway, in ten days; the hire of four dromedaries and three men, for this journey, cost him only £4. And the whole journey, including provisions, hotel expenses at Suez, and presents, cost only 10d. per mile; while, had he availed himself of the service of the Transit Company, it would have cost him 3s. a mile, without including hotel expenses at Suez.

"Under proper arrangements, there can be no doubt that the conveyance of passengers from Alexandria to Suez would be well paid at the rate of £6 each, and rival companies could be immediately found at that rate."

He states the present charges to be from Alexandria to Cairo, 170 miles, £3 10s. each person; from Cairo to Suez, 84 miles, £12 each, making £15 10s. for the worst accommodation.

20. EDUCATION.

POPULAR EDUCATION IN ENGLAND, (from the British Quarterly Review), with a Reply to the Letter of Mr. Edward Baines, junr., on that Article. By Robert Vaughan, D.D. Jackson & Walford.

REMARKS ON NATIONAL EDUCATION. By George Combe.

LETTERS TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD JOHN RUSSELL ON STATE EDUCATION. By Edward Baines, junr. Simpkin and Co.

MR. BAINES, by placing his letters before the public in a collected form, has availed himself of the opportunity to notice, in an Appendix, the comments we made upon them in our last Number. His reply is chiefly confined to a remark at page 213, which, as only incidental to the argument, appeared as a note. We intended to show, that Dr. Hook, in calculating the proportion of voluntary subscriptions to Government grants in aid of schools, might have strengthened his case by proving, that neither in Scotland nor Ireland could subscriptions be obtained to the same proportionate extent as in England. This, Mr. Baines is unable to understand, but we can only lament the fact, and leave it; despairing to put the case in terms clearer to his apprehension. Mr. Baines then proceeds, and with more success, to attack the proposition, that when an increase of population cannot be traced to immigration, it must arise from an excess of births over deaths, and that the whole increase must be in the numbers of the *juvenile* part of the population. This he triumphantly demonstrates is not a

necessary conclusion, or an axiom, to be received in an unqualified sense; and we cheerfully admit it. The word 'whole' was an unguarded expression. An increase of population may sometimes be occasioned by a diminution in the number of deaths as compared with the average of births, and not by any sensible addition to the number of new comers. A *permanent* increase of population, however, must often exhibit itself exclusively in the ranks of the young; we do not say invariably, but more frequently than Mr. Baines is disposed to allow. It would be easy to refer to cases in which the whole increase of a population has shown itself in the number of children, but the only practical inquiry with which we need trouble ourselves is the question of what has been the actual increase of the juvenile part of the population during the last twenty years. A reference to Mr. Baines's own figures shows that the increase for England and Wales alone, instead of being inconsiderable, as he would appear to imply, has been at the rate of 80,000 per annum!

Children under 15 in 1841	5,723,746
" " 1821	4,115,562
Increase during 20 years	1,608,184

Whether Mr. Baines is justified in asserting that one-fourth only of this number is the proportion requiring an annual increase of school accommodation (supposing the existing population to have been first supplied with the means of education), we will not now discuss. Assuming that 22,000, exclusive of Scotland and Ireland, is the number of children for whom additional school accommodation has to be annually provided, it is incurring a somewhat grave responsibility to take the lead in a public agitation against any effective national organization for the attainment of the object. To say that the voluntary system is equal to this burden unaided, is to make an assumption for which there is absolutely no evidence whatever in fact. All that the voluntary system has done during the last ten years, has been under the stimulus of government grants, and the still greater stimulus of apprehended interference. All that it did before the last ten years—although Lancaster and Bell commenced their exertions half a century back, however partially beneficial, has left one half the present labouring population of young men and young women unable to sign their names (excepting with a mark) to their own marriage registers. But nothing that it did *then* was unaided. It was aided in its earliest days by princes and bishops, ministers and corporations, both with official influence and funds—nominally private, but practically, money out of that public treasury by which princes, bishops, ministers, and corporations are supported. What a splitting of hairs is it not to say, that when the Court of Common Council of the City of London votes, out of the proceeds of the 4*d.* coal duty, or its freedom fines, a sum of £500 in aid of schools in connexion with the National Society, such a vote belongs to the *voluntary* system; but, that if the same body, or the Town Councils of the manufacturing districts, instead of a coal duty, were to levy a *school-rate*, and to establish schools

wherever they might be required for the poor, such an act would be an infraction of public liberty, and part and parcel of a system of tyrannous 'State Education!' The voluntary system, in the proper sense of the term,—*spontaneous and enlightened liberality*,—can hardly be said to have existed at all, independently of those influences which are deprecated on the part of Government. The really *voluntary promoters*, and active friends of Education, have always been the few; a handful of philanthropists, too feeble in number to effect great objects with their own means, and who have never been able to rely, to any considerable extent, upon the spontaneous assistance of the public. The late financial successes of the National, and other School Societies, are not triumphs of the 'voluntary' principle, but of the principle of moral compulsion. We call Mr. Baines's serious attention to this fact. We object to his case *in limine*. We join issue with him at the very threshold of his argument, and tell him that he is the advocate (to use an appropriate expression of Carlyle's) of a great SHAM. The 'widow's mite' was a voluntary gift. *That* is, not a voluntary gift which is wrung from wealth by importunity. *That* is not a voluntary gift which owes its impulse to the parade of advertisements and ostentatious charity. *That* is not a voluntary gift which, in its amount, is regulated by the consideration of—not 'this is needed—this is what I can afford,' but 'this has been given by such an one, and I cannot therefore give less!' *That* is not a voluntary gift which is flung as a shilling to a beggar, without a further thought of its object or probable application.

We will believe in a 'voluntary system of education' when we see a majority of the members of the National School Society visiting once in a year (from our own knowledge of many of them, we might say once in *ten* years) the institutions to which they subscribe. Till then we shall hold the voluntary system, as applied to popular instruction in an extended or really *national* sense, to be a mere phantom of the brain—a dream of the imagination. The real question, as debated, stripped of the verbal delusions with which it has been invested, is only one of the comparative eligibility of two different modes of taxation. Mr. Baines would prefer the mandate of a bishop,—'collect for the national school,'—or the plate sent round the pews at chapel after a charity-school sermon,—or the domiciliary visit of a dissenting minister to the richest members of his congregation,—or the tavern dinner, with a subscription paper during the dessert,—or the expensive apparatus of a public meeting, with inflated harangues, exaggerated reports, and Prince Albert, or the greatest lord that can be got, in the chair, to attract a crowd, as stars engaged at a theatre to draw an audience, and lure the hand to that purse which "voluntarily" would never open.

To all of these methods we prefer the one straightforward expedient of a school-rate, as less wasteful, more honest, and not practically more compulsory, in a multitude of cases, than many of the contrivances for collecting money in the name of the 'voluntary system' to which we have alluded.

Mr. Baines scoffs at the advocates of a legislative provision for

popular instruction, because of the incongruity of their various plans. Every one who has suggested any plan, however impracticable, for removing the evils of popular ignorance, is entitled to respect; but what consideration do we owe to a writer who has no plan of his own, and no counsel to give to a statesman, but to stand still and do nothing? Seeing how little statesmen in this country are prepared to lead,—that they not only follow public opinion, but wait to be driven,—we should regard such advice as calculated to be in the highest degree mischievous, but that its effect is destroyed by its extravagance. With perfect consistency Mr. Baines condemns, as belonging to ‘State Education,’ the very principle of Government grants. But here he stands alone. The educational societies have accepted Government grants, and could now for the most part hardly exist if they did not continue to accept them. The principle is established. Government can neither stand still nor go back. The aid it has given must be extended, and its direction must in some way be regulated; we trust for the better.

For all practical purposes, the letters of Mr. Baines may be characterised as an elaborate attempt to write down his own reputation. No one will consult them for a true statement of the real efficiency of voluntary efforts at home, or the results of a more systematic policy abroad. They are written in that strain of exaggerated praise and depreciation which always awakens distrust. The very adoption of the term ‘State Education’ betrays a design, not to reason, but to awake a prejudice; and his account of continental education is, of course, altogether one-sided and superficial.

For ‘superficial’ we should, perhaps, use a stronger term, for the work abounds with absolute misstatements of fact. We might give many instances of these, but confine ourselves to one case—the statement in a letter signed H. G., printed by Mr. Baines in his Appendix:—

“Nothing is done in France for the mental improvement of the working classes. No libraries are attached to the schools, or provided elsewhere, to furnish them with any intellectual recreation. Indeed, so completely are the French of all classes a non-reading people, that the want of libraries is a serious discomfort to the English resident.”

Wherever the writer may have travelled, this is about as true of France, generally, as a description of Great Britain would be, drawn from the Orkneys. There is no country in Europe in which more gratuitous scientific lectures are delivered than in France, and we have often seen a course attended by crowds of working men in *blouse*. The government, moreover, set on foot the Wilhem singing classes for working men, some years before they were heard of in England. The circulation of daily journals in Paris, exceeds, by about three to one, those of London, with double the population; and, in Paris, there are not only public libraries of European celebrity, and museums of science and art, more accessible at all times than any in this country, but there are, almost in every street, *salons de*

lecture, where, at the expense of a few *sous*, the whole day may be passed in reading, by those who are so disposed. Moreover, in further disproof of the assertion that the French are not a reading people, we need only refer to the fact, that in no part of the world is literary labour so respected, or so highly remunerated as in France—a good writer occupies the first position in French society.

It would be a relief to turn from letters written to promote no immediate good, but, apparently, in the pure spirit of obstructiveness, to the calm philosophy and powerful reasoning of Mr. Coombe's pamphlet; but its own merits will introduce it to the reader. Dr. Vaughan's able article in the *British Quarterly Review* has already attracted public attention, and we are glad to see it reprinted in a form adapted for general circulation.

21. STORIES OF THE CRUSADES.—I. De Hellingley.—II. The Crusade of St. Louis. London: James Burns. 1846.

TALES OF FEMALE HEROISM. Same Publisher.

Two elegant little volumes, well adapted for presents; the former containing two tales, founded on events connected with the Crusades; the latter exhibiting sundry well-authenticated traits of female heroism, its aim being,—

“To show the fortitude and devotion of which women are capable, rather in a feminine and domestic aspect, than a brilliant one, and to exhibit acts of courage and presence of mind, in characters distinguished by their conscientious fulfilment of the quiet, unobtrusive duties of every-day life.”

Among the heroines whose names are here preserved, we may mention Helen Walker, the original of Scott's Jeanie Deans; Mrs. Lane, the preserver of Charles II.; Lady Banks, the defender of Cupar Castle against the Rebels, in 1643; the Countess of Nithsdale; Madame Laroche Jacquelin; Lady Fanshaw; and Flora Macdonald, who risked her life, both for the Stuarts and the house of Brunswick, and was rewarded by neither. In connexion with this lady, we may extract a few lines from Boswell's description of her, and of Dr. Johnson's reception at her house, given in the volume before us.

“She is a little woman, of a genteel appearance, and unusually mild and well bred. To see Dr. Samuel Johnson, the great champion of the English Tories, salute Miss Macdonald, in the Isle of Skye, was a striking sight: for, although somewhat congenial in their notions, it was very improbable they should meet here. Miss Macdonald, for so I shall call her, told me, she heard upon the mainland, as she was returning home, about a fortnight before, that Mr. Boswell was coming to Skye, and one Mr. Johnson, a young English *Buck*, with him. He was highly entertained with this fancy.”—p. 110.

22. THE FIRESIDE, A DOMESTIC TALE. By Percy B. St. John. London: H. K. Lewis, 15, Gower Street North. 1847.

IN this member of the host of Christmas Stories called into being by Dickens, notwithstanding that the moral he would inculcate is

unexceptionable, we must confess Mr. St. John seems a little out of his element: we would rather have wandered with him, even in the present inclement season, among the forests and prairies where he is always at home, than loiter away the evening hours in the parlours and ball-rooms of New York. Nor can we say that the illustrations add either beauty or grace to the book; and, for we may as well finish all our fault-finding at once, we cannot help thinking that there is much of the improbable and unnatural in the character and conduct of both Dr. Somers and his pretty but somewhat spoiled wife: neither of them, in our opinion, equals the honest, hard-working, negro wood-cutter Gully Moss, and his idle finery-loving wife, Juno. But with all its minor faults and failings, 'The Fireside' is a very readable story, and will no doubt be thankfully received as a welcome addition to the light literature of the season. A very little pains bestowed on it, should a second edition be called for, would render it much more worthy a permanent place in the libraries of the young.

23. LIEBIG'S QUESTION TO MULDER, TESTED BY MORALITY AND SCIENCE.

By Dr. G. T. Mulder, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Utrecht. Translated by Dr. P. F. H. Fromberg. London and Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons. 1846.

CONTROVERSIES of this kind are seldom of the slightest interest to the general reader; we may, therefore, briefly state the substance of the present pamphlet thus.

Some years ago Mulder gave the name of *protein* to a substance which he discovered on dissolving fibrin of blood, white of egg, and gluten of wheat in caustic potash; then, on rendering the solution slightly acid, a white precipitate falls, which is stated by Mulder to be free from phosphorus and sulphur: this is protein, which is supposed to form the basis of large groups of substances, both animal and vegetable. After confirming Mulder's statements, and founding, on the supposed existence of this substance, certain theories which have assisted in extending his own fame, Liebig announces that he can no longer obtain *protein* possessing the composition and properties assigned to it by the discoverer, whom he invites to mention, with every possible detail, in what way it was obtained. Now, in this request, there seems nothing either unreasonable or indicative of a quarrelsome disposition. Mulder, however, thinks otherwise; he believes, from the manner in which Liebig has treated other chemists, whose fame might possibly bedim his own, that his motive for putting the question was merely that on Mulder's reply he might "found a very pretty quarrel." Be this as it may, after "showing up" his opponent, he enters minutely into various particulars connected with the composition and properties of the subject of controversy, for which we must refer our chemical readers to the book itself.

Miscellaneous.

THE INFLUENCES OF THE GAME LAWS: being classified Extracts from the Evidence taken before a Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Game Laws, and some Introductory Remarks. By Richard Griffiths Welford, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, and member of the Royal Agricultural Society of England. With an Appendix, and an Address to the Tenant Farmers of Great Britain, by John Bright, Esq., M.P. London: Groombridge & Son, Paternoster Row; Gadsby, Bouverie Street. 1846.

THE subject of this volume is sufficiently expressed in the title, which we give in full; the contents are of the greatest importance to those who feel an interest in the working of the Game Laws; and the very low price puts it within the reach of all. Some curious evidence is brought out in the course of the various examinations; not the least curious of which are the revelations of the old dealer in Game, perhaps the prototype of Miss Martineau's 'sly old fox, Groves.'

PRACTICAL HINTS TOWARDS IMPROVING THE MERCHANT MARINE SERVICE. Dedicated to the Committee of the General Shipowners' Society. By a Merchant Captain. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 65, Cornhill. 1846.

THE author states, that the lately-passed "Act has done a good thing for common sailors; but something is also required to be done for those who have the misfortune to deal with them; and some better digested laws should be devised for enforcing discipline and subordination." That is, while the sailor has been, as it were, rescued from the hands of the crimp, by whom, under the old system, he was regularly fleeced of his earnings, no steps have been taken to protect the masters of merchant vessels from the numerous acts of insubordination, by which, when once at sea, they are greatly at the mercy of seamen. It seems to contain suggestions, which, if acted on, would undoubtedly do much towards further improving the condition of our mercantile marine.

QUARANTINE AND THE PLAGUE: being a Summary of the Reports on these Subjects, recently addressed to the Royal Academy of Medicine in France; with Introductory Observations, Extracts from Parliamentary Correspondence, and Notes. By Gavin Milroy, M.D., &c. London: S. Highley, 32, Fleet-street. Edinburgh: Sutherland & Knox. Dublin: Hodges & Smith. Paris: Baillière. 1846.

THE Report here reprinted from the last number of the 'Medico-Chirurgical Review,' is published, with certain additions, in order to give the subject as much publicity as possible, previous to the meeting of Parliament, when it is probable the Quarantine Laws may be

revised. The pamphlet contains a considerable amount of information on the subjects, Contagious Infection, Endemic, Epidemic, &c., and other matters connected with the question of Quarantine.

OUTLINES OF SOCIAL ECONOMY. London : Smith, Elder & Co., 65, Cornhill, 1846.

THIS little book seems to be well adapted to fulfil the purpose for which it was written, that of giving to boys at school a general idea of the outlines of Social Economies. In twenty-three short plainly-written chapters, it treats on Wealth and Capital, Taxes, Rent, Prices, Freedom and Restrictions of Trade, Machinery, Colonies, Division of Labour, &c., which are familiarly explained by one who is evidently conversant with the subject, and wishes to extend a knowledge of it.

AN ESSAY, SUGGESTIVE OF THE SAFEST WAY OF CARRYING OUT THE SCHEME OF A DECIMAL SYSTEM OF MONEY ; as a Preliminary to the subsequent adoption of Decimal Weights, Measures, and Months. London : Smith, Elder & Co., 65, Cornhill. 1846.

THE author recommends the issuing of two new coins, viz., a two-shilling piece, and its tenth, and the gradual withdrawal of the present penny-pieces. All this to be done in a quiet way, without alarming the people by saying anything about a *decimal* coinage. The other decimal divisions to be brought about in the same manner.

ON THE MEANS OF EXTENDING THE UTILITY OF AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES. A Letter written to the Right Hon. Lord Dacre. By Thomas Henry Steel, M.A., Vicar of St. Ippolyts and Great Wymondley. To which are prefixed Extracts from Speeches delivered at a Meeting of the Herts Agricultural Society, September 30, 1846. London : Simpkin, Marshall & Co. Hitchin : Paternoster. 1846.

AN extension of some remarks on this subject which fell from the author in his speech at the meeting referred to in the title. He considers there are three points to which the attention of Agricultural Societies might be beneficially directed, viz.—1. The encouraging the labouring poor to avail themselves of all the opportunities in their power, for obtaining the means of instruction for their children. 2. Distinguishing by some marks of approbation the tenant-farmers who, by their own exertions and example, shall have been “most successful in discouraging intoxication, and the use of profane language” amongst their labourers. 3. The duty of the landlords themselves to effect “such an improvement in the cottages of the poor as would tend to assist the other efforts that might be made towards bettering the moral condition of the labouring classes.” All these topics are fully treated, and that in a calm and persuasive style.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF GEOLOGY. By A. C. G. Jobert. First Part. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. Paris: Galignani and Co. 1846.

IN this part, the author examines and rejects the doctrine of the eternity of the actual course of nature; refutes the theories of Dr. Hutton and Mr. Lyell, on this, and other controverted points, the metamorphic theory, for example; and declares his adhesion to "the theory of the primæval igneous fusion of the globe," and the doctrine which teaches, and, apparently, with some foundation,—

"That, even to this day, this solid crust, which we tread with such a confident step, and upon which we raise monuments that seem to defy the ravages of time, forms but the thin shell of a molten spheroid, whose burning matter roars under this frail envelope."—p. 90.

The second part will contain a further development of the author's views, which seem worthy of consideration: indeed, his standing as a geologist affords warrant that his opinions have not been formed without due consideration, although they differ in some points from those of one of the leading men in the science.

POSTSCRIPT.

A CORRESPONDENT corrects an error in our last number, relative to the appointment of Sir Edmund Head in the Poor-law commission. It was stated, in the article entitled 'Abuses of Patronage,' that Sir Edmund Head held the office of assistant commissioner only a few months prior to his elevation to the central board. The 'few months' should have referred to his promotion to the London district, where he first became generally known to the public. He had previously acted, and for several years, as an assistant commissioner in Wales.

We should apologise to Sir Edmund Head for this inaccuracy, if, upon reconsidering the spirit of the article, we could discover that any substantial personal injustice had been committed. No blame, however, has been imputed to Sir Edmund Head; nor has it been implied that he had not fulfilled, or was not competent to fulfil, respectably, at least, the duties of a subordinate office. The statement was, that Sir Edmund Head was indebted for his appointment as chief commissioner not to superior fitness to that of the chief author of the measure (thrust aside), or to that of senior assistant commissioners, in some instances abler

men than himself, but to the friendship and patronage of Mr. Lewis. The result of our further inquiries is confirmatory of the fact; and, with no feeling of personal hostility or personal bias, we would again repeat, and repeat emphatically, our condemnation of the system. There are higher qualifications for the public service than private worth, classical attainments, or the manners of a gentleman; and the act is a criminal one that would sacrifice to friendship, with no better justification than these, the special aptitude of individuals for special duties.

In the case of the Post-office, it is gratifying to us to observe that the right principle has been at last recognised, although at the eleventh hour. The nation rather than the individual is served in the new appointment of Mr. Rowland Hill; and as it was with postal, and still is with Poor-law reforms, and sanatory improvements, the nation is injured when the legitimate influence of their authors is not allowed to be exercised in carrying them out in their integrity.

The consequences, which we are now realizing, of a patronage policy, will be a lesson to statesmen of all succeeding ages. In an alarming crisis the Government finds itself left, by its dependence upon a vacillating Board, without any fixed principles in regard to the best modes of regulating relief. Suddenly we see the old fallacy revived of the duty of Government to provide employment for a people, and the principle actually applied to a whole nation. A more appalling experiment was never tried. We write at a moment when 300,000 able-bodied labourers are in receipt of Government wages.* What is to be done with this immense army, and, upon what plea, or in what manner can it ever be disbanded?

The leading feature of the Poor Law Amendment Bill was—relief within the walls of a suitable asylum, or relief, if out of doors, not in money but in food;—this has been discarded. It proceeded upon a vast mass of evidence, shewing that all modes of combining out-door relief with out-door employment, of a productive nature, were liable to the grossest abuses, from the impossibility of providing adequate superintendence. This has been forgotten. Ireland must supply the same testimony, which, previous to the year 1834, was given by every parish in England, but given in vain. It had been demonstrated that half-a-crown

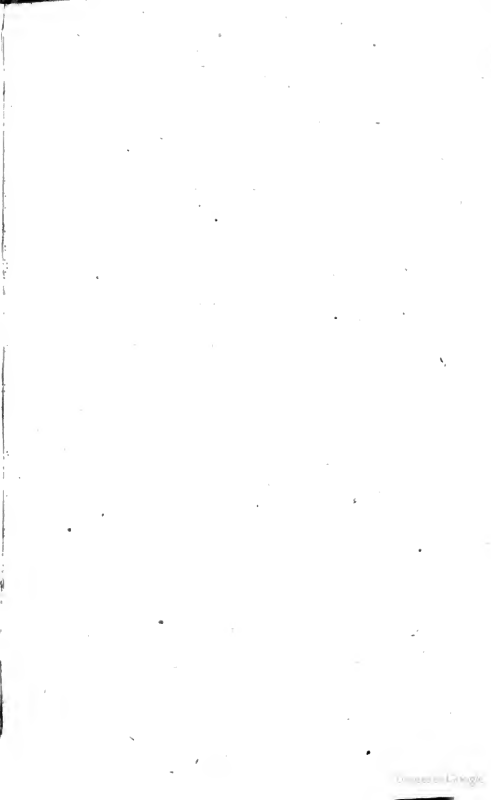
* Of whom a large proportion are the Irish reapers, usually seen in England at harvest time, but who, during the last two harvests, have been kept in their own country by the eleemosynary aid of Government. In Kent, during the last hop-picking season, the unusual and almost total absence of Irish families was the subject of general remark.

a week in money, to able-bodied labourers, for merely nominal services, was sufficient to demoralize an uneducated peasantry, by unsettling their habits; and now the whole peasantry of Ireland are offered money-wages as relief, with half pay during a frost, where money-wages have never been heard of before in the winter season.

The responsibility of this mistake, perhaps attaches less to the government than to some of the leading organs of the press. We need hardly name the journals which, for the last ten years, have denounced the principle of asylums for the destitute, and insisted upon the substitution of out-door employment, artificially created. Well, they have their wish, and *The Times*, at least, which is now the foremost in exposing the mischiefs in operation, should, from some respect to its own consistency, point out the way in which its own former counsel can be taken, without resulting in evils of corresponding magnitude.

Measures, however, we are told are in contemplation, upon which of course we can pronounce no opinion, by which these evils will be checked. Hoping that a sound judgment will be exercised, but with doubts stronger than our confidence, we would here express a conviction, and offer it as a caution to the framers of any new enactment, that productive employment cannot under any circumstances be mixed up with the principle of relief, without danger to the industry of the country. There are many public works which a government might fairly set on foot to develop national resources, and to prevent a recurrence of distress, but such an object should rest, primarily, upon its own merits, and not be confounded with that of present succour for the destitute.

Wherever wages are to be earned the able and willing have the first claim, or the foundations of society are overturned. To give a preference to the pauper is to rob the labourer. Let us add, that if the principle of relief in the shape of out-door employment to the able-bodied, with money wages, is to be formally legalized, it is not one to be kept within bounds by any contrivance for placing it under the control of rate-burdened proprietors. They may be driven to ruin, but they will be as powerless to stay the downward movement, as English overseers and English parish vestries were in 1832, before the introduction of that Poor-Law Amendment Bill of which we are now recklessly abandoning all the essential provisions.





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